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* **B** RITAIN,* writes the so-called Nennius,* quoting from the Welsh Triads, ‘containeth three considerable islands: whereof one lieth over against the Armorican shore, and is called Inis gueith; the second is situated in the navel of the sea between Ireland and Britain, and its name is called Eubonia, that is Manau; another is situated in the furthest verge of the British world beyond the Picts, and is named Orc. So was it said in the proverb of old when one spake of its judges, and kings, “He judged Britain with its three islands.”’ Other pens have described in this ‘Review’ her northern sisters, ‘the storm-swept Orcades,’ and the bleak house of the heroic Charlotte de la Tremouille, and the saintly Wilson. It is our present purpose

* ‘Nennius,’ § 8. ‘The work which bears the name of Nennius was most probably written in the eighth century. It is a compilation made originally without much judgment. . . . Still, however, it contains fragments of earlier works which are of great interest and value.’—Guest, ‘Early English Settlements in South Britain,’ *Transact. of Arch. Inst., Salisbury* volume, p. 36. The original of the passage given above is found in one of the Welsh Triads quoted by Dr. Guest in the ‘Proceedings of the Philological Society,’ i. 9: ‘The three primary adjoining islands of the Isle of Britain, Orc, Manaw, and Gwyth, and afterwards the sea broke the land, so that Mon became an island and in the same manner the isle of Orc was broken.’

to devote a few pages to the leader of the 'laughing train' of 'little isles on every side'—

'Wight who checks the westering tide,'*

which, as old Drayton says in his long-drawn lines—

'Of all the southern isles hath held the highest place,
And evermore hath been the great'st in Britain's grace.'

The name of the Isle of Wight at once calls up ideas of all that is most lovely in scenery and genial in climate. Sung by poets, painted by artists, eulogized by physicians, the favourite resort alike of the pleasure-seeker and the invalid, the artist and the geologist; a household word with Englishmen, which all either have seen or intend to see; few spots in the wide world are more often thought of with loving thankfulness. How many are the weary labourers of this over-worked generation in whose minds it is connected with days or weeks of the purest happiness, snatched from the

'noise and smoke of town,'

and dreamt away among their merry children on its pebbly beaches, or beneath its ivy-clad rocks, gazing out on the wide expanse of the limitless ocean, drinking in health and refreshment both for mind and body with every breeze! These grateful memories swell into a deeper and more sacred feeling with those who, on the first approach of that fell destroyer of the youngest and loveliest—consumption—have borne their loved ones from bleaker and less genial homes to winter on its sunny slopes beneath the sheltering wall of its gigantic downs, and have seen with thankfulness the glow return to the wan cheek and vigour to the enfeebled limbs; or if this has been denied them; and the disease has run its fatal course to its sad end, have at least enjoyed the consolation of knowing that life has been prolonged, suffering lessened, and that the invalids' closing days have been brightened by the loveliness around them: that if their sun has set, it has not set in darkness and gloom.

But it is not every one for whom our island awakens such solemn memories as these,—memories which we must almost apologize for referring to. With the artist the Isle of Wight speaks of many a treasured addition to the sketch-book. Many a young observer has, like the lamented Strickland, learnt his first geological lessons in this island, which, in the words of Mr. Hopkins,† seems almost to have been 'cut out by Nature for a model illustrative of the phenomena of stratification;'

* Collins, 'Ode to Liberty.'

† 'Cambridge Essays,' 1857, p. 185.
while

while a whole host of accomplished geologists—including such honoured names as Webster, Sedgwick, and the too early-lost Forbes—have here pursued investigations, the fruits of which have enriched the scientific world. The botanist has many a pleasant memory of prizes secured for the 'hortus siccus,' among its woods, downs, bogs, and sandhills, or on the level reefs, fertile in seaweeds, that fortify its coasts. Indeed, whatever his tastes may be, no one with any eye or feeling for the beauties of nature can have visited the Isle of Wight without acquiescing in the panegyric passed upon it by Sir Walter Scott,* as 'that beautiful island which, he who has once seen, never forgets, through whatever part of the world his future path may carry him.'

The rhomboidal form of the Isle of Wight, likened by various observers to a turbot, a bird with expanded wings, and a heraldic lozenge, the two diameters measuring roughly 23 and 14 miles, is due both to its geological formation and to the unequal action of the sea on the coast-line, eating out the softer strata of the Lower Greensand and Wealden beds into the wide concavities of Sandown and Chale Bays, while the harder chalk is left in bold projecting headlands.

The leading feature in the Isle of Wight, both from a geological and picturesque point of view, is the high undulating ridge of bare swelling chalk downs, running from end to end of the island, of which it forms, as it were, the backbone, ruling its whole physical structure, and rising sheer from the sea at either extremity in bold mural precipices honeycombed with caverns, forming the 'Culver Cliffs to the east, and the Main Bench and Needles headland to the west. The Needles themselves are simply shattered remnants of the chalk ridge that once stretched continuously across the channel to the Isle of Purbeck: huge wedge-shaped pinnacled masses left while all about them has yielded to the ceaseless dash of the breakers.

Towards the centre of the island these chalk downs, instead of being limited to a single narrow wall, form two or three parallel ridges with outliers: here, cut into combs and dingles with steeply sloping sides clothed with rich foliage, or shagged with aged thorns dwarfed or twisted by the fierce blasts with which they have had to maintain a lifelong struggle; there, closing in and forming long sequestered glens, or rounding into smooth elbows, or dipping down their undulating arms into the sand-valleys below. As we approach either extremity the ridge diminishes in breadth, being scarcely a quarter of a mile broad at

* 'Surgeon's Daughter,' chap. vi.

Aston Down above Freshwater Gate, while the strata more and more nearly approach to verticality, evidenced to the eye by the black lines of flints scoring the white face of the chalk with as much regularity as the lines of a copy-book.

The southern promontory presents another range of chalk downs—Shanklin, St. Boniface, and St. Catherine's Downs—containing the highest ground in the island, little short of 800 feet above the sea-level, throwing off huge pier-like projecting arms northwards into the valley of denudation,—for the most part displaying an undulating surface of the Lower Greensand, sometimes running in ridges, sometimes swelling in isolated hillocks, sometimes furrowed into gullies and watered by the Medina and the Yar and their tiny tributaries,—which divides this range from the central ridge.

The axis of the upheaving force which raised the central ridge appears to have coincided with a line drawn from near Sandown Fort to somewhere between Brighthelm and Brook. At each extremity of this anticlinal line in Compton and Sandown Bays, the Wealden emerges from under the Lower Greensand, and attracts the geologist by its Saurian remains and rafts of fossil trees.

Immediately below the chalk lies the Upper Greensand, whose mural escarpment and shelf-like outline contrast forcibly with the smooth rounded forms of the chalk. It is this formation to which the scenery of the Undercliff owes its most characteristic feature in the vast vertical wall, furrowed by time and stained with the tenderest hues, which stretches almost without interruption from Bonchurch to Chale.

Next comes the Gault, locally known as 'the blue slipper,' from its colour, and the tendency of the superincumbent strata to slip or slide on the smooth unctuous surface of its clays, when moistened by the copious land springs which percolate through the chalk and sandstone. It is to this that the gigantic landslip that under the healing hand of nature has created the romantic beauty of the Undercliff is due. The base of the sandstone wall being undermined by the springs, the overhanging masses were torn away by their own weight and carried downwards on the slippery surface of the gault, until they encountered some obstacle which checked their descent, and caused them to hang picturesquely poised on the steep grassy slope, where, draped with ivy and a profusion of graceful creepers, they afford shelter to early primroses and violets, which cluster round their base, and, with 'a budding world' of purple orchises and curling fern-fronds, form a picture of surpassing loveliness.

The northern half of the island between the central chalk-ridge

ridge and the Solent is occupied by a succession of the older tertiary strata, which form the very remarkable cliffs of Alum Bay. The almost magical beauty of this locality is due to the quick succession of beds of vivid and violently contrasted hues—red, yellow, black, white—upheaved from their naturally horizontal positions, and made to stand on end, as it were, for the convenience of the geologist. One narrow bed of pipe-clay, intervening between the richly-tinted sands, contains impressions of leaves of most exquisite delicacy, belonging to a sub-tropical flora, identical with those in a corresponding bed across the Solent at Bournemouth.

The Chines, though in no sense peculiar to the Isle of Wight, but found under different names wherever the same physical causes operate, are among its best known geological features. They are deep fissures or gullies eaten out of the soft strata of the Lower Greensand by the action of running water, and derive their name from the A.-S. 'cine' or 'cyne,'* a cleft. Some of the most attractive scenery of the island is to be found in these little ravines, which, if they had not at one time received such exaggerated praise, would be more esteemed now. At Shanklin a little rill, tumbling at the head of the glen over a harder bed of rock which checks its action, has worn away a sinuous ravine, the steep sides of which are prettily draped with coppice and creepers, through which the brook wends its way to the sea, which it enters through a mighty gash in the cliffs, 'as if cut with the sword of an Orlando.' Luccombe Chine, a mile or two further along the shore to the south-west, though smaller, has been more left to nature, and is to many more pleasing. The third celebrated chine—that of Blackgang—is a complete contrast to the other two in its bare treeless aspect; and has been so completely vulgarised by smug villas and toy-shops, that to the ordinary visitor it is simply 'a delusion and a snare.' To the geologist the fine sections of the strata presented in its naked sides and sea-front must always make it an object of interest.

Of its earliest inhabitants, the Celtæ, or the Belgæ by whom the former had been displaced shortly before Cæsar's invasion, the Isle of Wight exhibits numerous and distinct traces. The very name by which, under various forms, it has been known for at least the last two thousand years, is in all probability of Celtic origin. The *Ynys Gweyth* of the Welsh Triads, the *Inis*

* The verb 'to chine' was used not only by Spenser,—

'Where biting deepe, so deadly it imprest

That quite it chyned his backe behind the sell,'—*Faerie Queene*, b. iv. c. 6.

but also by Dryden, as quoted by Richardson *sub voc.*—

'He that in his day did chine the long rib'd Apennine.'

Gueith of Nennius, is considered by Dr. Guest to be equivalent to 'the channel island.' In accordance with this is the statement of Nennius, or at any rate one of his transcribers, that *guith* in British or Celtic signified 'division,'* a name evidently indicating a belief that at some far remote period it had been severed from the mainland. The crests of nearly all the downs, which stretch in an almost unbroken line from Bembridge at the eastern to Freshwater at the western extremity of the island, are studded with

'The grassy barrows of the happier dead,'

not a few of which are deemed by archæologists good examples of the British barrow. The mounds which stand out so conspicuously against the sky on Shalcombe Down, are said to have been raised over Arwald, the Jutish king of the island, his son, and dependants, who had fallen in battle with Ceadwalla. Interesting groups occur on Chillerton, Brook, Aston, and Ashley Downs. Many, if not most, of these have been rifled, and the contents too frequently broken and dispersed.

But we have traces of the homes as well as of the graves of the people. The steeply-sided, sinuous dells which divide the knot of chalk-downs to the west of Carisbrooke shew groups of shallow bowl-shaped depressions, which have been long popularly known as 'British Villages.' These mark the sites of the rude conical huts of the aboriginal inhabitants,† who had formed their settlements in the valley, under the protection of the hill-forts, the remains of which still crown the ridge above. These excavations occur in groups of two, three, or more, within the compass of a larger ring, which served as a rampart against hostile attacks; each group, or *kraal*, as they would be termed in South Africa, indicating the abode of a single family. The name of the valley in which the largest number of these traces of habitation are found—Gallibury Bottom—serves to confirm the tradition. The British inhabitants of Wessex were known to the Saxons as *Wealhas* or *Gaels*, and Gallibury may well indicate the *burh* or 'fortified place' of the barbarous tribes found here by the Jutish invaders.

Another primæval memorial may be seen where, at the head of a hollow way of unknown antiquity shaded by low spreading oaks above the village of Mottiston—

* 'Quam Britones insulam Gueid vel Gwith vocant, quod Latine *divortium* dici potest.'—MS. C. C. C. Cambridge.

† *Tὰς αἰήσεις εὐτελείς ἔχουσι ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἢ ἐλῶν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συγκεκμηνας.*—Diod. Sicul., lib. v. c. 21, speaking of the inhabitants of Britain.

'Tinted

'Tinted by Time, the solitary stone
On the green hill of Mote each storm withstood,
Grows dim with hoary lichen overgrown.'

Peel, *The Fair Island*.

This *Longstone*, as it is popularly called, is an example of the *menhirs*, or standing stones, which in former days were so confidently connected with Druidical worship, but of the purpose of which so little is really known. It is a rough quadrangular pillar of ferruginous sandstone, 13 feet in height, and is estimated to weigh little less than 30 tons.

Whether the *Ικτίς* which Diodorus Siculus describes as the storehouse of the Cornish tin, the mart frequented by the Greek merchants from Marseilles and Narbonne, should be identified with the Isle of Wight, or with St. Michael's Mount, is a question which has been long and hotly debated, and of which we may say 'adhuc sub iudice lis est.' The discovery of a block of tin, of the shape of an *astragalus*, dredged up at the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, appears to the accomplished Sir Henry James* an irrefragable proof that the port from which the *astragali* of tin mentioned by Diodorus were shipped for the coast of Gaul is to be identified with St. Michael's Mount, and his conclusions were to a considerable extent accepted by the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis.† But the Isle of Wight tradition is too well authenticated to be lightly set aside, and it can hardly be questioned that the *Ictis* of Diodorus, as well as the *Mictis* of Timæus, are merely variations of *Vectis*, the Roman designation of the Isle of Wight. Diodorus, writing from hearsay, without any personal acquaintance with the localities, may have well combined the accounts of the two tin-ports, and produced a description accurately tallying with neither.

The Romans have left fewer and less distinct marks of their occupation, which commenced under Vespasian, acting as lieutenant to Plautius in the invasion of Claudius A.D. 43, and here first 'designated by the fates for empire,'‡ than in many other parts of England. Besides coins and fragments of pottery, we can point only to the recently discovered villa at Carisbrooke. This is small but well preserved, with bath, hypocaust, and the other usual arrangements, and is enriched with a complex tessellated pavement and mural paintings, recalling the decorations of Pompeii.

The state of these remains, like that of Roman buildings

* 'Archæological Journal,' No. cxi. pp. 196-202.

† Ibid. For Sir G. C. Lewis' earlier view, see his 'Astronomy of the Ancients,' pp. 450-454.

‡ Tacit. Agric. 13, 'Monstratus fatis Vespasianus.'

generally

generally throughout England, indicates the barbarism which, after the departure of the Romans, had rudely sought to stamp out the civilization they had brought with them but had failed to naturalize. Not a single article of value was discovered in its ruins. Everywhere there were traces of the occupation of a savage people; fires had been kindled on the beautiful tessellated floors; the bones of deer, sheep, and other animals, strewn about the rooms, spoke of the coarse repasts which had succeeded to the 'noctes cœnæque deum' of the countrymen of Lucullus and Apicius. The ruin was evidently due not to gradual decay, but to wilful destruction.

The evidences of the Anglo-Saxon occupancy are limited to the sepulchral barrows and their contents. These are very numerous, and few cemeteries in the country have yielded a richer harvest than that on 'Chessell Down,' near Freshwater. Among many other discoveries indicating a considerable advance in wealth and refinement, we may particularize the skeleton of an infant with its bronze rattle; of a female with the bodkin which had confined her hair still lying at the back of her head, and her bronze needle and scissors by her side; a silver spoon, with its capacious bowl washed with gold; and balls of crystal with silver mountings—mysterious objects which, from the time of the entrance of the Jews into Canaan* to that of Lilly and Dr. Dee, have been associated with magical rites, and unhallowed prying into futurity.

The Saxon, or rather Jutish, occupation of the island dates from 530, when Cerdic of Wessex, and his son Cynric, subsequently to their conquests on the mainland, crossed the Solent, and, after a bloody battle, stormed the *burh* or stronghold at Carisbrooke, and made themselves masters of Wight. Four years later, on Cerdic's death, the island was granted to his nephews, probably the sons or grandsons of his sister, who had married a Jutish husband—Stuf, and the eponymic hero, whose real name has been completely lost in that derived from his island achievements, Wiht-gar, 'the spear of Wight.' Wihtgar, according to Florence of Worcester, died in 544, and was buried in the citadel called after him Wihtgareshurh, which, though so altered by decapitation and phonetic corruption as to be hardly recog-

* The Hebrew פִּתְּחוּ אֲבִיבִים, Lev. xxvi., Numb. xxxiii. 52, Prov. xiv. 11 ('image of stone,' 'pictures,' E. V.; ἁλθὼν σκοπὸς, σκοπία, LXX.), has been interpreted by Spenser ('de Legibus,' vol. i.), Delrius ('Disquis. Magic,' lib. iv. c. 2, p. 468), Douglas, and others, of these divining balls. See for a long and learned disquisition on the point, Douglas' 'Nenia Britannica,' p. 14, § 9. Such crystal balls, set in precious metals, were found in the tomb of King Childeric at Tournay, as well as in a large number of the Kentish (Jutish) barrows opened by Douglas and Faussett.

nizable, still preserves in its name of Carisbrooke the memory of its Jutish lord. The little island-kingdom continued dependent on Wessex for more than a century, till, in 661, Wulfhere of Mercia ravaged it, and transferred it to Ethelwald, king of the South Saxons. Ethelwald was a convert to Christianity. Wulfhere had been his sponsor, and with that union of sanguinary barbarism and fierce zeal for the faith which so often characterized these half-leavened heathens,* made the extirpation of paganism a condition of the gift to his royal godson. The neighbouring county of Sussex, then just emerging from heathenism under Wilfrid's teaching, furnished a missionary, Eoppa,† who, in the words of the A.-S. Chronicle, 'first of men brought baptism to the people of Wight.' But Eoppa's mission proved a failure, and when, twenty years later, A.D. 686, the island was again ravaged by Ceadwalla, after the death of Ethelwald in battle, the whole Jutish population were found heathen, and, as such, were doomed to extermination by 'the fierce catechumen.'‡

Fielding, the novelist, when provoked beyond endurance by the extortions of his shrewish landlady at Ryde, says sarcastically, 'Certain it is the island of Wight was not an early convert to Christianity, nay, there is some reason to doubt whether it was ever entirely converted.' Whatever may be thought of his inference, the great novelist was correct in his history. It has often been remarked as singular that, while the Jutes of Kent were the first of the Anglo-Saxon race to embrace the Christian religion, their kinsmen in Wight should have been the last to do so. This is, doubtless, attributable to the insular position of Wight, the Solent Sea—'pelagus solvens,' as Bede styles it, false in etymology but true in fact—cutting its people off from intercourse with the mainland as effectually in those days of timid navigation, as the dense forests of the Andredesweald did their pagan neighbours in Sussex, whose conversion, due to the same great Christian pioneer, only preceded that of Wight by a few years.§ Before he started on his enterprise, Ceadwalla, as it were

* "I cannot bear to see the finest provinces of Gaul in the hands of these heretics," cried Clovis with all the zeal of a new convert. The clergy blessed the pious sentiment, and the orthodox barbarian was rewarded with a series of bloody victories.—Kemble, 'Anglo-Saxons,' vol. ii. p. 355.

† Eoppa is mentioned by Bede, 'Ecc. Hist.,' iv. 14, as one of Wilfrid's Sussex clergy and Abbot of Selsey. The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' also says, sub anno 661, that 'Eoppa the mass priest, by the command of Wilfrid and king Wulfhere, first brought baptism to the "people of Wight."' From this it would follow that both the earlier and later missions were directed by Wilfrid.

‡ 'Adelwold, being greatly desirous to make the people of the Isle to taste of Christ, sent one Eoppa a priest to preach the worde unto them, but he profited nothing.'—Lambarde, 'Topograph. and Histor. Dict. of England,' 1730, p. 395.

§ Jeremy Taylor, to whom no historical or classical illustration, however incongruous,

were to bribe the powerful God of the Christians to favour his arms, had vowed that, if successful, he would devote a fourth part of the land and spoil to Christ. The ubiquitous Wilfrid, who in consequence of 'the sad scenes of sacerdotal jealousy and strife which made his course almost a constant feud, and himself an object of unpopularity, even of persecution,'* has hardly secured the place he merits as one of the most enterprising and successful of missionaries, was at hand to register the youthful warrior's vow. On the success of his arms in Wight, Wilfrid—of whom Fuller appositely remarks that 'his *παράργα* were better than his *ἔργα*, his casual and occasional better than his intentional performances,'†—eager to renew the spiritual victories vouchsafed him by God among the barbarians on the shores of the Baltic, and, still more recently, among the savage population of Sussex, claimed the promised fourth part as God's heritage. The claim was allowed. Three hundred families were spared from massacre, and tradition points to the site of Brading Church as the scene of the admission of the heathen Jutes into the Christian faith. Scarcely had the foundations of a Christian church in Wight been laid, when Wilfrid was recalled to Northumbria, and he was compelled to entrust the carrying on the work to other hands.

The history of this interesting epoch would be incomplete were we to omit the affecting episode of the two young princes, sons or brothers of Arwald, the Jutish king, who, having escaped the slaughter of their kindred, were discovered in their hiding-place of Stoneham, 'Ad Lapidem,' near Southampton, and doomed to death by Ceadwalla, but were spared for a little space at the intercession of Cynibehrt, Abbot of Redbridge, that he might teach and baptize them before they had to die; and who, in the words of Bede, who tells the tale with beautiful simplicity,‡ 'joyfully underwent a temporal death, by which they did not doubt that they should pass to an eternal life of the soul,' and found a place in the martyrology of the Roman Church, which keeps the 21st of August as the anniversary of 'Fratres Regis Arvaldi MM.'

The position of the Isle of Wight, so open to hostile descent

incongruous, ever came amiss, from 'the Ephesian matron' of Petronius to 'Venetapadius Ragium, king of Narsinga,' records Ceadwalla's conquest of the Isle of Wight among the triumphs of prayer (Jeremy Taylor's works, Heber's edition, vol. iii. p. 91). We fear that the facts dispel the illusion.

* Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' vol. ii. p. 90.

† 'Wilfrid was one of great parts and greater passions . . . as nightingales sing sweetest the farthest from the nests, so this man was most diligent in his services when at the greatest distance from his home.'—Fuller, 'Ch. Hist.,' cent. vii. § 97, 98.

‡ Bede, 'Hist. Eccl.,' lib. iv. c. 16.

by

by sea, and so convenient as a base of operations on the mainland, rendered it from very early times a second Cythera, and we can well believe that some Chilon of the day has before now wished it sunk in the sea.* Indeed the history of the island, from the eighth to the sixteenth century, is little more than that of successive piratical invasions, ravages by fire and sword, and hostile occupations, and of the measures adopted for the defence of its coasts. But incessant as were their descents, culminating in the terrible devastations of 1001, when fire and sword swept over the whole island, the Danes made no permanent settlement in Wight. Local nomenclature, that invaluable handmaid to history, is here our guide; and the entire absence of Danish elements in the names of places—the bys, and holms, and thorps—which are so abundant in the East of England, proves beyond question that the Danes came for booty, not for tillage, and looked on the island as a sojourning-place, not as a home.

The establishment of the strong rule of the Conqueror opened a new and happier æra for the harassed island. The feudal system being introduced, the Lordship of this exposed and dangerous outpost was committed to the famous seneschal, William FitzOsbern, the Duke's nearest personal friend, the prime mover in the conquest of England, who, by his vigorous counsels, had fixed the wavering resolve of William on the receipt of the news of the Confessor's death; and who had proved his chief agent, together with Odo of Bayeux, in the reduction of the conquered country, where the very name of 'the great oppressor,' so dear to the Normans, struck terror into the hearts of the English.†

We know not whether FitzOsbern ever set foot in his island fief. A chartulary of Carisbrooke Priory indeed ascribes to him the conquest of the island, but this may safely be regarded as a blunder. A district impoverished of men and means by a century or two of Danish ravages, was not likely to be in a position to think of withstanding its Norman lord. He erected a small priory at Carisbrooke, dependent on the Abbey of Lire (de Lyra), in the diocese of Evreux, of which he had been the founder, as well as of Corneilles, in which, still Norman at heart, he was buried by his own desire. The lordship passed

* Herod. vii. 235: ἔστι δὲ . . . νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων, ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφάτατος γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυνέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν.

† Freeman, 'Norman Conquest,' vol. iii. p. 324. 'Hunc Normannis carissimum Angliæ maximo terrori esse sciebat.'—Will. Pict. 149. 'Primus et maximus oppressor Anglorum.'—Orderic.

to his second son Roger, and on the defeat of his conspiracy escheated to the Crown.

The island was visited by William himself twice towards the close of his reign. It was here, in 1082, that his unlooked-for appearance dispersed the ambitious dreams of his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, as he was gathering the forces with which he was about to start for Rome, in the hope, encouraged by the utterances of soothsayers, of being chosen successor of Hildebrand when he should vacate the Papal throne. In the 'Aula Regia' of the island, while the assembled barons shrunk in religious dread from executing their master's command by 'laying hands on a consecrated bishop, William—the subtle mind of Lanfranc, it is said, suggesting the distinction'—himself arrested him as Earl of Kent; under which title, the remonstrances of the Bishop of Bayeux being unheeded, he was hurried off to Normandy, and kept prisoner in the castle of Rouen* till William's decease. The second visit was in 1087, on his last voyage from England to Normandy, not many months before his death. The lordship of the Isle of Wight, escheated to the Crown on the rebellion of the younger FitzOsbern, was in the early part of his reign granted by Henry I. to Richard de Redvers (de Ripariis), Earl of Devon, one of the five barons who had adhered unwaveringly to him during his struggle with his brother Robert. It remained in his lineal descendants through a long series of De Redvers and De Vernons, until the reign of Edward I., when Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle and Lady of Wight, who had outlived all her children and near kinsmen, sold it on her deathbed, at Stockwell, near London, in 1293, to the King for six thousand marks.

The Lords of the Isle of Wight ruled almost as petty sovereigns within their lordship. An examination of the 'Pleas of Court' and other similar authorities, proves that they enjoyed privileges of feudal service usually restricted to the Crown. Never were these rights more strenuously asserted than when, just as they were about to expire for ever, the lion-hearted Isabella de Fortibus was called upon to substantiate her claim before the King's Justices Itinerant to that 'which belonged to the crown of my Lord the King,' A.D. 1275. 'The heart,' writes Mr. Hillier, 'is touched with the picture of the lone woman, widowed and childless, struggling, the last of her race, to preserve in her own keeping the brightest part of the inheritance of her fathers.' We read with real satisfaction the sentence of the Justices, confirming Isabella in all her ancestral rights,

* Freeman, 'Norman Conquest,' vol. iv. p. 693.

which

which she enjoyed until her death undisturbed, except by the priors and monks of the various religious houses in the island, between whom and the Countess there was a perpetual feud.

Liable as the Isle of Wight was to inroad at all times, hostilities between England and France gave the signal for the commencement of predatory descents, which for three centuries hung over the unfortunate island in a cloud of perpetual menace, ever and anon bursting in a storm of devastation. The reigns of the Plantagenet Edwards, though fertile in alarms, do not record any serious invasion. The French were continually hovering about its coasts, and from time to time we hear of their landing and inflicting some damage. But the vigorous system of defence organized by Edward I., immediately on his becoming possessed of the lordship of the island, joined to the natural prowess of its men—'the island,' according to Camden, being 'not so well fortified by its rocks and castles as by its inhabitants, who are naturally warlike and courageous'—effectually prevented their making any lodgment there. When in 1340 the French had landed at St. Helen's Point in some force, and were making their way into the interior, they were attacked by a hastily-raised body of the islanders, headed by the Captain of the Isle, Sir Theobald Russell, of Yaverland—the ancestor of the noble house of Bedford—and were driven back to their ships with great loss, Russell himself falling in the moment of victory. Thirty years later, at the commencement of the feeble reign of Richard II., the French power was in the ascendant, and the island suffered grievously. The whole of the southern coast of England was insulted and plundered by the French fleet, which completely mastered the Isle of Wight, plundering and burning the towns of Newport, Francheville (Newtown), and Yarmouth, and desolating the whole country. Carisbrooke alone held out against the invaders, who here received a decisive check from the loss of their commander, and of a large body of men surprised in an ambuscade which compelled them to retire, after exacting a thousand marks from the pillaged islanders, the greater part of whom left the island for the mainland.*

The title of 'Lord of the Island'† sank in a sea of blood—the best blood of the Isle of Wight. The last who enjoyed it, Sir Edward Woodville, the brother of Elizabeth Woodville,

* 'Rolls of Parliament,' 2 Ric. II. A.D. 1378.

† The catalogue of the Lords of the Isle contains the names of Edmund, duke of York; the "good Duke Humphrey" of Gloucester; Richard, duke of York, father of Edward IV.; Edmund, duke of Somerset, and his son Henry, duke of Somerset; Lord Rivers, and his son Lord Scales.

the queen of Edward IV., was the leader of an ill-judged and disastrous attempt to strengthen the cause of the Duke of Brittany against Charles VIII. of France, with a force raised in his island lordship. A body of 400 yeomen, led by forty gentlemen of the isle, picturesquely accoutred in white coats with broad red crosses, set sail from St. Helen's, and having joined the Duke's forces, engaged the King's army under La Tremouille at St. Aubin's, July 20, 1488. La Tremouille gained a complete victory. Woodville's whole force, against whom the enemy's strength was chiefly directed, was cut to pieces. Only one boy, it is said, escaped, to carry the disastrous news to his native isle. It was long before the Isle of Wight recovered from this overwhelming blow. It had lost the flower of its manhood and youth, the heads to plan and the sinews to work; and there was scarcely a family, either of the gentry or commonalty, which had not personal reasons to deplore Woodville's chivalrous but foolhardy expedition.* So critical was the condition of the isle, that it engaged the attention of Parliament, by which an Act was passed the next year, prohibiting any one to hold lands, &c., of a higher annual value than ten marks, in order that the island, which is described in the preamble of the Act as 'of late decayed of people, desolate and not inhabited, the towns and villages let down, the fields dyked and made pasture for beasts,' so that by reason of the scantiness of the population 'the isle cannot be defended, but lieth open and ready to the hands of the King's enemies, as well of our ancient enemies of the realm of France and of other parties,'—might be again well inhabited and able to defend itself from invasion.

The disastrous issue of Woodville's expedition might have been expected to have completely crushed the impoverished island. But so great was the innate vigour of its population, that it soon recovered from the calamity, and in 1545 was able to take an energetic part in repelling the great French Armada, fitted out by Francis I., under the command of D'Annebault, for the invasion of England, whose first object was to obtain possession of the Isle of Wight, the occupation of which 'would be the prelude of an attack on Portsmouth, the destruction of the fleet, and the crippling of the naval power.'† The whole tale has been told by the graphic pen of Mr. Froude, and we refer our

* Henry VII. felt himself so seriously compromised by this expedition, that he addressed a letter to Charles VIII. exonerating himself from all complicity in it. We have Charles's reply ('State Papers, vol. vi. p. 9), accepting Henry's assurance that 'l'alée [the going] dudict feu de Scalles et de noz subgetz quil avoit meuez avecques luy en Bretagne estoit sans nostre sceu et conge, et a nostre tres grant desplaisance.'

† Froude, 'Hist. of England,' vol. iv. p. 417 *sq.*

readers to his 'History' for the narrative of the various unsuccessful attempts of the French to make themselves masters of the island; their landings at different points of the coast—Sea View, St. Helen's, Shanklin—and the undaunted spirit with which the islanders drove them back; their complete rout on Bembridge Down; and the fate of the heroic Chevalier D'Eulx and his watering party cut off by an ambuscade in Shanklin Chine.

In every projected invasion of England the occupation of the Isle of Wight formed part of the invader's plan. When the next great Armada, vaingloriously christened 'the Invincible,' set sail with the Papal blessing from the coasts of Spain, the first object of Medina Sidonia was to seize and fortify the Isle of Wight, as a basis of operations.* Elizabeth's Government was fully aware of the importance of the position, and issued orders for the garrisoning and protection of the island, ably carried out by the then Governor, the Queen's cousin, the energetic Sir George Carey. The whole population became an army: watches were posted on all the heights, with beacons ready to be fired on the first sight of the Spanish fleet: the neighbouring counties on the mainland were charged with the supply of men to aid in the defence of the island, and boats to convey them.† No precaution was omitted. The issue of the expedition is familiar to us all. No foreign soldier even attempted to set foot on the island, beneath whose chalk cliffs some of the severest encounters took place between the light English craft and the huge unwieldy Spanish galleons.

Although the Isle of Wight may look back proudly to the part played by her sons in this crisis of the nation's history, her internal condition was at that time far from prosperous. She was slowly emerging from a condition of the deepest depression under the stern but vigorous rule of Sir George Carey, who had succeeded the daring and unscrupulous Sir Edward Horsey, Leicester's confidant in his intrigue or secret marriage with Lady Douglas Sheffield, whose services as a privateer in the Channel, and with the Earl of Warwick at the disastrous siege of Havre, had been rewarded with the governorship of the Isle

* Motley, 'United Netherlands,' vol. ii. p. 468. Strada, 'De Bello Belgico,' p. 534.

† The island was distributed for purposes of defence into districts called 'centons.' There were ten such in 1583, each commanded by a leading landholder as 'centoneer,' having under him a 'vintoneer,' or lieutenant, and, besides his troop of from 100 to 200 men, a number of 'hobblers,' watchmen mounted on 'hobbies,' or small horses, to ride from place to place and give notice of the enemy's approach. See 'Lansdowne MSS.,' 40, xxiv. A.; 'Bibl. Reg. MSS.,' 18 D. iii.

of Wight.* Indeed the first years of Elizabeth's reign were a gloomy period for the nation at large, and few parts of England presented a more disastrous aspect than the Isle of Wight. The returns of the commission organized by the vigorous mind of Cecil still exist in the Public Record Office for three cantons of the island, and the picture is a melancholy one.

The whole island was depopulated and impoverished beyond conception. Newport, its capital, had been 'a great deal more than it is.' Whole streets and villages of artificers and others are described as 'void, and no sign of any housing.' In one parish, that of Arreton, twenty-three tenements were uninhabited. Yarmouth was reduced to a handful of houses, 'not past a dozen,' while in Newtown, which bore marks of having once been 'twice as good as Newport,' scarcely a single good house was standing.

The report of the state of religion† was not brighter. Of eleven parishes included in the return, there were but five in which 'service as by law appointed' was celebrated. At Yarmouth the benefice was unable to find a priest. At Binstead and Whippingham the parsons were non-resident, and the churches were served by a French curate. At Wootton a layman read the Epistle and Gospel, with the procession (the Litany) on Sundays and holidays. The saddest tale is that of St. Helen's. The encroachments of the sea had undermined the foundations of the church, which had fallen into such complete ruin that 'one might look in at one end and out at the other,' while there had been 'never a curate and little service' for many years past, so that 'the parishioners had been fain to bury their corpses themselves.' 'And yet,' adds the indignant commissioner, 'they pay nevertheless their tithes.' The position of St. Helen's, in close proximity to one of the chief naval roads of the South of England, where seamen of the Catholic nations were in the habit of touching for water and fresh provisions, rendered its ruined state a matter of national concernment. 'Foreign sailors,' writes Mr. George

* Sir Edward was the 'Ned Horsey, the ruffling cavalier of Arundel's,' of the picturesque narrative of the plot against Mary, in March 1556, disinterred by Mr. Froude from the Record Office. One part of this scheme was the betraying of the Isle of Wight and Hurst Castle to the French, by the governor, Uvedale. Froude, 'Hist.,' vol. vi. pp. 434, 438.

† When Archbishop Parker made a primary visitation of his diocese, some of the beneficed clergy were mechanics, others Romish priests disguised. Many churches were closed. A sermon was not to be heard in some places within a distance of twenty miles. To read, or at least so to read as to be intelligible and impressive, was a rare accomplishment. Even in London many churches were closed for want of ministers, and in the country it was not easy to provide a minister competent to baptize infants and inter the dead.—Marsden, 'Early Puritans,' p. 100. See also Neale's 'Puritans,' vol. i. c. iv. vi.; Strype's 'Parker,' p. 224.

Oglander, who makes the presentment, 'seeing the shameful using of the same, think that all other churches within the realm be like used, and so have both spoken and done shameful acts in our derision, and what they have said and made report of in their own country God knoweth. It is a gazing stock to all foreign nations.'

Of the internal condition of the island in the early part of the seventeenth century we have a graphic picture in the MS. memoirs of Sir John Oglander. This worthy knight, a loyalist to the backbone, was the representative of a family which first came into the island with Richard de Redvers* and settled at Nunwell, near Brading, which they have held in uninterrupted descent to the present day. On two visits paid to the island by Charles I., first as Prince in 1618, and afterwards as King to inspect the Scotch troops on their way to the Isle of Rhé, he was received by Sir John. This transient intercourse led to momentous results. His personal knowledge of Oglander, together with his reputation for loyalty, and an exaggerated confidence in his influence in the island, weighed much with Charles I. in choosing the Isle of Wight as a refuge after his escape from Hampton Court, and he was the last subject whom the unhappy monarch, still enjoying the semblance of freedom, honoured with a visit, Thursday, November 19, 1647. Oglander's loyalty cost him dear. He was torn from his beloved island by the Committee of Parliament, kept a prisoner in London for many years, and was eventually obliged to pay a large sum of money to obtain his discharge.

In the 'Memoirs' to which we have referred the worthy knight never wearies of descanting on the happy condition of the island in his youth, before 'peace and law had beggared them all;' when the hateful race of attorneys 'that of late hath made this their habitation and so by sutes undone the country,' was unknown; when 'money was as plenty in yeomen's purses as now in the best of the gentry,' who, 'full of money and out of debt,' dreamed away a calm and incurious existence,

'The world forgetting, by the world forgot;'

seldom or never going out of the island, 'making their wills when they went to London, thinking it like an East India

* The cradle of this family was the Castle of Orglandes, in the parish of Valognes, in the Department of La Manche. The Marquis of Orglandes, the chief of the French branch, was Member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1825. Peter de Oglander, chaplain to Richard de Redvers, became Dean of Christchurch Twynham, converted by his lord from a college of secular canons into an Augustinian priory. While we write we notice with regret the death without issue of the last Oglander of Nunwell.

voyage, supposing no trouble like to *travaile*,^{*} content to entrust their letters, when they had any, to a coneyman who came from London to buy rabbits.* He draws a pleasing picture of the accomplished Lord Southampton, so reasonably identified with 'the onlie begetter' of Shakspeare's Sonnets, when Governor, gathering the island gentry about him at his Manor House of Standen, and spreading around him the refining influence of his high character. Then, he wails, 'this island, full of knights and gentry beyond compare, was the Paradise of England, and now' (A.D. 1647, the period of Charles' incarceration) 'it is just like the other parts of the kingdom; a melancholy, deserted, sad place—no company, no resort, no neighbourly doings one of another. You may truly say *tempora mutantur*.'

We have now arrived at the period when the Isle of Wight assumes its chief interest in the popular mind in connection with the flight and imprisonment of Charles I. But the story is too familiar to justify repetition, and if told in any detail it would carry us far beyond our prescribed limits. The events of the next twelve months are a familiar portion of English history. The unfortunate monarch's gradually restricted liberty; the growing disrespect and inattention to his personal comfort; the hateful bigotry which refused him the ministrations of his own chaplains and forced on him the services of bitter polemics; the abortive schemes of deliverance, and attempts at escape; his daily life in what Andrew Marvel styles 'Carisbrooke's narrow case'; the literary pursuits with which he occupied the weary hours of confinement; the mimic court held by the 'grey dis-crowned monarch' at the Grammar-school House at Newport during the discussion of the proposed treaty; his rude seizure by Major Ralph in the name of the army; his hurried night-journey across the island to Worsley's Tower, and thence to the gloomy fortress of Hurst, December 1st, 1648,—all have been often narrated, but never with such fulness of detail as by the late Mr. George Hillier in his interesting little work, 'Charles the First in the Isle of Wight.'

It is not our purpose to narrate the captivity of the Princess Elizabeth and her brother, the promising young Prince Henry, who, with brutal disregard to their feelings, were removed by

* Hares were not introduced into the island till the sixteenth century, when Sir Edward Horsey, the governor, promised the gift of a lamb in exchange for every live hare. Foxes are a far more recent introduction, dating from the present century, when the animal, previously unknown, was brought in by 'a person more fanciful than kind to his country,' as Bishop Wilson says of the introducer of magpies into the Isle of Man, for the sake of hunting. It was a strange old boast of the Isle of Wight that 'there was neither fox, lawyer, nor friar in it.'

order of Parliament to a place full to them of melancholy memories. Within a month, Elizabeth, constitutionally a sickly child, deformed in person, and crushed by a premature load of agony too great for her susceptible nature, had rejoined her beloved father. Her body lay in state for sixteen days, and was honourably interred in Newport Church in a manner befitting her royal parentage, the mayor and aldermen attending in their robes and insignia of office. An exquisitely beautiful recumbent statue of the Princess, by Baron Marochetti, was erected by Queen Victoria in 1856 'as a token of respect for her virtues and of sympathy for her misfortunes.' Her little brother, the Duke of Gloucester, remained two years longer in the castle—which must have been a dreary abode to him, deprived of the company of his 'sweet sister Patience'—until he received Cromwell's permission to leave England, March 1653.

With these events the history of the Isle of Wight virtually closes. Charles II. paid it more than one visit (once against his will, being forced to land at Puckaster by a violent gale); and honoured Yarmouth with his presence, as the guest, at his newly-erected red brick mansion (now the Bugle Inn), of Sir Robert Holmes, an Irish soldier of fortune, who, after some years of service under foreign Powers, exchanged the land for the sea, and became a naval commander of more celebrity than honourable fame; and who, for his questionable achievements, hardly to be distinguished from piracy, had been rewarded by his not over-scrupulous royal master with the governorship of the island. At the time of the Revolution of 1688, great fears of a landing of the Dutch fleet were entertained, and hasty orders were issued to maintain a strict watch and secure the defences of the island. But the island annals present nothing of any public interest until our own times, when we have seen it selected by our Queen for her marine residence;* and have watched the creation at Osborne of a true English home of culture and refinement, the centre of the purest domestic affections. In other generations it will be regarded as, perhaps the chief glory of this island, that it was the loved home of the Prince Consort, and

* The old name of Osborne, according to Worsley, was Ansterborne. It anciently belonged to the old island family of Bowerman, whence it passed by marriage to the family of Arney, and by purchase in 1549 to the Lovibonds, and from them to the Manns. Sir J. Oglander writes, 'Osborne was built by Thomas Lyvibone, and sold by his sonne to Captain Mann, and hath been the ruin of the family. Some buyldes and some destroyeth.' The heiress of the Manns married a Blachford, of Fordingbridge. The mansion at first occupied by her Majesty, but since entirely pulled down, was erected by R. Pope Blachford, Esq., towards the close of the last century. The estate was purchased by the Queen of Lady Isabella Blachford.

of the purest and most devoted to duty of all British sovereigns—unsurpassed as Wife, Mother, and Queen.

The Parliamentary history of the Isle of Wight opens a curious page in our representative annals. Up to the passing of the Reform Bill it contributed no fewer than six members to the House of Commons—half the number returned by the whole of Yorkshire, as many as Middlesex including London—two for each of the boroughs of Newport, Newtown, and Yarmouth. The whole number of nominal electors fell short of a hundred, the seats being really at the disposal of one or two of the leading families of the island. When in 1295 Edward I. convened the Parliament which is considered by Hume* 'the real and true epoch of the House of Commons,' Yarmouth and Newport each sent a burgess.† But the right slept for three centuries, none being returned till 1585. At this time Elizabeth, who felt all a Tudor's hatred of Parliamentary interference, had adopted the policy of her brother and sister, and made a large increase to the numbers of the House of Commons. The insignificance of Yarmouth and Newtown afford a proof of the truth of Hallam's statement‡ that 'a very large proportion' of these new accessions were 'petty boroughs evidently under the influence of the Crown or peerage.' Anything like an independent exercise of the franchise was unknown from the very first. The right of appointing one of their members was at once made over by the burgesses of Newport to the energetic 'Captain of the Isle,' Sir George Carey, as a token of gratitude for the restoration of their privileges. At Yarmouth both the representatives were named by him. A letter of his to the Corporation, September 10th, 1601, is printed by Albin,§ desiring that they should 'assemble themselves together, and with their united consent send up unto him (as they heretofore had done) their Writt with a Blank, wherein he might inscribe the names of such persons as he shall think the fittest to discharge that Deutie on their Behoofe.'

Carey's successor in the Governorship, Henry Wriothesley, Lord Southampton, took good care to maintain the prerogatives of his office. We have some interesting autograph letters lying before us which throw a curious light on the history of elections at this period. One directed to the burgesses of Yarmouth, expresses the surprise and indignation of his Lordship at their having ventured to promise a vacant seat without consulting his wishes, and 'by waie of prevention and cunninge provided rather to make excuse than to satisfy his reasonable requeste.' 'Your

* 'Hist. of England,' vol. ii. p. 281, c. xiii.

† 'Rolls of Parliament.'

‡ Hallam, 'Constit. Hist.,' i. 264-5.

§ Albin, 'History of the Isle of Wight,' p. 354.

forehand promise,' writes the indignant Earl, 'I shall find meanes to preuent, and shall have occasion to note your little loue and respecte to me, your countryman and frend.' Such a menace was not without its effect. At the next election Lord Southampton's son, Thomas Wriothesley,* made application to his 'very louing frendes' for one of the seats, stating that, though his Lordship declined to dispose of more than one of the burgess-ships, yet he would 'take it as a great respect done unto him' if the town would 'willingly doe him the favour' to name his son for the second. As a matter of course the Governor's son was returned, and sat for the borough until his father's death removed him to the Upper House.

The plea that has been not unjustly urged for these 'pocket boroughs' that, however contrary to the theory of popular representation, they proved sometimes practically beneficial in opening the door to rising young statesmen who might otherwise have found it difficult to obtain admission to the House of Commons, was exemplified in the Isle of Wight. It was thus that Canning was first brought into Parliament by Pitt in 1793, as member for Newtown. And the Duke of Wellington, then 'General Sir Arthur Wellesley,' entered the English House of Commons in 1808 as the representative of Newport, his colleague being 'Henry, Lord Palmerston.' Other names of note illustrate the election rolls of the Isle of Wight boroughs. The noble and pure-hearted Falkland sat for Newport, and Philip, Lord Lisle, the gallant brother of Algernon Sidney, for Yarmouth, in the Long Parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, when plain John Churchill, and the quondam tailor's boy of Niton—brave old Sir Thomas Hopson, the hero of Vigo Bay—appear among the representatives of Newtown.

The ceremony of election in the Isle of Wight boroughs was a very simple and agreeable one. Of course a dinner constituted its main feature. At such periods the dilapidated Court-house at Newtown—the proceedings at Yarmouth were substantially the same—was the scene of unwonted festivity. At twelve o'clock the burgesses assembled for an oyster luncheon, for which the lessee of the river was bound to find the materials. Before this repast was well digested, at about 3 P.M. the company sat down to a plentiful cold dinner, at the close of which the chair-man drew from his pocket a card bearing the names of the two new members. These he read aloud, and at once proposed their

* Wriothesley's signature to this letter, 'Thomas Risley,' deserves notice as a curious example of phonetic spelling, and a proof of the lax unsettled orthography of surnames in the sixteenth century.

health as their new representatives; a toast which was usually drunk 'with the utmost enthusiasm.'

We have already spoken of the first introduction of Christianity into the island by Wilfrid. The Norman Conquest found the island divided into parishes, and churches built; and the new settlers, friends of civilization and the Church, erected others.

The ancient island parishes, though now mostly subdivided, seem for the most part to have been laid out, like the rapes of Sussex, by drawing a straight line, or stretching a rope, from sea to sea. They formed long narrow strips, with the church and village in the centre. The parish of Newchurch, divided across its middle by the steep chalk backbone of the island, including the populous towns of Ryde at one extremity and Ventnor at the other, survived in unbroken unity to our own day, and has only recently assumed a more manageable form.

Nonconformity found here a congenial home. Foreign Protestants made it their resort, and seafaring men of all nations passed there, which, says Neale,* 'occasioned the ceremonies not to be so strictly observed as in other places, their trade and commerce requiring a latitude.' This looseness of observance was very offensive to the strict disciplinarianism of Archbishop Parker: 'a Parker, indeed,' in Fuller's words, 'careful to keep the fence and shut the gates of discipline against all such night stealers as would invade the same;' and one of the last public acts in which he was employed (1575) was a visitation of the Isle of Wight, which he carried out with such extreme severity, ejecting the ministers who refused conformity and closing their churches, that the inhabitants made complaint to his bitter enemy the Earl of Leicester, who had established himself the champion of the Puritans. His representations had so much influence over Elizabeth's vain and capricious mind—irritated by a sense of the disapprobation of her infatuated conduct towards her favourite, which the Archbishop had been unable entirely to conceal—that she issued immediate order for the reversal of Parker's injunctions, and when he next appeared at Court by royal command, behaved to him with such outrageous rudeness, that the aged prelate left the Court stung to the quick, with a resolve that he would never visit it again.

The churches of the Isle of Wight, though often eminently picturesque, both in position and outline, are not remarkable for architectural beauty. In fact it was too remote to be reached by more than the fringe of the wave of architectural progress; while

* 'Puritans,' vol. i. p. 225.

a constant dread of the hostile descents of the French and their frequent ravages kept the inhabitants in too depressed a condition to have either the means or the heart for the erection of costly buildings. They are usually long, low buildings, without clerestory, and very often without chancel-arch, frequently consisting of two equal aisles or bodies, with no constructional mark to distinguish them, or to define the site of the parochial altar. The best example of this arrangement is the Church of Godshell, one of the largest and finest in the Island. The towers are mostly low and square; but that of Carisbrooke is a good work of the Perpendicular period, recalling in its outline the plainer Somersetshire examples. The same model has been followed at Godshell, Chale, and Gatcombe; but, picturesque as they are, even these cannot be called good works of art. Fragments of Norman work linger here and there. The best example is the tiny church of Yaverland—the loved of landscape painters, as it groups with the gables of the Jacobean manor-house beneath its shadowing elms—where the south door and chancel-arch are good specimens of the barbaric richness of the style. Wootton, Northwood, and Shalfleet, also have Norman doors, and the last-named church the huge stump of an ill-used Norman tower. The best architectural works in the island, at Calbourne, Shalfleet, and Arreton, belong to the Early English period. The later styles present nothing which needs comment, though there is hardly one of the island churches which is not worth turning aside to see. Most of them are charmingly placed, very frequently, as at Godshell, Newchurch, and Motteston, crowning an almost precipitous eminence, and are picturesque with the picturesqueness of a building which has grown into its present form by gradual additions, fused by time into one harmonious whole. The church of St. Lawrence, in the Undercliff, has a wide celebrity, from its diminutive size. Its claim, however, to be the smallest church in England was, even before the enlargement, contested by some of the churches of the Lake District, and cannot now, small as it is, be sustained.*

The churchyard of Brading furnishes one of the most beautiful pieces of memorial poetry in the language, rendered familiar by Dr. Callcott's musical setting, commencing—

‘Forgive, blest shade, the tributary tear.’

It is to the memory of a Mrs. Berry, and is ascribed to the Rev. John Gill, some time curate of Newchurch. In the

* Before its enlargement, the dimensions of St. Lawrence Church were 20 feet long by 12 feet broad, and 6 feet high to the eaves.

churchyard of Carisbrooke may still be read a yet more famous epitaph, which thirty years ago gave rise to the case of *'Breeks v. Woolfrey,'** in the Court of Arches, and procured the decision, by the highest Ecclesiastical Court, that prayers for the dead are not expressly prohibited by the authoritative documents of the Church of England.

From the churches the transition is natural to the clergy who served them : and here, though we find some names of note, and a few which the English Churchman will ever regard with reverence and love, the list is but meagre. Brighthorn Rectory is honourably distinguished as having given to the English Church three prelates who will not easily be forgotten—the saintly Ken, whose favourite walk is still pointed out in the lovely parsonage garden ; that highly-gifted prelate, from the shock of whose death, felt almost as a personal sorrow in every part of the country, England is hardly yet recovering, beyond dispute the greatest Bishop the English Church has seen for a century and a half—the late Bishop of Winchester ; and the present Bishop of Salisbury. Brighthorn, also, during his son's residence here as rector, was a favourite home of the eloquent and philanthropic Wilberforce in that 'calm old age on which he entered with the elasticity of youth and the simplicity of childhood, climbing with delight to the top of the chalk downs, or walking long on the unfrequented shore.'† Brading, of which he was curate, and Arreton are inseparably connected with Legh Richmond's popular narratives—'The Young Cottager' and 'The Dairyman's Daughter.' The large-hearted Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hook, who, as Vicar of Leeds, first taught the Church of England how to deal effectively with the huge populations massed together in our great manufacturing towns, commenced his clerical life as curate of Whippingham, of which his uncle, Dean Hook of Worcester, was rector. In the old churchyard of Bonchurch, studded with purple violets, beneath a monument realizing his own 'Shadow of the Cross,' within sight of the rock-strewn slope of Eastend, the scene of the 'Old Man's Home,' reposes William Adams, who, though not strictly belonging to their body, may be permitted to rank among the clergy of the island, which will

* The epitaph in question ran as follows: 'Spes mea Christus. Pray for the soul of J. Woolfrey. "It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead." 2 Mac. xii. 46. J. W. obiit 5 Jan. 1838. Æt. 50.' The judgment was delivered by the late Sir Herbert Jenner. The inscription on Bishop Barrow's monument near the entrance of the Cathedral of St. Asaph, 'O vos transeuntes in domum Domini in domum orationis, orate pro conservo vestro ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini,' is a familiar example of the same primitive practice.

† 'Life' by his sons.

always.

always be affectionately associated with his name. By his side lies the brilliant but unhappy John Sterling, better known for his biographers Julius Hare and Thomas Carlyle, than for anything he himself achieved, who died at Ventnor in 1844, asking almost with the last breath for the old Bible he so often used in the cottages at his Hurstmonceaux Curacy. To go back a few years we must not forget that Wood, the mathematician, who, coming up to college so poor that the story goes he was fain to work his problems by the light of the stair-lamp, achieved the high positions of Master of St. John's and Dean of Ely, died Rector of Freshwater, as was also the father of Dr. Robert Hooke, the able, but whimsical and penurious Gresham Professor of whom old Aubrey has so many amusing tales to tell. A cousin of Izaak Walton became Rector of Wootton in 1767. He was a man of kindred spirit with his celebrated namesake, and his memory is still cherished as of one of considerable theological attainments, polished manners, and a kind humble heart; manifesting primitive piety, and a heavenly mind;* passing his time among his books, in cultivating choice flowers, and in friendly intercourse with his parishioners and near neighbours. Carisbrooke reckons among its vicars Alexander Ross, a Scotch schoolmaster, chaplain to Charles I.,† one of those laborious writers who compile huge tomes *de omni scibili*, unrelieved by a single scintillation of genius and only rescued from oblivion by his name forming a tag to one of Butler's triple rhymes:—

'There was an ancient sage philosopher,
Who had read Alexander Ross over.'—*Hudibras*.

* His father was chaplain to Bishop Morley, of Winchester, by whom he was appointed Rector of Brighton. When the son became Rector of Wootton, the family came over to inspect the church and rectory. The roads being quite impassable for a carriage, the waggon employed on the glebe farm was put in requisition for the transit, the old rector sitting in his arm-chair, the ladies reclining, like Jane Austen's mother on her journey to her new home, on beds and sacks; the young rector riding on horseback. At this period early service at 4 A.M. during the harvest month was attended by the farmers and their labourers. The Waltons, in common with the clergy generally of their day, farmed their own glebe, the unmarried farm-servants living in the parsonage with the household. A gay posy was *en règle* for the Sunday costume of the parson, which when service began was laid on the reading desk.

† It is a common calumny, reported again and again till it has gained currency and belief, that the living of Carisbrooke, together with those of Niton, Whitwell, Godshill, and others, was extorted from Charles I. by the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, as the price of the gift of their college plate in his necessities. Dates disprove the whole story. These advowsons were given to the college by the King on the intercession of Henrietta Maria, who, as Queen Consort, was official patroness of the college, Nov. 8, 1636. The so-called 'loan' of the plate took place six years afterwards, Jan. 5, 1642.

His

His chief literary achievement was the continuation of Raleigh's 'History of the World,' Mezentius-like attaching a lifeless corpse to a living body.* Calbourne was the benefice with which, just before his death, Edward VI. rewarded Nicholas Udall, the Eton Master—the 'plagosus Orbilius' of poor Thomas Tusser †—for his share in the translation of the 'Paraphrases' of Erasmus, which had not undeservedly gained him ‡ a stall at Windsor the year before. May we hope Udall proved more merciful to the Isle of Wight parishioners than to his Eton scholars.

The Isle of Wight has not been fertile in native celebrities. Cole, the Provost of Eton and Dean of St. Paul's, the 'Vicar of Bray' of his day, changing his faith with every change of those in authority, the preacher of the sermon when Cranmer was burnt, was a native of Godshill. The two Jameses, uncle and nephew, once well-known as scholars, controversial divines, bibliophilists, and antiquarians, were born at Newport. The elder, Dr. Thomas James, assisted Sir Thomas Bodley materially in the formation of the library at Oxford that immortalizes his name, of which he was the first keeper, and, in 1605, drew up the first catalogue.§ His nephew Robert did like service to Selden in illustrating the Arundel Marbles, and to Sir Robert Cotton in the arrangement of his famous MS. library. Newport at the same time furnished Elizabeth with three of her most trusted servants—'one,' as she used to say, 'for her soul, one for her body, and one for her goods,' all sons of tradesmen—Dr. Edes, Dean of Worcester, her Chaplain; Dr. James, her Physician in Ordinary; and Sir Thomas Fleming, her Solicitor. They owed their promotion to the influence of Ursula, Lady Walsingham, the widow of Richard Worsley. Sir Thomas Fleming, whose base sycophancy, and the readiness with which

* Ross was also the author of *Πανσέβεια*, 'A View of all Religions,' 'Virgilius Evangelizans,' and a host more of long since forgotten works.

†
 'From Paules I went, to Eaton sent,
 To learne streight waies, the Latin phraies,
 When fiftie three stripes given to me
 At once I had.
 For fault but small or none at all
 It came to pass thus beat I was.
 See Udall see the mercie of thee
 To mee poore lad !'

—*Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandrie.*

‡ 'The "Paraphrase" and Notes of Erasmus, in my judgment, was the most important book even of his day. We must remember that it was almost legally adopted by the Church of England.'—Milman, 'Latin Christianity,' vol. vi. p. 624.

§ Camden, speaking of him in his lifetime, calls him 'a learned man and true lover of books wholly dedicated to learning; who is now laboriously searching the libraries of England, and proposeth that for the public good which will be for the great benefit of England.'

he lent himself as a tool of the Crown in its illegal exactions, raised him to the high place of Lord Chief Justice of England, was the son of a mercer. Fleming is chiefly, and that infamously, notorious for his judgment in the great case of Impositions, fully as important in the opinion of the late Lord Campbell as 'Hampden's case of Ship-money, though not so celebrated, from having been long acquiesced in to the destruction of public liberty,' by which it was laid down that the king might impose whatever duties he pleased on imports. James I., on hearing of this judgment, declared that he was 'a judge to his heart's content.'

The most truly great name in the annals of the Isle of Wight is that of the regenerator of public-school education in England, who first taught schoolmasters to look upon their pupils as moral and spiritual beings with characters to be moulded and souls to be trained, Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, who was born, June 13th, 1795, at Slatwoods in East Cowes, where his father was Collector of Customs. Dean Stanley records in his biography that shoots of a great willow-tree, still remaining here, were transplanted by Arnold to his successive homes at Laleham, Rugby, and Fox How.† The Isle of Wight has also given to England one of the chief female educators of our day, Miss Elizabeth Sewell, whose writings have exercised so beneficial an influence over the minds and hearts of the young, not here only, but in America and wherever the English language is known.

Although the island cannot claim him as a native, it has been so long the chosen home of the Laureate, that it will ever be inseparably connected with the name of Tennyson. Farringford, 'where,' to quote his own words,

'Far from noise and smoke of town,
I watch the twilight falling brown,
All round a careless ordered garden,
Close to the ridge of a noble down ;'

and

'Groves of pine on either hand,
To break the blasts of winter, stand ;
And further, on the hoary channel,
Tumbles a breaker on chalk and sand ;'—

* Fleming purchased the monastic properties of Carisbrooke and Quarr on easy terms. Sir J. Oglander records with one of his characteristic groans :—'Sir H. Fleming bought Quarr for nothing. So you may see that great abbey of Quarr, founded by Baldwin Ryvers, is come now to the posterities of a merchant of Newporle. O tempora ! O mores !'

† 'Slatwoods,' writes Dr. Arnold to his sister, Mrs. Buckland, 'was deeply interesting. I thought of what Fox How might be to my children forty years hence. But Fox How cannot be to them what Slatwoods is to me—the only home of my childhood.'—Arnold's 'Life and Correspondence,' vol. ii. p. 46.

nestles among its noble trees—not pines only—in a daffodil bestrewn park, beneath the shelter of the huge chalk down that towers between it and Freshwater Bay. The whole south-eastern coast of the island lies here stretched out to the eye, with its wide sweeping bays and projecting headlands, ending in the grand embattled face of St. Catherine's Down crowned by its little mediæval lighthouse.

The only independent monastic foundation in the Isle of Wight was that erected at Quarr by Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon and Exeter, the second Lord of Wight of that stock, in 1132, among the oak coppices that fringe the undulating shores of the Solent to the north-west of Ryde. The site of the new abbey derived its name from the quarries of freshwater limestone, the excellence of which as a building stone had been discovered in very early times, and which, by the Conqueror's grant, confirmed by the Red King (with an amusing stipulation telling of the Norman love of the chase, limiting digging for stones to spots where the thicket was low enough for the horns of a passing stag to be seen), had furnished materials to Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, for the erection of his cathedral, and subsequently to Stigand when he transferred his see from Selsea to Chichester. Quarr was a Cistercian abbey, 'the daughter of Savigny,' and one of the earliest of that name in England.

The church of Quarr was the burial-place of its founder and the various members of the family. Hither, too, when her strangely chequered life ended, were brought the remains of the Princess Cecily, the third daughter of Edward IV.—'a lady not so fortunate as fair,' writes Hall—from her manor-house of East Standen on St. George's Down, where, after the death of her first husband, Lord Wells, and the failure of the attempts to wed her to the heir of the Scottish Crown, she lived 'not in great wealth' with her second husband, Sir John Kyme of the Lincolnshire family of that name, whom, says Fuller, she married 'rather for comfort than credit.' But neither noble nor royal memories availed to save the abbey from destruction. The work of demolition begun by its first purchaser, one Mills, a tradesman of Southampton, was carried on by Sir Thomas Fleming, and has been completed almost in our own day. The fragments of the buildings now remaining are too scanty and too much mutilated to afford any sufficient clue to the style or arrangements of the fabric.

A few cells of the great Norman abbeys—Alien Priories, as they came to be called when Normans and Englishmen were no longer subjects of the same ruler—were dotted over the island. Diminutive little establishments these, supporting a prior and one

one or two monks, who tilled the lands and transmitted the profits of their farming to their Lord Abbot beyond seas. Carisbrooke was the chief of these miniature foundations, assigned by Fitz Osbern to his Abbey of Lire. Appuldurcombe, founded by Isabella de Fortibus as a cell of Montebourg, passed by marriage with Anne Leigh the heiress of the lessee, herself once attached to the Court as lady-in-waiting,* to Henry VIII.'s boyish friend, page to his brother Prince Arthur, James Worsley. Sir James's son Richard erected a large gabled house on the site of the priory, at which, in 1538, he received his father's friend, Henry VIII., accompanied by Lord Cromwell. This house was replaced by the present stately Corinthian mansion, standing in the midst of a park laid out by 'Capability Brown,' in the early part of the last century, which, after becoming the shrine of the collection of pictures, statues, and antiquities forming the celebrated 'Museum Worsleianum' gathered by Sir Richard during his voyages in the Mediterranean and the Levant, has passed into other hands and only escaped demolition by being converted into a college.

Carisbrooke Castle was from the earliest times the stronghold of Wight. Very few of the military ruins of England surpass it in picturesque beauty and architectural interest. Its situation is striking, crowning a round-headed outlier of chalk, looking out over the broad, well-watered valley of Buccombe (Beaecombe). The shattered walls of the keep, perfect in their circumference, rise to a still greater elevation, being constructed on one of those huge conical mounds, dating from primæval times, which formed the 'arx' or 'acropolis' of our ancient fortresses; the *burh* of the earliest settlers. The finest feature of the exterior is the noble entrance gateway, erected by Edward IV.'s brother-in-law, Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, and bearing his arms on its face. The Governor's Lodgings—the residence of Charles I. during the early months of his captivity, and the scene of his first abortive attempt at escape, and in which his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, died—preserve, amid later additions and tasteless alterations, the shell of the Hall of Baldwin de Redvers, and the little chapel of Isabella de Fortibus, converted by Lord Cutts into a grand staircase. The Elizabethan apartments to the left of the entrance, to which Charles was removed for greater security, have fallen into complete ruin. The window usually shown as that by which the King attempted

* Lady Anne Worsley was one of the last pilgrims to the shrine of St. Iago at Compostella, once so fashionable a resort for English ladies. She carried with her a large train of female companions, old and young, some of whom Sir J. Oglander had seen and conversed with.

to escape, owes its celebrity to the invention of local guides. But it is much more picturesque than the true one, and answers the purpose of visitors and showmen just as well. Baldwin de Redver's famous well, with its donkey working, turnspit-like, in a large wooden wheel, is too characteristic a feature of Carisbrooke Castle, and too universally famous, to be altogether passed over.* The tilt-yard where Charles, and afterwards his children, whiled away their weary hours at bowls, and the stone-faced outworks, constructed on the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, by Giambelli,† 'a subtle Mantuan,' the author of the successful plan for destroying Parma's bridge at Antwerp with fireships, are rich in historical memories.

Few objects are more pleasing to the eye, as one wanders through the Isle of Wight, than the noble old greystone gabled manor-houses, now almost without exception degraded to the rank of farm-houses. One of the most picturesque of these, both in outline and position, is that of Motteston. This was the abode of the ancient family of Cheke, from which sprang Sir John Cheke, immortalized by Milton as the tutor of Edward VI.,‡ and the reviver of Greek learning at the University of Cambridge. Sir John's sister, Mary Cheke, became the wife of his pupil, Cecil Lord Burghley.

A little beyond Motteston, to the west, is the manor-house of Brook, preserving some traces of its antiquity amidst the splendid additions made to it by its present owner, who here received the liberator of Italy—Garibaldi—on his visit to England in 1864. In 1499 its then owner, Dame Joanna Bowerman, entertained Henry VII., who was so much pleased with his entertainment that he presented his hostess with his drinking horn, and made her a grant of a fat buck from his forest of Parkhurst yearly.

Old beliefs and superstitions, though fast passing away, still linger on among the country folks. Older people have well-accredited stories of fairies to tell, though the jealous little people are no longer to be seen in their former haunts, having fled before the intrusion of strangers. The Isle of Wight fairies, unlike their kinsfolk in the New Forest, were all beneficent. Instead of mis-

* Our readers will remember how the brothers Smith, when describing Yamen's fall, borrow a simile from this celebrated well :—

'And his head, as he tumbled, went nickety-nock,

Like a pebble in Carisbrooke well,'—*Rejected Addresses*.

† Motley's 'History of the United Netherlands,' vol. i. p. 190; vol. ii. p. 486.

‡

'Thou soul of Sir John Cheke,

Who taughtest Cambridge and King Edward Greek.'

—*Milton, Sonnet xi.*

Edward VI., according to Fuller, used to say of his tutors: 'Randolph, the German, spoke honestly; Sir John Cheke talked merrily; Dr. Coxe solidly; and Sir Anthony Cooke weighingly.'

leading travellers, drawing them into bogs and quagmires and making themselves merry over their mishaps, the 'little ladies' were wont to show benighted wanderers on the Downs the right way home, open gates for them, and perform other kindly services. They were often seen in their bright-coloured glistening attire, dancing on the smooth turf of the hill-side, or among the ruins of Quarr, one of their most favourite haunts, to music of the most entrancing sweetness. They were not an idle people, but with their own hands hollowed out their subterranean halls—one such used to be pointed out in a high bank overshadowed with ancient thorns, on the side of Arreton Down—by the aid of tiny spades and shovels. If any of these miniature tools were broken they were left outside to be mended by the farm-servant, who never failed to find on the spot next morning a heap of delicious little cakes made by fairy-hands, as payment for his service. Sometimes when they had any larger work of excavation on hand they would borrow the farmers' tools, never omitting to pay the hire of them in elfin confectionery. The New Forest fairy, Lawrence, who is still believed to hold lazy folks by his benumbing spell, does not seem to have crossed the water. Instead of the Hampshire proverb 'Lawrence has got him,' the local saying in the Isle of Wight with regard to any one suffering from a fit of idleness is, 'He has got the Isle of Wight fever.' Laziness is thus regarded as the physical result of the enervating climate, and the natural takes the place of the supernatural.

Of course every ancient manor-house had its ghost. The most terrible was that of the suicide, Sir Tristram Dillington, at Knighton. His shadowy form has been seen by persons yet alive wandering over the deserted terraced gardens of his demolished mansion, holding his head in his hand. The spirit of a new-born child, its long white clothes swaying in the night-wind, has scared many a belated pedestrian at the stile leading into Marvell Copse. Another ghost was in the habit of presenting itself at house-doors as a mendicant soliciting alms, revealing himself in paralysing power to those who sent him away unrelieved. Many a sturdy tramp has secured immediate and liberal attention to his demands by the fear that if refused he would assume a ghostly form of terror, and so stiffen the joints of the hard-hearted one that they could never be bent again. Portraits often stepped out of their frames and walked about the house at dead of night. At Wootton Parsonage the ghost of Dr. Thomas Lisle, a former rector, descended from the grand old family of the De Insulas, rustled down the staircase in his sweeping silk gown and cassock at twelve o'clock. The uneasy spirit of the 'wicked

'wicked Queen Eleanor,' whom tradition connects with the island, used to be seen wandering with wringing hands through the oak wood that bore her name—'Queen Eleanor's Grove'—near Quarr. Tales of hidden treasure also still cling to the abbey ruins. It is barely fifty years since search was made for 'a gold coffin' believed to be buried there. Gold, indeed, did reward the searchers; but it was only the golden tresses of some long-departed fair one, whose nameless stone coffin was violated, and her remains dispersed.

The name of the village of Godshill preserves the still current tradition that the parish church, one of the first founded in the island, was to have been built in the valley, but that unseen hands—believed to be those of angels—every night undid the work of the previous day, and carried the stones to the summit of the green knoll, where, conspicuous for miles around, the sacred edifice now stands.

Old customs and ceremonies still linger. At Shrovetide parties of boys and girls go about 'a-shroving,' that is, begging for something to eat and drink, or some small dole in money at the various houses they visit, chanting the rude refrain;—

'I be come a-shroving, a-shroving,

A bit of bread or a bit of cheese, or a bit of good fat bacon;

A pancake or a truffle cheese, or a bit of your own baking;

I'd rather have than not at all, a bit of your own baking, &c.

If the house-door remains shut to their request, they leave it with a volley of stones and clods.

At Yarmouth, on New Year's Day, the children used to parade the town singing a snatch of old world verse, so pretty as to be worth preserving:—

'Wassail, wassail to your town,
The cup is white, and the ale is brown;
The cup is made of the ashen tree,
And so is the ale of good barley.
Little maid, little maid, turn the pin,
Open the door and let me in;
God be here, and God be there,
We wish you all a happy new year.'

Old women go about a-gooding on St. Thomas's Day, and at Christmas 'the Mummers' present themselves at the door, decked out with tawdry finery and tinsel. The rude drama they act is, in the main, the same found in most parts of England, grossly interpolated with modern allusions, representing a fight between St. George and the Moslem.

Some of the old customs at funerals were long preserved here, and perhaps have not yet died out. Sprigs of rosemary, as at
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the funeral in Hogarth's 'Harlot's Progress,' were handed round to the mourners before the corpse left the dwelling. Each carried one, and at the conclusion of the service dropped them on the coffin in the grave. Cakes flavoured with spice and rosemary were handed round with the sprigs, and the day succeeding the funeral half-a-dozen wrapped in white linen were left at the clergyman's house. Weddings were frequently celebrated on Sunday mornings before service. When the ceremony was over, the happy pair separated, and the division of the sexes in church being still maintained, the bride quietly stepped across to her usual seat on the women's side, the bridegroom taking his own among the men. We question whether after so engrossing a ceremony the newly-married pair could have given much account of the sermon.

In consequence of the badness of the roads, wheel-carriages formerly scarcely existed in the island. Everybody who travelled at all travelled on horseback; 'Madam,' the rector's wife, sitting behind the well-bewigged divine on the pillion, with as much composure as 'Gammer' from the farm with her basket of butter and eggs. A single one-horse chaise at Newport was, a century since, the only vehicle for hire in the whole island. The driver walked at his horse's head, leading his animal by a leather-strap. When any of the Newport tradesmen's wives had occasion to make use of this vehicle, it was always—so true to nature is Cowper's Mrs. Gilpin—to avoid observation and ill-natured comment, driven a little way out of the town for the parties to get in. When, in 1758,* an enterprising landlord of the 'Bugle' set up a post-chaise, the wise men of the town shook their heads at so great an extravagance, portending his speedy ruin.

And now to turn to the provincialisms of the island. A number of fine old words, familiar to us in Shakespeare and other earlier poets, survive in the common speech of the people, though, alas! not so frequent as they once were. The boys still 'miche' (play truant), and set up 'gally-crows' in the field to 'gally' (scare away) the birds, and talk of the jay and magpie as 'prankit' (variegated). The labourer takes his 'dew-bit' (the first light breakfast), puts on his 'stroggs' (leggings), and repairs to the 'barton' (strawyard), to look after the 'mud calves' (weaned calves), and after he has 'tighted the heft of his zull' (fastened the handle of his plough), climbs the 'shute' (steep ascent, *chute* Fr.) at the top of the 'butt' (a small enclosed

* This was the year in which the first private carriage was set up in Manchester by some specially luxurious individual, none having been previously kept by any person in business there.—Smiles's 'Engineers,' vol. i. p. 342.

meadow), and having 'lopped' (scrambled) over the fence, begins to grub up the 'mores' (roots) in the 'shamble' (rough neglected ground), between the 'lynch' (a long narrow coppice) and the 'slink' (a slip of a field). When he begins to feel 'lere' (empty), he sits under the 'lewth' (shelter) of the 'rew' (strip of wood) and eats his 'nammet' (noon-meat), while the 'wosbirds' (wasps) are buzzing about him; and his lank 'scaithy' (filching) whelp watches anxiously for his share of the meal. One who is hard of hearing is as 'dunch as a plock' (deaf as a block); cows when dry are 'azew'; a bundle swinging lightly at the end of a stick is said to 'bome'; a small farm is a 'bargain'; the churchyard is almost invariably the 'litten' in the country districts; 'a dúver' is a sandy flat by the sea-side; meat is said to 'plim' when it swells in cooking; a pitcher is a 'pill'; the wick of a candle is 'a windlet'; an apple 'turnover' is a 'stuckling'; sufferers under a shivering fit of the ague, 'jower'; a weakly child is spoken of as 'tew' or 'tewly.'

Some words suffer metathesis in the ordinary Isle of Wight speech. A man speaks of being 'wotshed' instead of wetshod; great becomes 'girt'; pretty, 'pirty'; and the dusk of evening is hardly recognizable under the form 'duks.'

Of the chief centres of population, Newport is the only one which, in spite of its name, can boast of any antiquity. Compared, indeed, with the hoar antiquity of Carisbrooke and Brading, the 'Novus burgus' of Richard de Redvers is a thing of yesterday. But it can claim seven centuries of existence, and may therefore look down with justifiable pride on the modern creations of fashion and pleasure that are rivalling or surpassing it in population. Founded by the first lord of the De Redvers stock in the reign of Henry I., and built, like Exeter, Lewes, and so many of our ancient towns, just where the river ceases to be tidal, Newport, the 'new haven' of the Castle of Carisbrooke, received its first charter from his great grandson and namesake, Richard, and obtained continually increasing privileges from its subsequent lords. It is a neat, quiet, little town, laid out by its founder in four chief streets intersecting in the centre, with back streets running parallel to them behind, affording each 'place,' or building lot, the convenience of a double entrance. Except the Grammar School, with its sad memories of Charles I., and the abortive negotiations between him and his Parliament; and the richly-decorated new church, of which the chief ornament is the chaste recumbent statue of the Princess Elizabeth; and a feeble classical Town-hall, the work of Nash, Newport has no public buildings that deserve a moment's attention. Nor
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are its historical memories such as to compensate for the want of architectural attractiveness. Beyond its cruel devastation by the French late in the fourteenth century, the reminiscences of Charles I., and an attempted rising in his favour by Capt. Burley in 1647, Newport offers nothing worth record.

Ryde, the second town in the island in dignity, the first in population, was in very early times a place of importance as one of the chief points of communication with the mainland. Its name, related to the Celtic Rhyd, a ford, a crossing (an element we find in Augustoritum, Camboritum, &c.), indicates its character. But it was a mere place of passage, with a few fishermen's huts on the beach and a small group of houses on the top of the hill above, and even as late as 1665 its population scarcely exceeded 200.* Within the present century the two villages of Upper and Lower Ryde were still separated by corn-fields; and wheat-crops were reaped where the shops of Union Street display their brilliant and tempting wares. Bitter enmity existed between the neighbours, breaking out as occasion offered into open hostilities, when a party would sally forth from the lower to do battle with sticks and stones with the lads of the upper town, or the upper would send down a detachment to take reprisals on their 'longshore enemies.

We are indebted to the satirical pen of Fielding, who was unwillingly detained here on his voyage to Lisbon, for a picture of Ryde in 1759. Our readers may be glad to be reminded of the life-like pictures drawn by the great novelist of Mrs. Francis, his extortionate and shrewish landlady, and her stolid complaisant husband, who 'wished not for anything, thought not of anything,—indeed, scarce did anything, or said anything,'—replying to all Fielding's remonstrances with, 'I don't know anything about it, Sir; I leaves all that to my wife;' of her tumble-down tenement, the best inn that Ryde then afforded, 'built with the materials of a wreck, sunk down with age on one side, and in the form of a ship with gunwales,'—of her bills, with their daily increasing tariff, 'a pennyworth of fire rated to-day at a shilling, to-morrow at eighteen pence,'—'two dishes dressed for two shillings on Saturday, and half-a-crown charged for the cooking of one on Sunday;'—of her indignant retort to Fielding's remonstrance—'Candles! why, yes, to be sure; why should not travellers pay for candles? I am sure I pay for mine;' and of her closing lamentation at the smallness of her bill, after every charge which a landlady's ingenuity could invent or a landlady's conscience allow had been introduced,—'she didn't

* The population of Ryde at the last Census amounted to 11,234.

know that she had omitted anything, *but it was but a poor bill for gentlefolks to pay.*

If the members of the Yacht Squadron, whose trim craft give so much life and animation to its waters, and whose annual Regatta collects so much of the wealth and fashion of the land, or the gay crowds who throng the pier in every variety of fashionable costume, were to have a view of Ryde as it appeared to Fielding, they would not easily recognize their favourite resort. The 'impassable gulf of deep mud, which could neither be traversed by walking nor swimming,' no friendly pier yet crossing its treacherous surface, rendered Ryde 'for near one-half of the twenty-four hours inaccessible by friend or foe.' Until the present pier was opened in 1815 the way of approach was that commemorated by Marryat in his 'Poor Jack,' when 'the wherries came in as far as they could, and were met by a horse and cart, which took out the passengers and carried them through the mud and water to the hard ground.' Amusing tales are still told of inconvenient accidents occasioned by jibbing or unruly horses, or the loss of the 'cart-pins,' which involved the precipitation of the whole freight backwards into the ooze and slime.

Cowes, which was an earlier yachting centre, and still claims official precedence of Ryde in this respect, cannot go back, as a town, beyond the latter part of the sixteenth century. The two forts, seen and described by Leland, very soon after their erection by Henry VIII. from the materials of Beaulieu Abbey,—

‘The two great Cows that in loud thunder roar,
This on the eastern, that on the western shore,’

gave the name to the locality, which has been transferred to the little town that gradually, after the erection of a Custom-house for the Island in 1575, clustered round the western Cow or fort. Its convenience as a port and harbour and landing-place was soon recognized, and its growth in prosperity, though not rapid, has been solid and steady. Of late years the residence of Her Majesty and the Royal Family at Osborne has supplied an additional stimulus to the commercial activity of West Cowes, and of her younger sister on the eastern bank. Cowes is a very attractive place when seen from the water. The houses climb up a steep wooded hill rising from the water, crowned by a stately church and a number of handsome villas. But the favourable impression is hardly maintained on landing. Henry VIII.'s block-house has become the Yacht Club-house.

Returning to the eastern side of the island, the decayed corporate town of Brading, with its grey spire-crowned church, its half-timbered

half-timbered houses, crumbling town-hall, bull-ring and stocks, seems to belong to a bygone age. It will always possess an interest from its connection with Wilfrid, the Evangelist of the island; but there is not much to make us linger, and we pass on after casting a glance over the broad tidal-basin, Brading Haven, into which the silver Yar, after forcing its way through the chalk downs, expands before it joins the sea, and reflecting how greatly the prospect would have lost in beauty if Sir Hugh Myddleton's engineering operations for draining the haven, and converting it into corn-fields and pastures, had not been allowed to become abortive through the want of decision and energy on the part of its promoters.

While Brading has been sinking, her daughters of Sandown and Shanklin have been rising, and the once tiny villages—Sandown, indeed, was no more than a cluster of fishermen's cottages with a humble wayside-inn—have assumed the aspect and importance of considerable towns.

The bright, cheerful, little town of Sandown, with its fine expanse of dry level sand, peopled in the summer and autumn months with tribes of happy children who, like those who frolicked on the shores of the Ægean three thousand years ago,

'In wanton play with hands and feet o'erthrow
The mound of sand which late in play they raised,'—
Iliad, xv. 424, 425.—Lord Derby's Translation.

is inseparably connected with the memory of John Wilkes, of the 'North Briton,' who may be said to have discovered the place, and who by the erection of his 'Villakin' in 1788, which he never tired of praising and adorning, first showed it to be a possible residence for a gentleman. Wilkes's letters to his daughter are full of amusing descriptions of the place and his neighbours, his difficulty in obtaining provisions, his love for the feathered tribes, the kindness of the gentry of the vicinity in supplying his wants, his visits to them and theirs to him. One Sunday, he tells his 'dear Polly,' going over to church at Shanklin, he met Garrick and his charming wife, who took him back with them to Mr. Fitzmaurice's seat at Knighton, at which they were staying. Here he found Sir Richard Worsley and some of his Neapolitan acquaintances. Sir Richard engaged him to visit him at Appuldurcombe on the Monday, where he entertained 'the whole Knighton set' at a grand breakfast, 'Mrs. Garrick, as usual, the most captivating of the whole circle.' Wilkes numbered the Hills of St. Boniface, the Bassetts, the Oglanders, and all the leading island gentry among his associates; and we gather from this correspondence a very pleasing idea of the genial and refined

refined hospitality which prevailed among them. The fort at Sandown, erected by Henry VIII., once washed away by the sea, and only saved from the same fate a second time by very expensive engineering works, not long since boasting of a well-salaried governor, has been finally pulled down in our own day, and a new fort erected of granite cased with iron, as one member of the formidable and costly line of coast defences, by which it is fondly hoped the Isle of Wight has been rendered impregnable.

Lovely as Shanklin is, and must ever remain with its chine, its cliffs, and its woods, in spite of the worst that enterprising house-builders have done and are doing to vulgarise it, it must not detain us. We may, however, remark in passing that Shanklin was one of the strongholds of Jacobitism in the Isle of Wight. The old summer-house in the Manor House garden is still pointed out in which meetings of the adherents of the exiled royal family used to be held, and at which, with the old Squire of Shanklin at their head, the island gentlemen would drink the health of Charles Edward on bended knee.* In later years, before it had become so crowded a resort, Shanklin was a very favourite place for Oxford reading parties. Bishops Hampden and Hinds passed the long vacation of 1812 here, 'occupied,' writes the former, 'with our books the greater part of every day, and having no recreation beyond a tête-à-tête walk along the sea-shore: never even making an excursion into other parts of the attractive scenery of the island.' They had been preceded by their friend, Archbishop Whately, who read here for his Oriel Fellowship.

We must, however unwillingly, leap over the exquisite scenery between Shanklin and Ventnor: Luccombe with its bowl-shaped chine and rude fishermen's huts, full of charms to the landscape-painter; the romantic ruin of the East-end Land-slip, created within living memory by the subsidence of the inferior strata; Bonchurch, the portal of the Undercliff, with its cliff walls and rugged, isolated rocks, and sheltered nooks, and picturesque residences, 'in the very style a poet would have

* A century ago, in the days of the old squires, Shanklin is described as a Utopia of friendship and mutual good will. 'The inhabitants,' writes Hassell, 'are like one large family. Ill nature is not known among them. Obliging in the extreme, they seem to be the happiest when their visitants are best pleased.' Nor was Shanklin peculiar in this respect. The quiet villages of the island, where the gentry had lived for generations in the midst of their humbler friends and dependants, knowing everybody and manifesting a kindly interest in all, formed much such parochial Goshens as the gentle Mary Leadbeater describes Ballitore before the Irish Insurrection, 'When the temporary absence of a neighbour caused a shade of gloom, and his return a ray of sunshine; when the sickness or misfortune of one was felt by sympathy through the whole body.'—*Leadbeater Papers and Correspondence*.

imagined and a painter designed' ;* still, in Dr. Arnold's words, 'the most beautiful place on the sea-coast on this side Genoa' † —and devote a few closing words to Ventnor—the Metropolis of the Undercliff. Forty years since this now large and flourishing town was the tiniest of fishing hamlets. A group of low-thatched cottages on the shore of the Cove, a picturesque mill hanging on the steep cliff above, down which the mill-stream dashed in a pretty cascade ; a low-roofed wayside inn, the thatch of which a tall man could easily reach ; and a humble dwelling or two hard by, formed the whole of Ventnor. And such it might have remained had not the late distinguished physician, Sir James Clark, discovered the curative power of its genial climate in pulmonary disease, and recommended it as a winter resort for invalids. Consumptive patients resorted to Ventnor in crowds. Its praises as the 'English Madeira' were said and sung by grateful visitors, and the place speedily sprang into eminence and celebrity as one of the best of the health-resorts of Southern England. And if the fashion has in some measure turned, and Bournemouth and other younger rivals are rivalling, or even surpassing Ventnor in public estimation, the logic of facts will ever continue to argue very strongly in favour of it as a residence for the invalid who seeks to escape the cold blasts of our northern winter, and the still more perilous alternations of our treacherous spring, without the fatigue of foreign travel, and the numberless miseries inseparable from a winter passed where English comforts are unknown. The Registrar-General's returns prove that Ventnor almost bears the palm of all English health-resorts. Its microscopic mortality, notwithstanding the large number of consumptive patients carried there in the final stages of their insidious disease simply to die, is a triumphant proof of the remarkable salubrity of this favoured locality. While on this subject we must not omit to call attention to the most recent development of sanitary agencies, whose beneficent object is to place the benefits of the genial climate of the Undercliff within the reach of a class which without such help must be permanently shut out from them. We refer to the National Consumption Hospital erected on the cottage or detached block system in one of the most beautiful and sheltered spots in the Undercliff, of which the first stone was laid two years since by the Princess Louise on behalf of her Royal mother, who from the first has manifested a warm interest in its success, and which is entering on a career of extensive usefulness destined long to perpetuate the name of its energetic originator, Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall.

* Sterling.

† 'Arnold's Life and Correspondence,' vol. ii. p. 45.

- ART. II.—1. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation.* By Edward Burnet Tylor. London, 1865.
2. *Primitive Culture.* By the Same. London, 1871.
3. *Primitive Society.* By the Same, in the 'Contemporary Review' for April and June 1873.
4. *Prehistoric Times.* By Sir John Lubbock, Bart. 2nd edition. London, 1869.
5. *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man.* By the Same. London, 1870.

THAT the proper study of mankind is Man seems to be a proposition the truth of which is being now forced upon us with peculiar intensity. In spite of the expulsion of the 'microcosm' by astronomy from the centre of the material universe, he is at present acquiring yet fresh claims to be considered the one key whereby may be unlocked the mysteries of the 'macrocosm.' With the dispelling of that dream in which the little planet Tellus appeared the great solid nucleus of encircling crystal spheres existing only for its sake, began the vigorous prosecution of the physical sciences—the investigation of nature *external to man*. This investigation having reached a stage rendering possible the exposition of all non-human phenomena as the multifold co-ordinated and harmonised manifestations of one great process—a *theory of evolution*—it remains to test the universal adequacy of that theory by its application to the phenomena presented to us by Man in his highest existing condition and as the wild tenant of the forest—the *Homo sylvaticus*. If all the phenomena which human life presents are capable of being brought under the laws which regulate inferior organisms, it is hardly possible to exaggerate the amount of support which would thereby be given to the universality of that theory. Moreover, it is plain that in such a case all those who deem the theory of evolution sufficient to account for the origin of all other animals, must logically admit it as sufficient to account for his origin also.

At present there are two very distinct views as to the origin of the animal population of this planet.

I. The first of these views—the monistic hypothesis—asserts that one uniform law has presided over the whole, since all such creatures are distinguished from one another by differences which are differences of degree only, and not of kind.

II. The other of these views—the dualistic hypothesis—asserts that man (whatever may have been the case with brute animals) must have originated in some special manner, since the difference
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between him and brutes is a difference of *kind*, and not one merely of degree—he embodying a distinct principle not present in brute animals.

A supporter of the monistic hypothesis must maintain that man at his first appearance was literally in the lowest and most brutal stage of his existence, whence he has gradually ascended to his present condition by a process of progressive development attended with only exceptional and relatively insignificant processes of retrogression and degradation. He will consequently not only maintain that races have existed without articulate speech, or any equivalent symbolic system, without perceptions of 'right' and 'wrong,' and without religious conceptions, but also that the first men were actually so destitute. He may or may not expect to find specimens of this lowest condition of mankind still surviving at the present day, but he will surely anticipate that archæological, historical, and ethnological research must reveal facts pointing plainly towards such an early condition. He will also anticipate that these sciences will bring to our knowledge tribes in an intellectual stage which is less remote from that presumed early condition than from a choice assemblage of men living now—say, the members of our own 'Royal Society.'

A supporter of the dualistic hypothesis must, on the other hand, maintain that man at the very first moment of his existence was at once essentially man, and separated, at his very origin, from the highest brutes by as impassable a gulf as that which anywhere exists between them to-day. He will consequently not only maintain that no race will anywhere be found without a mode of rational expression, moral perceptions, and religious conceptions (however rudimentary or atrophied), but also that the first men possessed all these. He will be confident that no scientific researches will bring to our knowledge any human races devoid of reason, or (what is its necessary concomitant in a "rational animal") the power of expressing internal *thoughts*, as distinguished from mere *feelings*, by external sensible signs. He will also expect to find in all races of men indications of religious conceptions and of an apprehension of right and wrong, however curiously or perversely these abstract conceptions may be concretely embodied. Finally, he will be confident that no race will be found less remote intellectually from the highest existing men than from a state of brutal irrationality. The actual first origin of man must for ever remain a problem insoluble by unaided reason—a matter incapable of direct investigation, and, revelation apart, only to be investigated by conjecture and analogy. This being so, we must be content to study existing
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racés of men, and thence arrive at the best conclusions we may, with the aid to be derived from history, archæology, and geology.

The questions, then, to which attention should be directed with a view to determining whether the balance of evidence favours the monistic or the dualistic hypothesis, are the following; and to answer these, the savage, *Homo sylvaticus*, must serve as our test. 1. Can any direct evidence be found of races of man, past or present, existing in a brutal or irrational condition? 2. Does available evidence clearly point to the past existence of such a condition? 3. Are races anywhere to be found in a condition which is less remote from mere animal existence than from the highest human development of which we have as yet experience.

Should unmistakable evidence of the sort be forthcoming, then the existence of an essential difference, a difference of kind, between human and brutal nature, could no longer be maintained. It would also follow that if other animals have arisen by a merely natural process of development, reason could oppose no barrier to the belief that the origin of man, in the totality of his nature, was also due to such a merely natural process. If, on the other hand, no such direct evidence is forthcoming, and none even pointing clearly in the indicated direction; if, also, no races can be found in a condition nearer to irrational brutality than to the highest refinement; then it must be admitted that we have no scientific ground for asserting that man is of one nature with the brutes, or that it is an *à priori* probability that his origin was the same as theirs.

More than this, in the absence of such evidence it may fairly be inferred that there is an *à priori* probability against this community of nature and origin. It may be so inferred, because it seems likely that if all men were once irrational animals, some tribe of the kind would have survived in some remote part of the world to this day, especially as, on the theory of evolution, they must have been well fitted to maintain themselves under the conditions existing in their own region.

Man is generally admitted to be, as to antiquity, at the most but a tertiary mammal; but Australia presents us with a fauna in some respects triassic. Some eminent authorities, however, assert that miocene man still exists, and that we behold him in the Esquimaux. It may naturally be a matter of some regret that this cannot be proved, since, if the Esquimaux are indeed miocene men surviving to this day, an investigation of their mental condition would almost suffice to solve the problem decisively one way or the other. It would suffice to solve it since

we might fairly argue from the progress made between the miocene period and to-day, to that which might be supposed to have taken place between the beginning of the tertiary period and the miocene.

If, however, ethnology and archæology fail to furnish due evidence, and thus show themselves manifestly incompetent to solve the question, then the cause must be transferred to the tribunal of Philosophy for decisive judgment. In that case, if philosophy (including psychology) shows us, as we are convinced it does, that there is a difference of kind between the lowest races of men and the highest species of brutes, pointing to a difference of essential principle, and, therefore, of origin, then ethnology and archæology (in the case of their supposed failure as to the evidence referred to) become important auxiliaries, and will powerfully aid to reinforce such conclusion. They will, by their eloquent silence, supply us with additional grounds for maintaining that the progress of physical science will but more and more clearly bring out the difference existing between all merely animal natures and that of the rational animal man.

The works of the authors whose names head this review are most valuable for our purpose. They are most valuable, in the first place, on account of the industry, patience, ability, and candour with which they have amassed, digested, and laid before their readers all the most important facts which either archæology or ethnology has afforded, tending to throw light upon the lower stages of human existence. Secondly, however, they are of especial value because their authors belong to that school which adopts the monistic view as to man's origin—that is to say, the school of Lamarck, Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer. We may, therefore, confidently rely upon any statements or admissions made by Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock which tell *against* the monistic hypothesis; while we may fairly assume, from the eminent qualities these authors possess, that when they fail to bring forward data *favourable* to that view it is because no such data in reality exist.

We may now proceed to examine their testimony, and we think the following order of subjects may be convenient: 1, Speech; 2, Morals; 3, Religion; 4, Progress; 5, Community of Nature; 6, Results.

I. As to *Speech*, Sir John Lubbock at once admits: * 'Although it has been at various times stated that certain savages are entirely without language, none of these accounts appear to be well authenticated.' The recklessness with which assertions are made about savage tribes is, as we shall shortly see, so great,

* 'Origin of Civilisation,' p. 275.

that no account ought to be fully received without a knowledge of the bias of the relater and a careful criticism of his statements. As to 'speech,' such is the amount of ambiguity and confusion which commonly accompanies the use of the word that some preliminary explanations and definitions are absolutely requisite. The essence of language is mental—an intellectual activity called the *verbum mentale*; but actual 'speech' itself is the outward expression of thoughts (rational conceptions) by articulate sounds—the *verbum oris*. Now we may have (1) animal sounds that are neither rational nor articulate; (2) sounds that are articulate but not rational; (3) sounds that are rational but not articulate; (4) sounds that are both rational and articulate; (5) gestures which do not answer to rational conceptions; and (6) gestures which do answer to such conceptions, and are, therefore, external but non-oral manifestations of the *verbum mentale*.

The sounds emitted by brutes, which denote merely emotions and bodily sensations, belong to the first category. Mere articulate sounds, without concomitant intellectual activity, such as those emitted by trained parrots or jackdaws (and which, of course, are not 'speech'), belong to the second category. The third category comprises inarticulate ejaculations which express assent to or dissent from given propositions. The fourth category is that of true speech. Gestures, which are merely the manifestations of emotions and feelings are not the equivalents of speech, and belong to the fifth category. But gestures without sound may be rational external manifestations of internal thoughts, and, therefore, the real equivalents of words. Such are many of the gestures of deaf-mutes incapable of articulating words which constitute a true gesture-language. All such belong to the sixth category. Thus it is plainly conceivable that a brute might manifest its feelings and emotions not only by gestures, but also by articulate sounds, without for all that possessing even the germ of real language. Similarly a paralysed man might have essentially the power of speech (the *verbum mentale*), though accidentally hindered from externally manifesting that inner power by means of the *verbum oris*. Normally the external and internal powers exist inseparably. Once that the intellectual activity exists, it seeks external expression by symbols, verbal, manual or what not—the voice or gesture-language. Some form of symbolic expression is, therefore, the necessary consequence of the possession by an animal of the faculty of reason.* On the other hand, it is impossible

* Mr. Tylor ('Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 68) says that though deaf-mutes prove that man may have thought without speech, yet
not

impossible that rational speech can for a moment exist without the co-existence with it of that internal, intellectual activity of which it is the outward expression.

Few recent intellectual phenomena are more astounding than the ignorance of these elementary yet fundamental distinctions and principles, exhibited by conspicuous advocates of the monistic hypothesis. Mr. Darwin, for example, does not exhibit the faintest indication of having grasped them, yet a clear perception of them, and a direct and detailed examination of his facts with regard to them, was a *sine quâ non* for attempting, with a chance of success, the solution of the mystery as to the descent of man. We actually heard Professor Vogt at Norwich (at the British Association Meeting of 1868), in discussing certain cases of aphasia, declare before the whole physiological section, 'Je ne comprends pas la parole dans un homme qui ne parle pas'—a declaration which manifestly showed that he was not qualified to form, still less so to express, any opinion whatever on the subject. Again, Professor Oscar Schmidt, in trying to account for the natural origin of man, quotes,* with approbation, Geiger's words: 'Die Sprache hat die Vernunft geschaffen: vor ihr war der Mensch vernunftlos'—not seeing that he might as well attempt to account for the 'convexities' of a sigmoid line by its 'concavities.' The 'concavities' could as easily exist before the 'convexities' as the existence of the *verbum oris* could antedate that of the *verbum mentale*.† It is almost enough to make one despair of progress when one finds such real 'non-sense' solemnly propounded to a learned audience, and when such amazing ignorance shows itself in men who are looked up to as teachers!

It is then *rational* language—the external manifestation, whether by sound or gesture, of general conceptions—which has to be considered. It has to be ascertained whether or not its existence is, as far as the evidence goes, universal amongst mankind; also whether the lowest forms of speech discoverable are so much below the highest forms as to appear transitional steps from irrational cries, and, consequently, whether there is any positive evidence for the origin of speech by any process of

not without 'any physical expression,' rather 'the reverse.' But no sound philosopher ever dreamed of maintaining the absurdity Mr. Tylor here opposes.

* 'Die Anwendung der Descendenzlehre auf den Menschen,' Leipzig, 1873, p. 30.

† It is, we suppose, to an obscure, not-thought-out perception of this inseparability, that we must attribute the singular contradiction given to himself by Mr. Darwin in his 'Descent of Man.' In one place (vol. i. p. 54) he attributes the faculty of speech in man to his having acquired a higher intellectual nature, while in another place (vol. ii. p. 391) he ascribes man's intellectual nature to his having acquired the faculty of speech.

evolution.

evolution. It is not emotional expressions or the manifestations of sensible impressions which we have to consider, but the enunciations of distinct judgments as to 'the what,' 'the how,' and 'the why,' whether by sound or by gesture.

In the first place, perhaps, it may be well to consider those speechless human beings now existing—the deaf-mutes. As to these Mr. Tylor tells us:—

'Even in a low state of education, the deaf-mute seems to conceive general ideas, for when he invents a sign for anything he applies it to all other things of the same class, and he can also form abstract ideas in a certain way, or, at least, he knows that there is a quality in which snow and milk agree, and he can go on adding other white things, such as the moon and whitewash, to his list. He can form a proposition, for he can make us understand, and we can make him understand, that "this man is old, that man is young." Nor does he seem incapable of reasoning in something like a syllogism, even when he has no means of communicating but the gesture-language; and certainly as soon as he has learnt to read that "all men are mortal, John is a man, therefore John is a mortal," he will show by every means of illustration in his power, that he fully comprehends the argument.'*

The intellectual activity of their minds is indeed evidenced by the peculiar construction of their sentences. Mr. Tylor tells us (p. 25): 'Their usual construction is not "black horse," but "horse black;" not "bring a black hat," but "hat black bring;" not "I am hungry, give me bread," but "hungry me bread give."'† Thus we see how thoroughly mistaken Professor Huxley was when he asserted ('Man's Place in Nature,' p. 102, note): 'A man born dumb, notwithstanding his great cerebral mass and his inheritance of strong intellectual instincts, would be capable of few higher intellectual manifestations than an orang or a chimpanzee, if he were confined to the society of his dumb associates.' Quite contrary to this, there can be no doubt but that a society of dumb men would soon elaborate a gesture-language of great complexity.

Passing now to savage men, Mr. Tylor makes some excellent remarks on, and brings forward a good example of, that reckless and unjust depreciation of native tribes of which travellers are so apt to be guilty, and of which we shall find other examples when we come to the subject of religion. A Mr. Mercer having said of the Veddah tribes of Ceylon that their communications have little resemblance to distinct sounds or systematised language, Mr. Tylor observes (p. 78):—

* 'Reminiscences into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 66.

† This questionable tendency may be pleaded in mitigation of De Candolle's strictures on Latin construction as unnatural.

'Mr.

'Mr. Mercer seems to have adopted the common view of foreigners about the Veddahs, but it has happened here, as in many other accounts of savage tribes, that closer acquaintance has shown them to have been wrongly accused. Mr. Bailey, who has had good opportunities of studying them, . . . contradicts their supposed deficiency in language with the remark, "I never knew one of them at a loss for words sufficiently intelligible to convey his meaning, not to his fellows only, but to the Singhalese of the neighbourhood, who are all more or less acquainted with the Veddah patois."'

Again, as to another well-known traveller he remarks (p. 79):—

'It is extremely likely that Madame Pfeiffer's savages suffered the penalty of being set down as wanting in language, for no worse fault than using a combination of words and signs in order to make what they meant as clear as possible to her comprehension.'

As to the universality of the *verbum mentale* in man he observes (p. 80):—

'As the gesture-language is substantially the same among savage tribes all over the world, and also among children who cannot speak, so the picture-writings of savages are not only similar to one another, but are like what children make untaught even in civilised countries. Like the universal language of gestures, the art of picture-writing tends to prove that the mind of the uncultured man works in much the same way at all times and everywhere. . . . *Man* is essentially, what the derivation of his name among our Aryan race imports, not "the speaker," but he who thinks, he who *means*.'

In other words, he is a *rational animal*. Mr. Tylor reinforces these remarks elsewhere * by saying:—

'It always happens, in the study of the lower races, that the more means we have of understanding their thoughts, the more sense and reason do we find in them.'

A great deal has been sometimes made of the alleged inability of some savages to count more than five, or even three, and this fact is occasionally advanced as pointing to a transition from the psychical powers of brutes to the intelligence of man. We shall return to this hereafter, but some fitting remarks by Mr. Tylor may be here appropriately quoted:—

'Of course, it no more follows among savages than among ourselves, that because a man counts on his fingers his language must be wanting in words to express the number he wishes to reckon. For example, it was noticed that when natives of Kamskatka were set to count, they would reckon all their fingers, and then all their toes, getting up to 20, and then would ask, "What are we to do next?" Yet it was

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 322.

found on examination that numbers up to 100 existed in their language.'

Concerning the origin of existing articulate words, Mr. Tylor distinctly repudiates the 'bow-wow hypothesis' as insufficient. For instance, with respect to the family of words represented by the Sanskrit *vad*, to go, the Latin *vado*, he says (*Ibid.* p. 195): 'To this root there seems no sufficient ground for assigning an imitative origin, the traces of which it has at any rate lost if it ever had them.' Again, as to early words he says (*Ibid.* p. 207): 'It is obvious that the leading principle of their formation is not to adopt words distinguished by the expressive character of their sound, but to choose somehow a fixed word to answer a given purpose.' As to the arbitrary way in which articulate words are used to express sounds and the little real resemblance existing between them, he tells us (*Ibid.* p. 182): 'The Australian imitation of a spear or bullet striking is given as *toop*; to the Zulu when a calabash is beaten it says *boo*.' He concludes (*Ibid.* p. 208):—

'I do not think that the evidence here adduced justifies the setting up of what is called the Interjectional and Imitative theory as a complete solution of the problem of original language. Valid as this theory proves itself within limits, it would be incautious to accept a hypothesis which can, perhaps, satisfactorily account for a twentieth of the crude forms in any language, as a certain and absolute explanation of the nineteen-twentieths whose origin remains doubtful. . . . Too narrow a theory of the application of sound to sense may fail to include the varied devices which the languages of different regions turn to account. It is thus with the distinction in meaning of a word by its musical accent, and the distinction of distance by graduated vowels. These are ingenious and intelligible [intellectual?] contrivances, but they hardly seem directly emotional or imitative in origin.'

Thus it seems not only that neither Sir John Lubbock nor Mr. Tylor is able to bring forward any evidence of a speechless condition of man, but that they are constrained to admit that all available evidence points in the opposite direction, and that it shows speech to be universal amongst existing races. Even those abnormal and unfortunate beings the deaf-mutes are seen to be intellectually endowed with language, so that they infinitely more resemble a man that is gagged than they do an irrational animal. The essential community intellectually existing between them and us is shown by our occasional use of what Mr. Tylor calls* 'picture words,' where 'a substantive is treated as the

* 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 63.

root or crude form of a verb,' as, e.g., 'to *butter* bread, to *cudgel* a man, to *oil* machinery, to *pepper* a dish.'

Turning now to the other question we had to consider, namely, the relation of the lowest forms of speech to the highest, Mr. Tylor may again be cited with advantage. He expresses himself^{*} thus: 'We come back to the fact, so full of suggestion, that the languages of the world represent substantially the same intellectual art, the higher nations indeed gaining more expressive power than the lowest tribes, yet doing this not by introducing new and more effective central principles, but by mere addition and improvement in detail.' Speaking of the native proverbs of Fernando Po, he tells us,[†] 'There are hundreds at about as high an intellectual level as those of Europe,' and he cites examples. We have said that we mean by language, not emotional expressions, but the enunciations of judgments concerning 'the *what*,' 'the *how*,' and 'the *why*.' Mr. Tylor's verdict as to the result of the application of this test to the expressions of savages is sufficiently distinct. He says:[‡]

'Man's craving to know the *causes* at work in each event he witnesses, the reasons *why* each state of things he surveys is such as it is and no other, is no product of high civilisation, but a characteristic of his race down to its *lowest stage*. Among rude savages it is already an intellectual appetite whose satisfaction claims many of the moments not engrossed by war or sport, food or sleep.'

This decisive judgment may yet be reinforced by some admissions made by Mr. Darwin himself:[§]

'The Fuegians rank amongst the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how closely the three natives on board H.M.S. "Beagle," who had lived some years in England and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition, and in most of our mental qualities.'

Again: ||—

'The American aborigines, negroes, and Europeans, differ as much from each other in mind as any three races that can be named; yet I was incessantly struck, whilst living with the Fuegians on board the "Beagle," with the many little traits of character, showing how similar their minds were to ours; and so it was with a full-blooded negro with whom I happened once to be intimate.'

It would be easy, but superfluous, to add to these testimonies. They are amply sufficient to show that, in the opinion of those

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 216.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 332. The italics are ours.

§ 'Voyage of the "Beagle,"' vol. i. p. 34.

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† Ibid. vol. i. p. 80.

|| Ibid. p. 232..

most

most capable of acquiring and most certain to acquire information tending to confirm the monistic hypothesis, not only are there no evidences of men in a nascent state as to the power of speech, but that all available evidence shows that in the essentials of language all existing races of men are mentally one. This, indeed, is manifest and undeniable. No tribe exists which cannot count two, cannot say 'I,' 'woman,' 'death,' 'food,' &c. In other words, there is no tribe which does not express general conceptions and abstract ideas by articulate sounds. But the differences between vocal sounds capable of such expression are but differences of *degree*, while the difference between all such utterances and vocal utterances which but express sensations and emotions is a difference of *kind*. Therefore we are compelled to conclude that the most imperfect languages offer us no indication of a transition from irrational cries, being separated from the latter by an indefinitely wide barrier, while they differ from the highest speech, but by a greater simplicity, which indeed is sometimes more apparent than real, as we shall see more plainly hereafter. This being the case, it necessarily follows that we have no positive evidence whatever for the origin of speech by any process of evolution. As to the *possibility* of its origin by such a process from the cries of brutes, the sciences we are here occupied with, ethnology and archaeology, can of course tell us nothing. The reply to that question is given by philosophy and psychology.

II. We now come to the second branch of our inquiry, that concerning *Morals*—concerning the universality or non-universality amongst mankind of a power of apprehending 'right' or 'wrong.' And here again it is necessary to distinguish and define what is meant by this human mental power, because ambiguity and misunderstanding as to this matter are at least as common as in the matter of language. By this power is *not* meant merely a feeling of sympathy, a deference to the desires of others, or some emotional excitement tending to produce materially kind and benevolent actions. Still less is meant the volitional impulse which in all cases directly produces such actions, since this may or may not be 'moral,' according to the circumstances of each case. What *is* meant is an intellectual activity evinced by the expression of definite judgments passed upon certain modes of action abstractedly considered. The existence of kindly social customs cannot be taken as necessarily proving the existence of such intellectual activity in the absence of some intimation by word or gesture of a moral apprehension. Similarly no amount of gross or atrocious habits in any given tribe can be taken to prove its entire absence. The liking or disliking

liking (and therefore the frequent practice or neglect) of certain actions is one thing; the act of judging that such actions, whether pleasant or unpleasant, are 'right' or 'wrong' is an altogether different thing.

A man may, for instance, judge that he *ought* to renounce a tender friendship without its becoming less delightful to him to continue it. Another may perceive that he has acted *rightly* in foregoing a pecuniary advantage though mentally suffering acute distress from the consequences of his just act. Again, differences of judgment as to the goodness or badness of particular concrete actions have nothing to do with the point we have to consider. Thus the most revolting act that can well be cited, that of the deliberate murder of aged parents, monstrous as the act in itself is, may really be one of filial piety if, as is asserted, the savage perpetrators do it at the wish of such parents themselves, and from a conviction that thereby they not only save them from suffering in this world, but also confer upon them prolonged happiness in the next. Hence we must judge of the moral or non-moral condition of savage tribes by their own declarations when these can be obtained, or by expressive actions as far as possible the equivalent of such declarations. We have already seen the essential community of intellectual nature existing amongst all living races as regards the faculty of speech. From the existence of this community of nature, we may fairly conclude that deliberate articulate judgments of lower races have substantially the same meaning as in our own, whatever may be the concrete actions which occasion the expression of such abstract judgments.

We are all familiar with the constantly employed expressions denoting moral judgments amongst ourselves, and those of us who reflect upon the subject are generally aware that in asserting that anything is 'right,' they mean to make a judgment altogether distinct from one asserting the same thing to be pleasurable or advantageous. Even some men who, like the late John Stuart Mill, assert that the principle regulating our actions should be the production of the greatest amount of pleasure to all sentient beings, must assert that there is either no obligation at all to accept this principle itself, or that such obligation is a 'moral' one. The distinction being then generally and practically recognised as existing amongst ourselves, we have to examine the following points:—Whether, even according to the admission of the authors whose works we are considering, there is any evidence that moral perceptions are wanting in any savage tribes? Whether any races exist in a condition which may be considered as a transitional state

between our own and the amoral condition of beasts? Whether any peoples have their moral perceptions so perverted—so remote from those of the highest races—as to result in the formation of abstract judgments directly contradicting the abstract moral judgments of such highest races? And here again we must be greatly on our guard against the involuntary misrepresentations and the hasty and careless misinterpretations of unskilled observers and inaccurate narrators. Sir John Lubbock himself observes:• ‘We all know how difficult it is to judge an individual, and it must be much more so to judge a nation. In fact, whether any given writer praises or blames a particular race, depends *at least as much on the character of the writer as on that of the people.*’ Again, we must be careful not to apply to savage tribes standards applicable only to higher races. The essence of morality being the conformity of acts to an ethical ideal, neither the worst any more than the best moral development, whatever be the concrete acts, can coexist with an undeveloped intellectual condition. If any tribes are intellectually in a puerile condition, puerile also must be their moral state. Here we may again quote Sir John Lubbock with approval. He says (p. 340):

‘The lowest moral and the lowest intellectual condition are not only, in my opinion, not inseparable, they are not even compatible. . . . The lower races of men may be, and are, vicious; but allowances must be made for them. On the contrary (*corruptio optimi pessima est*), the higher the mental power, the more splendid the intellectual endowment, the deeper is the moral degradation of him who wastes the one and abuses the other.’

Now one of the clearest ethical judgments is that as to ‘justice’ and ‘injustice,’ and by common consent the native Australians are admitted to be at about the lowest level of existing social development, while as we have seen the Esquimaux are deemed by some to be surviving specimens of the (up to the present time hypothetical) ‘miocene men.’

Concerning the first of these races, the Australians, Sir John Lubbock tells us:—

‘The amount of legal revenge, if I may so call it, is often strictly regulated, even where we should least expect to find such limitations. Thus, in Australia, crimes may be compounded for by the criminal appearing and submitting himself to the ordeal of having spears thrown at him by all such persons as conceive themselves to have been aggrieved, or by permitting spears to be thrust through certain parts of his body; such as through the thigh, or the calf of the leg,

• ‘Origin of Civilisation,’ p. 259.

or under the arm. The part which is to be pierced by a spear is fixed for all common crimes, and a native who has incurred this penalty sometimes quietly holds out his leg for the injured party to thrust his spear through! So strictly is the amount of punishment limited, that if, in inflicting such spear-wounds, a man, either through carelessness or from any other cause, exceeded the recognised limits—if, for instance, he wounded the femoral artery—he would in his turn become liable to punishment.—*Origin of Civilisation*, p. 318.

The next is a yet stronger example of savage refinement, furnished us by Sir John Lubbock :—

‘Among the Greenlanders, should a seal escape with a hunter’s javelin in it, and be killed by another man afterwards, it belongs to the former. But if the seal is struck with the harpoon and bladder, and the string breaks, the hunter loses his right. If a man finds a seal dead with a harpoon in it, he keeps the seal but returns the harpoon. . . . Any man who finds a piece of drift-wood can appropriate it by placing a stone on it, as a sign that some one has taken possession of it. No other Greenlander will then touch it.’—*Ibid.* p. 305.

But perhaps the recently extinct Tasmanians were at a lower level than the Australians. If so, Mr. Tylor shows us by a legend which he relates,* that they had a strong appreciation of even *male* conjugal fidelity. The inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego are, if possible, more wretched savages than the Australians, yet it is very interesting to note that even with respect to these no less hostile a witness than Mr. Darwin himself informs us,† that when a certain Mr. Bynoe shot some very young ducklings as specimens, a Fuegian declared in the most solemn manner, ‘Oh, Mr. Bynoe, much rain, snow, blow much.’ And as to this declaration, Mr. Darwin tells us that the anticipated bad weather ‘was evidently a retributive punishment for wasting human food,’ i.e. for a transgression of the aborted moral code recognised by the Fuegian in question.

That the language of savage tribes is capable of expressing moral conceptions will probably be contested by no one. Similarly no one will probably deny that when a savage emphatically calls ‘bad’ an act of treachery done to himself by one to whom he has been kind, his mind recognises, at least in a rudimentary way, an element of *ingratitude* in such an action. But, in fact, that identity of intellectual nature, fundamentally considered, which we have found to exist in all men as the necessary accompaniment of language, at once establishes a very

* ‘Researches into the Early History of Mankind,’ p. 328.

† ‘Voyage of the “Beagle,”’ vol. i. p. 215.

strong *à priori* probability in favour of a similar universality as to the power of apprehending good and evil. The *onus probandi* lies clearly with those who deny it, and yet not only are Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock unable to bring forward facts capable of establishing the existence of a non-moral race of men, but they bring forward instances and announce conclusions of an opposite character. Mr. Tylor observes:—

‘Glancing down the moral scale amongst mankind at large, we find no tribe standing at or near zero. The asserted existence of savages so low as to have no moral standard is *too groundless to be discussed*. Every human tribe has its general views as to what conduct is right and what wrong, and each generation hands the standard on to the next. Even in the details of those moral standards, wide as their differences are, there is a yet wider agreement throughout the human race. . . . No known tribe, however low and ferocious, has ever admitted that men may kill one another indiscriminately. . . . The Sioux Indians, among themselves, hold manslaughter, unless by way of blood revenge, to be a crime, and the Dayaks also punish murder.’—*Contemporary Review*, April 1873, pp. 702, 714.

In another place,* Mr. Tylor, after showing different early conditions of the tenure of property and the occasional estimation of the tribe as the social unit, &c., adds: ‘Their various grades of culture had each according to its lights its standard of right and wrong, and they are to be judged on the criterion whether they did well or ill according to this standard.’ There being thus no question as to the non-existence of any non-moral race of men, can we find evidence of any transitional stage? But the difference between moral and non-moral existence is a difference of *kind*, and therefore ‘transitions’ are here no more possible than between articulate sound-giving animals which have not reason and articulate sound-giving animals who have it.

It may be replied, however, that Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor at least believe in the natural and gradual development of man from the non-moral to the moral mode of existence, and that therefore the facts cited cannot have the force here attributed to them. To this it must be answered that the faculty of accumulating many facts, or that of arranging and presenting them in a perspicuous and persuasive manner, by no means necessarily carries with it a faculty of understanding what those facts really teach. That such an assertion of intellectual deficiency may not repose upon the mere *ipse dixit* of the present writer, it may be well to quote the judgment of one who is himself a master in those archæological subjects in which Sir John Lubbock is such a

* *Contemporary Review*, June 1873, p. 72.

proficient, while he is also a most distinguished biologist and a man of universal culture. Professor Rolleston upon this subject remarks* as follows:—

'It is strange, indeed, that Sir John Lubbock *does not see* how his method of accounting for the genesis of the notions of right and wrong, like that of all other utilitarians, *actually presupposes their existence!* How could the old men "praise" or "condemn" except by reference to some pre-existing standard of right and wrong? How could the parties injured by the violation of a compact "naturally condemn" it except by a tacit or articulate reference to some "naturally implanted," or, at all events, to some already existing, standard of virtue and vice? Language, which in matters of this kind faithfully reproduces the existence of feelings, and even to some extent the history of our race, will not lend itself to the support of their theories, and gives the Dialectician for once a real victory over the Natural Historian. . . . We must also express our surprise that Sir John Lubbock should not have drawn attention to the difficulty which in early stages of our history must have beset the collection of those "experiences of utility," of which Mr. Herbert Spencer speaks as the foundation of our so-called moral intuitions; and, secondly, to the exceeding unfitness of the "nervous organisation," which Mr. Huxley calls "the thoughtless brains," of a savage, to act as a storehouse for such experiences when obtained. For, firstly, the wicked often remain in a state of great prosperity for periods commensurate with the lifetime of an entire population of civilised, not to speak of the notoriously shorter-lived savage, men; and a lifelong experience would neutralise the results, not merely of tradition, but of hereditary transmission. And, secondly, as Sir John Lubbock himself tells us (p. 70), with reference to the practice of infanticide, the "distinction between the sexes implies an amount of forethought and prudence which the lower races of men do not possess." We commend this estimate of the faculties and capacities of our ancestors to the careful consideration of those philosophers who suppose them to have been capable of processes of stock-taking, which must, *ex hypothesi*, have enabled them to anticipate the epigram, "Honesty is the best policy."—*The Academy*, Nov. 15, 1870.

We have thus Professor Rolleston with us when we assert that it is impossible to account for the natural development of a moral power of judgment, without, in fact, presupposing its actual existence—since such judgment cannot exist without an ethical standard, and such standard cannot exist without an ethical judgment.

The third question, then, now alone remains: namely, whether the moral perceptions of any people are so perverted as to directly contradict our own abstract moral judgments. In the

* The italics are not Professor Rolleston's.

words of Mr. Lecky : *—‘ It is not to be expected, it is not to be maintained, that men in all ages should have agreed about the application of their moral principles. All that is contended for is that these principles are themselves the same . . . in fact, that, however these principles might be applied, still humanity was recognised as a virtue, and cruelty as a vice.’ † But if opponents have been unable to bring instances to show the existence of a non-moral race, still less can they prove the existence of one the moral principles of which are *inverted*. Let thieving be here and there encouraged and taught, yet dishonesty is nowhere erected into a principle, but is reprobated in the very maxim ‘honour amongst thieves.’ Frightful cruelty towards prisoners was practised by the North American Indians, but it was towards *prisoners*, and cruelty was never inculcated as an ideal to be always aimed at so that remorse of conscience should be felt by any man who happened to have let slip a possible opportunity of cruelty towards any one. As another writer has well expressed it ‡:—‘ Many men doubtless in various times and places have thought it right to do many an act which we know to be unjust; still they have never thought it right *because* unjust; they have never thought it right for the sake of any virtuousness which they have supposed to reside in injustice; but because of the virtuousness of *beneficence*, or *gratitude*, or the like. Similarly many men think an act wrong, because they think it unjust; but they never think it wrong because they think it *just*.’

We may then safely conclude that there exists no evidence whatever yet discovered for the existence of races either non-moral or with a really inverted morality, or for the evolution of a ‘moral state’ from a pre-existing brutal and ‘amoral’ condition of mankind. The question as to the *possibility* of such a process of evolution is a philosophical question, and cannot of course be solved by the sciences of the writers reviewed—namely, ethnology and archaeology. Nevertheless, we have indirectly and by the way found strong reasons to believe it impossible; but for an exhaustive treatment of the question there is here no space, and this is not the place. To have ascertained that no positive evidence whatever is yet forthcoming has been sufficient for our present purpose.

III. In proceeding to the third branch of our inquiry, that concerning *Religion*—concerning the universality, or non-

* ‘Morals,’ vol. i. p. 104.

† Mr. Lecky (*op. cit.* p. 105) gives some interesting quotations from Helvetius, ‘De l’Esprit,’ vol. ii. p. 13, to show how practices which are at first glaringly immoral, come, when fully understood, to appear relatively moral, and a positive improvement upon other customs they have displaced.

‡ ‘Dublin Review,’ January 1872, p. 65.

universality,

universality, of religious conceptions—it is once more necessary to commence with definitions and distinctions. It is obvious that it cannot here be meant to assert that men have, almost universally, a positive religious belief, since so vast a number of those we know familiarly have none. It is evident that we cannot be surprised at finding generally diffused in some other nations, irreligious or non-religious phenomena analogous to those we may meet with in our own. Neither can it be meant that a distinct religious system is to be found in every nation or tribe, since it would manifestly be very probable that the descendants of some isolated irreligious parents should have grown up devoid of religion altogether. What *is* meant by the universality of religious conceptions is the general diffusion amongst all considerable races of men: first, of a power to apprehend the existence of a good supernatural Being possessed of knowledge and will, and rewarding men in another world in accordance with their conduct in this; secondly, of a tendency to believe in the actual existence of superhuman powers and beings, and also in an existence beyond the grave—however shadowy, distorted, or aborted such conceptions may seem to us to be.

We have then to consider our authors' teachings as to the following questions:—First, whether any people are now in a state as unconscious of the preternatural and as unconcerned with regard to a future life, as are the brutes? Secondly, whether any races exist which may be deemed to be in a transitional condition from brutish non-religiosity, or with religious conceptions so essentially divergent from our own as to be different in *kind*, and, therefore, incapable of transition either from or to the highest religious condition? But if in the former inquiries it was necessary for us to be upon our guard against the misapprehensions and misinterpretations of travellers, it is still more necessary for us to be so here. The necessity is so great because both theological and anti-theological prejudices are more likely than are any others to warp the judgment and influence the appreciations of even well-meaning observers. As to the theological prejudice, however, we can effectually guard against that by building upon the facts and inferences offered to us by the authors we are reviewing. Whatever may be their most conspicuous merits, or their shortcomings, theological prejudice will not be a vice we shall have to guard against in them. Admissions made by them, favourable to theology, may be accepted without apprehension upon that score.

As regards the influence of bias in this matter we cite some remarks of Mr. Tylor himself which are well worthy of consideration (the italics are ours):—

‘While

While observers who have had fair opportunities of studying the religions of savages have thus sometimes done scant justice to the facts before their eyes, the hasty denials of others who have judged without even facts can carry no great weight. A sixteenth-century traveller gave an account of the natives of Florida which is typical of such: "Touching the religion of this people which wee have found, for want of their language wee could not understand neither by signs nor gesture that they had any religion or lawse at all. . . . We suppose that they have no religion at all, and that they live at their own libertie." Better knowledge of these Floridans nevertheless showed that they had a religion, and better knowledge has reversed many another hasty assertion to the same effect; as when writers used to declare that the natives of Madagascar had no idea of a future state, and no word for soul or spirit, or when Dampier inquired after the religion of the natives of Timor, and was told that they had none; or when Sir Thomas Roe landed in Saldanha Bay, on his way to the court of the Great Mogul, and remarked of the Hottentots that "they have left off their custom of stealing, but know no God or religion." Among the numerous accounts collected by Sir John Lubbock as evidence bearing on the absence or low development of religion among low races, some may be selected as lying open to criticism from this point of view. Thus, the statement that the Samoan Islanders had no religion cannot stand in the face of the elaborate description by the Rev. G. Turner of the Samoan religion itself; and the assertion that the Tapinombas of Brazil had no religion, is one not to be received without some more positive proof, for the religious doctrines and practices of the Tapi race have been recorded by Lery, De Laet, and other writers. Even with much time and care and knowledge of language, it is not always easy to elicit from savages the details of their theology. They rather try to hide from the prying and contemptuous foreigner their worship of gods who seem to shrink, like their worshippers, before the white man and his mightier Deity. And thus, even where no positive proof of religious development among any particular tribe has reached us, we should distrust its denial by observers whose acquaintance with the tribe in question has not been intimate as well as kindly. Assertions of this sort are made *very carelessly*. Thus, it is said of the Andaman Islanders that they have not the rudest elements of a religious faith; Dr. Monat states this explicitly; yet it appears that the natives did not even display to the foreigners the rude music which they actually possessed, so that they could scarcely have been expected to be communicative as to their theology, if they had any. In our time, the most striking negation of the religion of savage tribes is that published by Sir Samuel Baker, in a paper read in 1866 before the Ethnological Society of London, as follows: "The most northern tribes of the White Nile are the Dinkas, Shillooks, Nuehr, Kytch, Bohr, Aliab, and Shir. A general description will suffice for the whole, excepting the Kytch. Without any exception, they are without a belief in a supreme being, neither have they any form of worship or idolatry; nor is the darkness of their minds enlightened by even a

ray of superstition." Had this distinguished explorer spoken only of the Latukaa, or of other tribes hardly known to ethnographers except through his own intercourse with them, his denial of any religious consciousness to them would have been at least entitled to stand as the best procurable account, until more intimate communication should prove or disprove it. But in speaking thus of comparatively well-known tribes, such as the Dinkas, Shillooks, and Nuehr, Sir S. Baker ignores the existence of published evidence, such as describes the sacrifices of the Dinkas, their belief in good and evil spirits (*adjok* and *djyok*), their good deity and heaven-dwelling creator, *Dendid*, as likewise *Néar*, the deity of the Nuehr, and the Shillooks' creator, who is described as visiting, like other spirits, a sacred wood or tree. Kaufmann, Bonn, Bollet, Lejean, and other observers, had thus placed on record details of the religion of these White Nile tribes, years before Sir Samuel Baker's rash denial that they had any religion at all.—*Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 381.

Again Mr. Tylor quotes, as surprisingly inconsistent,—

'Mr. Moffat's declaration as to the Bechuanas, that "man's immortality was never heard of among that people," he having remarked in the sentence next before, that the word for the shades or manes of the dead is "liriti." In South America, again, Don Felix de Azara comments on the positive falsity of the ecclesiastics' assertion that the native tribes have a religion. He simply declares that they have none; nevertheless, in the course of his work he mentions such facts as that the Payaguas bury arms and clothing with their dead, and have some notions of a future life, and that the Guanas believe in a being who rewards good and punishes evil. In fact, this author's reckless denial of religion and law to the lower races of this region justifies D'Orbigny's sharp criticism * that "this is indeed what he says of all the nations he describes, while actually proving the contrary of his thesis by the very facts he alleges in its support."—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 379.

Once more, as to the easy way in which the real meaning of words may escape the reporters of such expressions, Mr. Tylor judiciously observes:—

'Prudent ethnographers must often doubt accounts of such, for this reason, that the savage who declares that the dead live no more, may merely mean to say *that they are dead*. When the East African is asked what becomes of his buried ancestors, the "old people," he can reply that "they are ended," yet at the same time he fully admits that their ghosts survive.'—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 18.

Mr. Tylor's own belief (expressed, of course, in terms conformable to his own view of evolution) as to the religion of the lower races is thus declared:† 'Genuine savage faiths do, in

* 'L'Homme Américain,' vol. ii. p. 318. † 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii. p. 288.
fact,

fact, bring to our view what seem to be rudimentary forms of ideas which underlie dualistic theological schemes among higher nations. It is certain that even amongst rude savage hordes native thought has already turned toward the deep problem of good and evil.' He thus admits an essentially and distinctly ethical element into the theology of even 'genuine' savages. But our author has yet more decided views as to the universality of religious conceptions. Concerning the existence of savages without religion, he says* (speaking from his point of view as a supporter of the monistic hypothesis): 'Though the theoretical niche is ready and convenient, the actual statue to fill it is not forthcoming. The case is, in some degree, similar to that of the tribes asserted to exist without language or without the use of fire; nothing in the nature of things [?] seems to forbid the possibility of such existence, but, as a matter of fact, the tribes are not found.'

As we have said, the native Australians have much pretension to the post of lowest of existing races, and we often hear a great deal as to their non-religious condition; nevertheless Mr. Tylor quotes† the Rev. W. Ridley to the effect that 'whenever he has conversed with the Aborigines, he found them to have quite definite traditions concerning supernatural beings, as Baime, whose voice they hear in thunder and who made all things.' Moreover this testimony is reinforced by that of Stanbridge ('T. Eth. Soc.,' vol. i. p. 301), who is quoted as asserting that so far from the Australians having no religion, 'they declare that Jupiter, whom they call "foot of day" (Ginabong-Beary), was a chief among the old Spirits, that ancient race who were translated to heaven before man came on earth.' But not only do we thus meet with distinct conceptions of the supernatural where their existence has been denied, but some of the external manifestations of these conceptions are by no means to be despised. Thus in a prayer used by the Khonds of Orissa we find‡ the following words: 'We are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it us!' Mr. Tylor adds: 'Such are types of prayer in the lower levels of culture!'

But the universal tendency of even the most degraded tribes to practices which clearly show their belief in preternatural agencies is too notorious to admit of serious discussion, while the wide-spread, and probably all but universal, practice of some kind of funereal rites speaks plainly of as wide a notion that the dead

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 378.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 378.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 285.

in some sense yet live. As to the power possessed by even the lowest races of apprehending strictly religious conceptions, the annals of the Christian Propaganda prove it abundantly. The Australians, however, are generally believed to be the most hopeless subjects of missionary effort, and yet Western Australia* demonstrates the utter groundlessness of this persuasion. We may conclude, then, that no existing race is generally devoid of conceptions regarding the preternatural, or entirely unconcerned about future existence, whether their own or that of their friends or enemies.

It remains, then, to inquire whether any existing races may be fairly considered as in a transitional state from a non-religious condition, like that of beasts? or whether the religious conceptions of any race are so different *in kind* from our own as to render it impossible for them to be the degraded remnants of former religious belief of a higher character? As to the first of these questions, it may be observed that the difference between a nature capable of religious conceptions and one not so capable is a difference of *kind*, and therefore 'transitions' are just as possible or as impossible here, as in the previous matters of morality and speech. This is a question the decision of which, again, rests with philosophy. Nevertheless it may be here observed that obviously no combinations of merely sensible perceptions could give rise to the conception of beings of a preternatural nature and with preternatural powers. It is a question not of a vague fear, but of conceptions of beings with superhuman attributes. As to the second question—that concerning the nature of religious conceptions in the most distinct races—it may be safely affirmed, on our author's own authority, that the differences are often much more superficial and the agreements much more profound than is very often, if not generally, supposed. The extreme want of flexibility of so many minds is the cause of this difficulty of perceiving how often the same essential idea underlies different external modes of representation. The personifications of stars, rivers, clouds, &c., are, when viewed under a certain aspect, to some tribes not only the natural expression of their religious conceptions, but probably even the nearest approach to truth now possible to them apart from revelation. As to their conceptions Mr. Tylor remarks: † 'They rest upon a broad philosophy of nature, early and crude indeed, but thoughtful, consistent, and quite really and seriously meant.' As to the *crudity*

* See 'Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie,' par Mgr. Rudesino Salvado, 1834.

† 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 258.

of these modes of expressing a belief in the general action of superhuman causation, it may be remarked that after all the error was trifling compared with that of modern Materialists—i.e., the modern crude conception that because the phenomena of nature are not produced by a human personality, they are produced by *none*! Mr. Tylor himself says,* as to the real resemblance between apparently very different religious developments, 'Baime, the creator, whose voice the rude Australians hear in the rolling thunder, will sit enthroned by the side of *Olympian Zeus himself*.'

We have heard much as to the notion entertained by some barbarians† that a distinction of ranks extends into the next world, and that the future state depends upon the social condition of the departed. But similar notions may exist amongst civilised people, as was evidenced by the often-quoted French lady of the *ancien régime*, who exclaimed, on learning the death of a profligate noble, 'God will think twice before he damns a man of the Marquis's quality.' Indeed it may be said that a belief in the continuance after death of the conditions of this life is at the present time spreading widely amongst thousands who accept the teachings of Spiritualism as a new gospel. But how often may not the highest signification lie hidden and latent under a term which is apparently but sensuous in its meaning? The loftiest terms in use amongst us even now, whether in Science, Religion, or Philosophy, are, when ultimately analysed, but sensuous symbols, such being the necessary materials of our whole language; but this by no means prevents our attaching to such subjects very different *ideas*. Who, when speaking of the spirit of Shakespeare, thinks of the pulmonary exhalation which that term primitively denoted. Mr. Tylor objects‡ to the expression 'an offering made by fire of a sweet savour before the Lord,' as being barbarous; but what words could have been used to express spiritual acceptability which would *not* have had a primarily sensuous meaning? Yet granted that many races have no higher conceptions as to the preternatural than belief in demons, dread of witchcraft, and belief in ghosts, is that any reason why such races should not be descended from remote ancestors with a much higher creed? Such, indeed, does appear to be the belief of Sir John Lubbock, who says:§ 'Religion appeals so strongly to the hopes and fears of men, it takes so deep a hold on most minds, in its higher forms it is so great a

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 248.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 350.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 78.

§ 'The Origin of Civilisation,' p. 331.

consolation

consolation in times of sorrow and sickness, that I can hardly think any nation would ever abandon it altogether.' Again, in reply to the Duke of Argyll, who had objected existing phenomena, Sir John observes: * 'If the Duke means to say that men who are highly civilised, habitually or frequently lose and scornfully disavow religion, I can only say that I should adopt such an opinion with difficulty and regret.' The latter of these passages takes away any weight which might attach to the former, for it is difficult to believe that the passage last quoted can have been seriously meant by its author when we reflect that he must be acquainted with the views of Buchner, Vogt, and Strauss. It is one of the calamities of our time and country that unbelievers, instead of, as in France, honestly avowing their sentiments, disguise them by studious reticence—as Mr. Darwin disguised at first his views as to the bestiality of man, and as the late Mr. Mill silently allowed himself to be represented to the public as a believer in God. When we consider how energetically Atheism manifested itself recently in Paris, its passionate development in Spain with the vigorous atheistic declarations of its late Colonial Minister, when anyone at all acquainted with the Continent must know that it counts its enthusiastic disciples by tens of thousands, it is surely nothing less than solemn trifling † to speak of 'difficulty' in recognising patent facts.

We have, then, but to look about us to see how very easily such a corruption as that supposed might have taken place, even in nations as highly developed as our own. We have but to imagine the emigration of a few such families, and the extinction of religion in their progeny would be inevitable; and in order that a belief in ghosts and in evil spirits might coexist with such religious ignorance, we need but suppose some spiritualists to be amongst the emigrants in question.

But a difficulty is put forward as to the rite of sacrifice. This practice is represented as having originated in the gross notion of actually feeding the gods with flesh, or at least in the spirit of such flesh serving as food to the spiritual beings to whom it was offered, and not in the modern notion of sacrifice. Mr. Tylor

* 'The Origin of Civilisation,' p. 348.

† At p. 256 Sir John also says:—'If we consider the various aspects of Christianity as understood by different nations, we can hardly fail to perceive that the dignity, and therefore the truth, of their religious beliefs, is in direct relation to the knowledge of science and of the great physical laws by which our universe is governed.' Were this true, Vogt, Buchner, Darwin, and Strauss would exemplify the *highest* religious belief. But, in truth, what can be more preposterous than to assert or imply that physical science has to do with the government of the universe?

says: * 'The mere fact of sacrifice to deities, from the lowest to the highest levels of culture, consisting of the extent of nine-tenths or more of gifts of food for sacred banquets, tells forcibly against the originality of the abnegation theory.' But we ask, Why so? If food in the earliest period was *the* thing to sacrifice which constituted the greatest self-denial easily practised, then, on natural grounds only, we might conclude that such a practice would arise, and that the habit, being once formed, continued and became widely diffused. But elsewhere, indeed, he concedes a great deal, and admits † that 'we do not find it easy to analyse the impression which a gift makes on our own feelings, and to separate the actual value of the object from the sense of gratification in the giver's good-will or respect, and thus we may well scruple to define closely how uncultured men work out this very same distinction in their dealings with their deities.' This is excellent, and how distinctly a real and unmistakably expressed ethical conception really accompanies such practices in some tribes he himself shows us in another passage. In a Zulu prayer given by him, ‡ we find: 'If you ask food of me which *you have given me*, is it not *proper* that *I should give it to you?*' As he truly says: § 'The Phœnicians sacrificed the dearest children to propitiate the angry gods,' &c. But, in fact, early sacrifice contained, at the least, implicitly, potentially, vaguely, and in germ, all that which later became actually developed and distinctly expressed. It is not possible for Mr. Tylor, or for anyone else, to prove that it did *not* do so, and that it inevitably *must have done so* we may securely judge from the *outcome* which has since resulted.

We may fairly, then, conclude that there is no evidence of the existence of any race devoid of religious conceptions altogether, or possessing such conceptions so fundamentally different from those existing to-day, that it is impossible to regard them as instances of degradation. The *possibility* of such states is a question for philosophy, but their *actual* non-existence may be taken as established from the failure of all efforts to prove them, and from the admissions herein quoted. Before leaving the subject, we may cite an amusing parody of certain recent attempts to explain almost all early history and legend by myths of dawn and sunrise. Mr. Tylor says, || with respect to the 'Song of Sixpence': — 'Obviously, the four-and-twenty blackbirds are the four-and-

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii. p. 360.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 357.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 361.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 333.

|| Ibid. vol. i. p. 287.

twenty hours, and the pie that holds them is the underlying earth covered with the overarching sky: how true a touch of nature it is, that when the pie is opened, that is, when day breaks, the birds begin to sing. The king is the sun, and his counting out his money is pouring out the sunshine, the golden shower of Danae. The queen is the moon, and her transparent honey the moonlight. The maid is the rosy-fingered dawn, who rises before the sun, her master, and hangs out the clouds, his clothes, across the sky. The particular blackbird who so tragically ends the tale by snipping off her nose, is the hour of sunrise.' Mr. Tylor similarly explains the life and death of Julius Cæsar.

IV. We may now proceed to our fourth inquiry, that concerning 'Progress,' or the question whether, on the whole, progress has prevailed among savage races, or whether they have not in the main degenerated? As to this matter, both our authors are strongly of opinion that no extensive or predominant retrogression has taken place. Nevertheless, certain facts stated by them, and certain opinions expressed, seem to indicate at least the possibility of a more extensive process of degeneration than they are inclined to allow. Social progress is an exceedingly complex phenomenon, the result of many factors; and even existing instances of partial retrogression, as in Spain, are palpable enough, while no one will probably contest the inferiority, in many respects, of the Greece of our day to that which listened to the voice of Aristotle or Plato.

Mr. Tylor contrasts very favourably with the late Mr. Buckle in his appreciation of this complexity, and in his perception of the importance of moral as well as of intellectual improvement, and of the absurdity of those who make sure that every revolutionary change must be an improvement. He says:—

'Even granting that intellectual, moral, and political life may, on a broad view, be seen to progress together, it is obvious that they are far from advancing with equal steps. It may be taken as a man's rule of duty in the world, that he shall strive to know as well as he can find out, and do as well as he knows how. But the parting asunder of these two great principles, that separation of intelligence from virtue which accounts for so much of the wrongdoing of mankind, is continually seen to happen in the great movements of civilisation. As one conspicuous instance of what all history stands to prove, if we study the early ages of Christianity, we may see men with minds pervaded by the new religion of duty, holiness, and love, yet at the same time actually falling away in intellectual life, thus at once vigorously grasping one-half of civilisation, and contemptuously casting off the other.'—*Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 25.

This aspect of the question has an important bearing upon our
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mode of regarding the earliest families of man. It is plain that a high moral standard might have existed with a most rudimentary state of art and the scantiest appliances of material civilisation. After speaking of Mr. Alfred Wallace and of Lieut. Bruijn Kops, Mr. Tylor says: 'Ethnographers who seek in modern savages types of the remotely ancient human race at large, are bound by such examples to consider the rude life of primæval man under favourable conditions to have been, in its measure, a good and happy life.'

It is difficult for us, surrounded by the abundant aids afforded by international communication, to realise the different effects which would probably result from an absence of such assistance and stimulus. This is perceived by Mr. Tylor, who remarks: * 'In striking a balance between the effects of forward and backward movements in civilisation, it must be borne in mind how powerfully the diffusion of culture acts in preserving the results of progress from the attacks of degeneration.' Therefore, at an early period, when there was little diffusion and no intercommunication between groups which had become isolated, degeneration might very easily have taken place, and these isolated groups may have become the parents of tribes now widely spread. Indeed, our author adds,—

'Degeneration probably operates even more actively in the lower than in the higher culture. Barbarous nations and savage hordes, with their less knowledge and scantier appliances, would seem peculiarly exposed to degrading influences.'

After giving an instance from West Africa, he continues:—

'In South-East Africa, also, a comparatively high barbaric culture, which we especially associate with the old descriptions of the kingdom of Monomotapa, seems to have fallen away, and the remarkable ruins of buildings of hewn stone fitted without mortar indicate a former civilisation above that of the native population.'

But actual degradation is a fact which is directly attested, and which the ruins of Central America demonstrate. Our author quotes Father Charlevoix to the effect that the Iroquois, having had their villages burnt,

'have not taken the trouble to restore them to their old condition. . . . The degradation of the Cheyenne Indians is matter of history, and "Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle came upon an outlying fragment of the Shushway race, without horses or dogs, sheltering themselves under rude temporary slants of bark or matting, falling year by year into lower misery."—*Primitive Culture*, vol. i. pp. 41, 42.

* '*Primitive Culture*,' vol. i. p. 39.

Thus we may be *certain* that some savages have been degraded from a higher level, and this establishes an *à priori* probability that all have been so. Such degradation would not, however, be inconsistent with the existence of a considerable amount of progress in some places side by side with a wider degradation. The New Zealanders show evidence of a possible degradation through changed conditions, as they doubtless at one time inhabited a more favoured clime. They show * this by their use of the well-known Polynesian word 'niu' (cocoa-nut) for different kinds of divination, thus keeping 'up a trace of the time when their ancestors in the tropical islands had them and divined by them.'

How soon the use even of stone implements may be forgotten is proved by Erman in Kamskatka,† who got there a fluted prism of obsidian; 'but though one would have thought that the comparatively recent use of stone instruments in the country would have been still fresh in the memory of the people, the natives who dug it up had no idea what it was.' Again: 'The Fuegians‡ have for centuries used a higher method of making fire than have the Patagonians. This looks very much like the *survival* of a higher culture as to this practice in the midst of a widespread degeneracy. Such an explanation is strengthened by the following remark§ about the Fuegians: 'This art of striking fire instead of laboriously producing it with the drill, is not, indeed, the only thing in which the culture of this race stands above that of their northern neighbours,' their canoes also being of superior quality. Mr. Tylor thinks that the South Australians may have learnt their art of making polished instruments of green jade from 'some Malay or Polynesian source,' instead of its having survived the wreck of a higher culture, as the fire-making art of the Fuegians has probably so done. But this is a mere possibility, and experience shows us how often such arts are *not* learnt even when we know for certain that the opportunity of learning them has been offered. Thus our author himself remarks,|| that the North Americans never learnt the art of metal work, &c. from the Europeans of the tenth century. That the belief in a persistence of social conditions after death, before referred to, may be a degradation, is shown by the spread of modern 'spiritualism,' which has widely propagated that belief amongst people whose ancestral creed taught a very different doctrine.

A curious proof of degradation of one or another kind is exemplified by the ceremonial purifications practised by the

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 73.

† 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 207.

‡ Ibid. pp. 243-6.

§ Ibid. p. 259.

|| Ibid. p. 205.

Kafirs. Respecting these Mr. Tylor remarks: * 'It is to be noticed that these ceremonial practices have come to mean something distinct from mere cleanliness. Kafirs who will purify themselves from ceremonial uncleanness by washing, are not in the habit of washing themselves or their vessels for ordinary purposes, and the dogs and the cockroaches divide between them the duty of cleaning out the milk-baskets.' Therefore here one of two things must be conceded. We have either a case of degradation and degeneration from earlier cleanliness, or else there must have been an original spiritual meaning in certain primitive washings pointing to a higher religious condition than that at present existing amongst those who practise the ceremonies in question. Again, the legend of the World Tortoise† may be but a degradation, and have meant, as Mr. Tylor suggests, to express the hemispherical Heavens overarching the flat expanded plain of Earth.

Sir John Lubbock presents to us data which, in fact, also speak of degradation in a more northern part of Africa, namely, amongst the Christians of Abyssinia. He quotes‡ Bruce as saying that there is 'no such thing as marriage in Abyssinia, unless that which is contracted by mutual consent, without other form, subsisting only till dissolved by dissent of one or other, and to be renewed or repeated as often as it is agreeable to both parties, who, when they please, live together again as man and wife, after having been divorced, had children by others, or whether they have been married, or had children with others or not. I remember to have once been at Koscam in presence of the Iteghe (the Queen), when, in the circle, there was a woman of great quality, and seven men who had all been her husbands, none of whom was the happy spouse at that time.'§ Sir John significantly couples with this quotation another to the effect that, for all this, 'there is no country in the world where there are so many churches.'|| Now when Christianity was first accepted by these Christians their practice must have been very different, and, therefore, we have here an unquestionable case of Christian degeneracy parallel to, and carried further than, the analogous degeneracy of Portugal and its transatlantic offspring Brazil. It is curious, also, that in these cases, more or less religious isolation has been the prelude to degeneracy.

There is, then, much reason to think that degeneracy may have been both great in degree and wide-spread in its effects,

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. ii. p. 393.

† 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 393.

‡ 'The Origin of Civilisation,' p. 57.

§ Bruce's 'Travels,' vol. iv. p. 487.

|| Ibid. vol. v. p. 1.

so as to account by degradation for the existing state of all the various tribes of savages which discovery has made known to us. But the maintenance of this position is by no means necessary to justify the religious belief of even the most orthodox Christians. Orthodoxy does not by any means necessarily conflict with such views as those put forward by Messrs. Tylor and Lubbock. All traces now, or to be hereafter, discovered of ancient man, may indicate *ascent* and progress, and all existing savages may be *ascending* from still lower levels, and yet the first man may, notwithstanding, have been all that theology asserts that he was. Nay more, his progeny may none the less have preserved for a considerable period a high degree of direct, simple, moral elevation in an age of stone, and yet have been the ancestors of races who fell below the level of any savages now existing on the earth. In theology Adam stands in a category of his own. According to it he was actually all that it became him as man to be, having the full and perfect use of reason in the first moment of his existence. But it is impossible to argue from Adam even to his immediate descendants, as the difference between their states is a difference not of degree but of kind. According to the strictest theology, part even of Adam's knowledge was acquired, not infused, and, therefore, took time and depended upon the occurrence of opportunities. His descendants were naturally in a state of mere ignorance, to be removed only by education either by way of what is technically called *disciplina* or else by *inventio*. Now as regards their degenerate descendants, the *Homines sylvestrici*, these were, by the hypothesis, in a position which deprived them of the first of these influences, and circumstances might well have rendered their power of *inventio* inoperative and practically futile. Thus some might have remained stationary, or have continued to retrograde till discovered by civilised man, while others more favourably circumstanced might have again spontaneously advanced by their own *inventio* and been found by discoverers in a positively ascending and improving condition. Nothing, therefore, which ethnology or archaeology can demonstrate can conflict with Christian doctrine, since the question as to the mental condition of Adam is one utterly beyond the reach of any physical science, while any facts which science can prove concerning *Homo sylvestricus* will be welcomed by theologians as tending to throw light upon the condition of his descendants, as to which question there is complete freedom of opinion.

It is physical science, not theology, which inclines us to assign a greater scope to degeneration than that assigned to it by the authors we are reviewing. As has been said, instances

of

of degeneration are before our eyes to-day in Europe. Even the periodical literature of our own country is continually giving vent to opinions which have but to spread predominantly to render our degradation certain.

One of the greatest achievements of the last two thousand years has been the successful promulgation of the doctrine of *purity of intention*, and not success, is that which is really deserving of esteem. Yet the essentially cruel heartlessness of Paganism is having its intellectual justification prepared for in the midst of our beneficent, humanitarian activities. To show this the more clearly we may quote the words of one who in so many ways, contrasts favourably with other members of that school of thought which he has not as yet explicitly repudiated. The exigencies of his present philosophical position have betrayed even Mr. Herbert Spencer into speaking * of the 'Worthy' and the 'Unworthy' as synonymous with the 'well-to-do' and the 'ill-to-do,' and he does not guard himself from being understood to call the poor and the unsuccessful, as such, by the opprobrious epithet 'good-for-nothings.' † Another triumph of the same Christian period has been the establishment of at least a pure theory of the sexual relations and the protection of the weaker sex against the selfishness of male concupiscence. Now, however, marriage is the constant subject of attack, and unrestrained licentiousness *theoretically* justified. Mr. George Darwin proposes ‡ that divorce should be made consequent on insanity, and coolly remarks that, should the patient recover, he would suffer in no other respect than does *anyone* that is forced by ill-health to retire from any career he has begun [!]; 'although, of course, the necessary isolation of the parent from the children would be a peculiarly bitter blow.' Elsewhere § he speaks in an approving strain of the most oppressive laws, and of the encouragement of vice in order to check population. There is no hideous sexual criminality of Pagan days that might not be defended on the principles advocated by the school to which this writer belongs. This repulsive phenomenon affords a fresh demonstration of what France of the Regency and Pagan Rome long ago demonstrated; namely, how easily the most profound moral corruption can co-exist with the most varied appliances of a complex civilisation. The peasants of the Tyrol, on the other hand, serve equally well to demonstrate how pure and lofty a morality and how really refined a mental civilisation may co-exist with very great simplicity in the adjuncts and

* 'Contemporary Review,' August 1873, p. 343.

† Ibid. p. 339.

‡ Ibid. p. 418, 'On Beneficial Restrictions to Liberty of Marriage.'

§ Ibid. pp. 424-5.

instruments of social life. We have but to develop this idea somewhat further to see a family of the Stone age, clothed in a few skins, ignorant of the sciences, and innocent of all but the rudest art, yet possessed of a moral integrity but very exceptionally present amidst the population of the greatest cities of modern days. Mr. Tylor tells* us that the wild Veddahs of Ceylon, though extremely barbarous as to their dwellings, clothing, and use of the fire-drill, 'are most truthful and honest,' and 'their monogamy and conjugal fidelity contrast strongly with the opposite habits of the more civilised Singhalese.' Sir John Lubbock has collected the following particulars as to the social state of the Esquimaux, a people so peculiarly interesting to us in this inquiry because by some deemed to be the last survivors of an ancient miocene race:—

'Captain Parry gives us the following pictures of an Esquimaux hut. "In the few opportunities we had of putting their hospitality to the test we had every reason to be pleased with them. Both as to food and accommodation, the best they had were always at our service; and their attention, both in kind and degree, was everything that hospitality and even good breeding could dictate. The kindly offices of drying and mending our clothes, cooking our provisions, and thawing snow for our drink, were performed by the women with an obliging cheerfulness which we shall not easily forget, and which demanded its due share of our admiration and esteem. While thus their guest I have passed an evening not only with comfort, but with extreme gratification; for with the women working and singing, their husbands quietly mending their lines, the children playing before the door and the pot boiling over the blaze of a cheerful lamp, one might well forget for the time that an Esquimaux hut was the scene of this domestic comfort and tranquillity; and I can safely affirm, with Cartwright, that, while thus lodged beneath their roof, I know no people whom I would more confidently trust, as respects either my person or my property, than the Esquimaux." Dr. Rae,† who had ample means of judging, tells us that the Eastern Esquimaux are sober, steady, and faithful, . . . provident of their own property and careful of that of others when under their charge. . . . Socially they are lively, cheerful, and chatty people, fond of associating with each other and with strangers, with whom they soon become on friendly terms, if kindly treated. . . . In their domestic relations they are exemplary. The man is an obedient son, a good husband, and a kind father. . . . The children when young are docile. . . . The girls have their dolls, in making dresses and shoes for which they amuse and employ themselves. The boys have miniature bows, arrows, and spears. . . . When grown up they are dutiful to their parents. . . . Orphan children are readily adopted and well cared for until they are able to provide

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 45.

† 'Trans. Eth. Soc. 1886,' p. 138.
for

for themselves. He concludes by saying: "The more I saw of the Esquimaux the higher was the opinion I formed of them."—*The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 343.

V. The quotations just given bring us directly to the explicit consideration of our fifth inquiry, the answer to which has been already so much anticipated—that, namely, respecting the existence of a community of nature amongst all the most diverse races of mankind. Here again we must carefully bear in mind the inaccuracy and the tendency to exaggeration so common with travellers, as well as their liability to be intentionally deceived. Thus Mr. Oldfield showed to some New Hollanders a drawing of one of their own people, which they asserted to be intended to represent not a man but a ship or a kangaroo, or other very different object. As to this story Sir John Lubbock shrewdly remarks *: 'It is not, however, quite clear to me that they were not poking fun at Mr. Oldfield.' A similar explanation is probably available in some other cases also. The absence of certain arts or customs in a given area at a given early period, by no means necessarily implies that they had not previously existed. The necessity of this caution is shown by the following remark † of Sir John Lubbock concerning the pictorial art: 'It is somewhat remarkable that while even in the Stone period we find very fair drawings of animals, yet in the latest part of the Stone age, and throughout that of Bronze, they are almost entirely wanting, and the ornamentation is confined to various combinations of straight and curved lines and geometrical patterns.' In the two preceding pages the same author relates to us different curious modes of salutation; but all such curious customs prove the essential similarity and rationality of man, and form no approximation to a brutal condition, in which 'salutation' is unknown. Sir John Lubbock gives ‡ the following as an instance of remarkable superstition: 'The natives near Sydney made it an invariable rule never to whistle when beneath a particular cliff, because on one occasion a rock fell from it and crushed some natives who were whistling underneath it.' It is not clear, however, that this was not rather a case of prudence, which many Europeans would be inclined to imitate. Sir John Lubbock also quotes with approval from Mr. Sproat the opinion that the difference between the savage and the cultivated mind is merely between the more or less aroused condition of the one and the same mind. The quotation is made § in reference to the Ahts of North-Western America: 'The native mind, to an educated man, seems generally

* 'Prehistoric Times,' p. 428.

† Ibid. p. 188.

‡ 'The Origin of Civilisation,' p. 25.

§ Ibid. p. 5.

to **be** asleep; and, if you suddenly ask a novel question, you **have** to repeat it while the mind of the savage is awakening, and to **speak** with emphasis until he has quite got your meaning.'

The low arithmetical power possessed by many tribes has been much spoken of; but, in fact, what is really remarkable is, that this power, however low, really exists in all. If any tribe could be found without the conception 'number' at all, and therefore unable to count two, that would indeed show the existence of an essential diversity; but no one has attempted to assert that such a tribe has been discovered. Those who have examined the remains of our own ancestors of the Bronze period—their elaborate ornaments, their ceremonial weapons—can hardly have avoided arriving at the conclusion that the difference between them and the Englishmen of to-day can have been but trifling in the extreme. An absurdly exaggerated idea of the special importance of our own social condition and of the value of the merely material appliances of civilisation can alone induce an opposite conclusion. It is an analogous superficiality which also tends to break down the barrier between man and brute by what Mr. Herbert Spencer calls 'inverted anthropomorphism'; and with respect to which some good remarks* are made by Mr. Tylor, who tells us:—

'Uncivilised man deliberately assigns to apes an amount of human quality which to modern naturalists is simply ridiculous. Everyone has heard the story of the negroes declaring that apes can speak, but judiciously hold their tongues lest they should be made to work; but it is not generally known that this is found as serious matter of belief in several distant regions—West Africa, Madagascar, South America, &c.—where monkeys or apes are found. . . . On the other hand, popular opinion has under-estimated the man as much as it has over-estimated the monkey. We know how sailors and emigrants can look on savages as senseless, ape-like brutes, and how some writers on anthropology have contrived to make out of the moderate intellectual difference between an Englishman and a negro something equivalent to the immense interval between a negro and a gorilla. Thus we can have no difficulty in understanding how savages may seem more apes to the eyes of men who hunt them like wild beasts in the forests, who can only hear in their language a sort of irrational gurgling and barking, and who fail totally to appreciate the real culture which better acquaintance always shows among the rudest tribes of man.'

Again, he adds †:—

'The sense of an absolute psychical distinction between man and beast, so prevalent in the civilised world, is hardly to be found among the lower races.'

* 'Primitive Culture,' pp. 342-3.

† Op. cit. vol. i. p. 423.

Thus.

Thus the view, so popular to-day, as to the community of nature between man and brutes, is really a reversion towards savage thought. As to man, considered without reference to lower animals, Mr. Tylor declares himself very decidedly in favour of the substantial community of nature existing in the most divergent human races. He pronounces * as follows: 'The state of things amongst the lower tribes which presents itself to the student, is a *substantial similarity* in knowledge, arts and customs, running through the whole world. Not that the whole culture of all tribes is alike—far from it; but if any art or custom belonging to a low tribe is selected at random, it is twenty to one that something substantially like it may be found in at least one place thousands of miles off, though it very frequently happens that there are large portions of the earth's surface lying between, where it has not been observed. Indeed there are few things in cookery, clothing, arms, vessels, boots, ornaments, found in one place, that cannot be matched more or less nearly somewhere else.' Respecting the alleged ignorance of fire in some races, he observes: † 'It is likely that the American explorers may have misinterpreted the surprise of the natives at seeing cigars smoked, and fire produced from flint and steel, as well as the eating of raw fish and the absence of signs of cooking in the dwellings.' Wilkes, in the 'Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition' (1838-42), has given 'ignorance of fire' as an interpretation of such observed phenomena, and yet, as Mr. Tylor remarks, 'curiously enough, within the very work particulars are given which show that *fire* was in reality a *familiar thing in the island!*' It is probable that the same error has occurred in other instances.

Our author even thinks ‡ that the Fijians have themselves *invented* an eating fork, and he reminds us § how our practices of stopping teeth with gold and dressing fish *en papillotte* have been anticipated by the ancient Egyptians on the one hand, and by the Australians (by means of bark) on the other.

But it would be difficult to cite stronger testimony than that given by Mr. Tylor to the community of nature in different races under the most diverse physical conditions, judging from unity of products, gesture, language, customs, &c., although 'we might reasonably expect that men of like minds, when placed under widely different circumstances of country, climate, vegetable and animal life, and so forth, should develope very various phenomena of civilisation.' ||

* 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' p. 169. † Op. cit. p. 231.

‡ Op. cit. p. 175.

§ Op. cit. p. 173.

|| Op. cit. p. 362.

Although

Although Mr. Tylor ventures * 'to judge in a rough way of an early condition of man, which from our [his] point of view is to be regarded as a primitive condition, whatever yet earlier state may in reality have lain behind it,' he fully admits that, as far as research carries us, the same human characteristics come again and again before us on every hand. He concludes with the following emphatic tribute to the essential unity of man in all ages, all climes, and all conditions :†—

'The historian and the ethnographer must be called upon to show the hereditary standing of each opinion and practice, and their inquiry must go back as far as antiquity or savagery can show a vestige, for there seems no human thought so primitive as to have lost its bearing on our own thought, nor so ancient as to have broken its connection with our own life.'

With these declarations we may well rest contented, and conclude—from the absence of opposing evidence, as well as from such admissions on the part of a witness whose bias is in an opposite direction—that one common fundamental human nature is present in all the tribes and races of men (however contrasted in external appearance) which are scattered over the whole surface of the habitable globe.

VI. We are now in a position to draw our conclusions from the foregoing data, and state the results which the teachings of Mr. Tylor and Sir John Lubbock seem to force upon us. The works referred to and quoted have been, as we said, selected for review because their authors are not only most justly esteemed for their information and capability, not only because they are representative men in ethnology and archæology, but also because their bias is *favourable* to the monistic view of evolution, and their evidences, and admissions made by them which tell against that view, can be more safely relied on. We have considered facts brought forward by one or other of them, and judgments expressed on those facts with regard to speech, morality, religion, progress, and community of nature in the most diverse tribes of mankind, with a view to discovering (1) whether any evidence can be adduced of man's existence in a brutal or irrational condition ; (2) whether the evidence points in the direction of such a condition in the past ; and (3) whether any men now exist less remote from beasts than from the highest individuals of mankind? We have found, as regards *Language*, not only an essential agreement amongst all men, but that even the merely dumb prove by their gestures that they are possessed of the really important part of the faculty (the *verbum mentale*), though acci-

* 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 19.

† Op. cit. vol. i. p. 409.
dentally

mentally deprived of the power of giving it verbal expression (the *verbum oris*). As to *Morals*, we have found that not only are all races possessed of moral perception, but even that their fundamental moral principles are not in contradiction with our own.

Concerning *Religion*, we have seen that religious conceptions appear to exist universally amongst all races of mankind, though often curiously aborted or distorted, and often tending to extreme degradation after periods during which a higher level had been maintained. Respecting *Community of Nature*, we have been able to quote from Mr. Tylor assertions of the most unequivocal character. Finally, as to *Progress*, we have found cause to believe that '*Retrogression*' may have been much greater and more extensive than our authors are disposed to admit; but that however that may be, and even if their views on this subject are correct, as to existing races, such views, if established, would not constitute one iota of proof that the Christian doctrines as to man, his origin and nature, are erroneous.

From the absence of any positive proof as to a brutal condition of mankind, and from the absence of even any transitional stage, a presumption, at the least, arises that no such transition ever took place. This absence, also (there being at the same time so much positive evidence of essential community of nature amongst all men), clearly throws the *onus probandi* on those who assert the fact of such transition in the past. At the least they must betake themselves to philosophy, which is alone able to decide as to the abstract possibility or impossibility of such a process, and show by it that the asserted transition is not only possible but also probable; and both demonstrations, we are confident, are beyond their power.

It seems, then, that in the sciences we are considering, namely, ethnology and archaeology, the most recent researches of the most trustworthy investigators show that the expectations of the supporters of the dualistic hypothesis are fulfilled, while those of the favourers of the monistic view are disappointed.

The final result therefore is that ethnology and archaeology, though incapable of deciding as to the possibility of applying the monistic view of evolution to man, yet, as far as they go, oppose that application. Thus the study of man past and present, by the last-mentioned sciences, when used as a test of the adequacy of the THEORY OF EVOLUTION, tends to show (though the ultimate decision, of course, rests with philosophy) that it is inadequate, and that another factor must be introduced of which it declines to take any account—the action, namely, of a DIVINE MIND as the direct and immediate originator and cause of the existence of its created image, the mind of man.

Such

Such being the result of the inquiry we have undertaken, the assertors of man's dignity are clearly under no slight obligations to Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Tylor for their patient, candid, and laborious toil. But if such is the case with regard to these writers, how much greater must be the obligation due to that author who has so profoundly influenced them, and whose suggestive writings have produced so great an effect on nineteenth-century Biology.

A deep debt of gratitude will indeed be one day due to Mr. Darwin—one difficult to over-estimate. This sentiment, however, will be mainly due to him for the indirect result of his labours. It will be due to him for his having, in fact, become the occasion of the *reductio ad absurdum* of that system which he set out to maintain—namely, the origin of man by natural selection, and the sufficiency of mechanical causes to account for the harmony, variety, beauty, and sweetness of that teeming world of life, of which man is the actual and, we believe, ordained observer, historian, and master.

But the study of savage life has taught us much.

Our poor obscurely thinking, roughly speaking, childishly acting, impulsive cousin of the wilds, the *Homo sylvaticus*, is not a useless tenant of his woods and plains, his rocks and rivers. His humble testimony is of the highest value in supporting the claims of his most civilised brothers to a higher than a merely brutal origin.

The religion of Abraham and Chrysostom, the intellect of Aristotle and Newton, the art of Raphael, of Shakespeare, of Mozart, have their claims to be no mere bestial developments, supported by that testimony. Through it these faculties are plainly seen to be different in kind from complex entanglements of merely animal instincts, and sensible impressions. The claims of man as we know him at his noblest, to be of a fundamentally different nature from the beasts which perish, become reinforced and reinvigorated in our eyes, when we find the very same moral, intellectual, and artistic nature (though disguised, obscured, and often profoundly misunderstood) present even in the rude, uncultured soul of the lowest of our race, the poor savage—*Homo sylvaticus*.

ART. III.—*The Book of Carlaveroch*. 2 vols., large quarto. Edinburgh, 1873 (not published).

COLLECTIONS of family papers have of late years much increased in both size and numbers. Even where no one of the name has risen to historical importance there are chests full

full of documents and letters that are lavishly poured forth. At present it not unfrequently happens that the records of a single not always very eminent house take up as many printed pages as would have been deemed sufficient thirty years ago to instruct a young student in the whole history of England or almost of Europe.

We are far, however, from complaining of this abundance. Even when a man was not himself distinguished, he may have had companionship or common action with those who were. By such means a thousand little traits of character may come unexpectedly to light. Still oftener there may, nay, there must, be reference to the domestic economies, the modes of living and the manners and customs of past times. Thus, when family papers are selected with care and edited with judgment—as was eminently the case, for example, with the ‘Caldwell Collection,’ comprised in three quarto volumes, and printed for the Maitland Club in 1854—they scarcely ever fail to yield fruit of price to the historian.

In the collection now before us are contained the records of the Maxwell family, belonging to Lord Herries, the present head of that ancient house, and confided by him to Mr. William Fraser for arrangement and annotation. The result has been a truly splendid work. These are two quarto volumes of the largest size, almost, indeed, rising to the dignity—as they certainly exceed the usual weight—of folios. The one volume is of 604 pages, the other of 590:—

‘Vix illud lecti bis sex service subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.’

No expense, we may add, has been spared in the beautiful types, in the facsimiles of ancient autographs, and the engravings of family portraits or family seats. The book is not for sale; and the impression, we observe, has been limited to 150 copies, so that we should consider it beyond our sphere, and printed only for private circulation, had not Lord Herries made it *publici juris* by presenting a copy in July last year to the Library of the British Museum.

Mr. Fraser, as editor of this collection, seems to us to have done his part with—we may say at least—perspicuity and candour. We have only to complain that, in the first half, at all events, of the eighteenth century, to which in these volumes our attention has been exclusively directed, he has made himself but very slightly acquainted with the other writers of the time. From this cause, as we conceive, he has left in obscurity some points which a wider reading would have enabled him to clear. To
give

give only one instance—for we should take no pleasure in any long list of minute omissions—Mr. Fraser, in Lady Traquair's letter of January 1724, has failed to see, or certainly, at least, has failed to explain, that the 'Sir John' therein mentioned was one of the cant names for the Chevalier de St. George, or the Pretender, as we used to call him. Nor has he observed that the document there discussed is a letter of that Prince, dated August 20, 1723, and printed by Mr. Fraser in one of his preceding pages.

Of the many personages who in these volumes are presented to us, there is only one that we shall here produce. We desire to give our readers some account of that lady who saved her husband's life from the extremest peril, by the rare combination of high courage and inventive skill, a determined constancy of purpose, and a prompt versatility of means.

Lady Winifred Herbert was the fifth and youngest daughter of the Marquis of Powis; himself descended from the second son of the first Herbert Earl of Pembroke. The exact year of her birth is nowhere to be found recorded. The Marquis, her father, was a zealous Roman Catholic, and, as may be supposed, a warm adherent of James the Second. He followed that Prince in his exile, held the post of Lord Chamberlain in his melancholy Court, and received from him further the patent of Duke, which was never acknowledged in England. He died in 1697, but his wife and daughter continued to reside at St. Germain's under the protection of the Queen, Mary of Modena.

William fifth Earl of Nithsdale had been left a minor by his father's untimely death, but was brought up by his surviving parent in the same principles of devoted attachment to the house of Stuart and to the Church of Rome. On attaining his majority he repaired to St. Germain's, and did homage to the Prince, whom he continued to regard as his rightful King. A more tender motive arose to detain him. He fell in love with Lady Winifred Herbert, who proved no inexorable beauty. They were married in the spring of 1699, and he bore away his bride to his house and fair gardens of Terregles. Since her noble exploit in the Tower these gardens have been examined with interest for any trace of the departed heroine. But, as Mr. Fraser informs us, they have been greatly changed since her time. Only 'some old beech hedges and a broad green terrace still remain much the same as then.'

We may take occasion to observe of the new-married pair that there was some diversity in the spelling of their name. English writers have most commonly inserted an *i*, and made it Nithsdale; but the Earl and Countess themselves signed Nithsdall.

The

The Countess bore her lord five children, three of whom, however, died in early childhood. At the insurrection of 1715 they had but two surviving,—a son, William Lord Maxwell, and an infant daughter, Lady Anne. And here in ordinary course might close the record of her life, but for the shining events of 1715, which called forth her energies both to act and to endure.

It need scarcely be related even to the least literary of our readers how, in 1715, the standard of the Chevalier—‘James the Third,’ as his adherents called him—was raised, by Lord Mar in the Highlands and by Mr. Forster and Lord Derwentwater in Northumberland. Lord Kenmure gave the like example to the Scottish Peers of the southern counties, setting out to join Forster with a small band of retainers. Considering the principles of Lord Nithsdale in Church and State, his course could not be doubtful. He, too, at the head of a few horsemen, appeared in Forster’s camp, and shared the subsequent fortunes of that little army. To Lord Kenmure, who was a Protestant, was assigned the chief command of the Scottish levies. But, as Mr. Fraser tells us, ‘the Earl of Nithsdale, from his position, and from the devotion of his family to the House of Stuart, would have been placed at the head of the insurrection in the north of Scotland had he not been a Roman Catholic.’ But though Mr. Fraser has printed ‘north,’ he, beyond all doubt, means ‘south.’ There was never any question as to either Kenmure’s or Nithsdale’s command beyond the Forth.

We need not relate in any detail the well-known fate of these hasty levies. They found themselves encompassed at Preston by a regular force under General Wills, and were compelled to surrender without obtaining any better terms than the promise to await the orders of the Government and protect them from any immediate slaughter by the soldiery. It was only a short respite that most of the chiefs then obtained. They were at once sent off as prisoners to London. The painful circumstances of their entry are described as follows in the journal of Lady Cowper, the wife of the Lord Chancellor:—

‘December 5, 1715.—This week the prisoners were brought to town from Preston. They came in with their arms tied, and their horses, whose bridles were taken off, led each by a soldier. The mob insulted them terribly, carrying a warming-pan before them, and saying a thousand barbarous things, which some of the prisoners returned with spirit. The chief of my father’s family was amongst them. He is above seventy years old. A desperate fortune had drove him from home, in hopes to have repaired it. I did not see them come into town, nor let any of my children do so. I thought it would be an insulting of the relatives I had here, though almost everybody went to see them.’

The

The captive Peers being thus brought to London were sent for safe custody to the Tower, while preparations for their trial, by the House of Lords were making in Westminster Hall. Here again we may borrow from Lady Cowper's journal:—

'February 9, 1716.—The day of the trials. My Lord was named High Steward by the King, to his vexation and mine; but it could not be helped, and so we must submit, though we both heartily wished it had been Lord Nottingham. . . . I was told it was customary to make fine liveries upon this occasion, but I had them all plain. I think it very wrong to make a parade upon so dismal an occasion as that of putting to death one's fellow-creatures, nor could I go to the trial to see them receive their sentences, having a relation among them—Lord Widdrington. The Prince was there, and came home much touched with compassion. What a pity it is that such cruelties should be necessary!'

But were they necessary? Certainly not, according to the temper of present times; while in 1716, on the contrary, far from exceeding, they seem rather to have fallen short of the popular expectation and demands.

The trials were quickly despatched. None of the prisoners could deny that they had risen in arms against the King. It only remained for them to plead 'Guilty,' and throw themselves on the Royal mercy. They were condemned to death as traitors; and the execution of Lord Nithsdale, with that of others, was appointed to take place upon Tower Hill on Wednesday the 24th of the month.

While Forster's insurrection lasted Lady Nithsdale remained with her children at Terregles. But on learning her Lord's surrender and his imprisonment in London, she resolved at once to join him. Leaving her infant daughter in the charge of her sister-in-law, the Countess of Traquair, and burying the family papers in a nook of the gardens, she set out, attended only by her faithful maid, who had been with her ever since her marriage, a Welshwoman, Cecilia Evans by name. A journey from Scotland in mid-winter was then no such easy task. She made her way on horseback across the Border, and then from Newcastle to York. There she found a place in the coach for herself alone, and was forced to hire a horse for Evans. Nor did her troubles end there, as she writes from Stamford, on Christmas Day, to Lady Traquair,—

'The ill-weather, ways, and other accidents, has made the coach not get further than Greutum (Grantham); and the snow is so deep it is impossible it should stir without some change of weather; upon which I have again hired horses, and shall go the rest of the journey on horseback to London, though the snow is so deep that our horses

yesterday were in several places almost buried in it. . . . Tomorrow I shall set forward again. I must confess such a journey, I believe, was scarce ever made, considering the weather, by a woman. But an earnest desire compasses a great deal with God's help. If I meet my dear Lord well, and am so happy as to be able to serve him, I shall think all my trouble well repaid.'

The writer adds: 'I think myself most fortunate in having complied with your kind desire of leaving my little girl with you. Had I her with me, she would have been in her grave by this time, with the excessive cold.' It was indeed a season of most unusual rigour. The Thames was fast bound in ice, and many wayfarers throughout England were, it is said, found frozen to death.

The Countess reached London in safety, but, on her arrival, was thrown by the hardships of the journey into 'a violent sickness,' which confined her for some days to her bed. All this time she was anxiously pleading for admittance to her Lord in the Tower, which at last, though with some difficulty and under some restrictions, she obtained. As she writes: 'Now and then by favour I get a sight of him.' There are some hurried notes from her at this period to Lady Traquair. But her proceedings are far more fully to be traced in a letter which some years afterwards she addressed to her sister, Lady Lucy Herbert, the Abbess of an English Convent at Bruges. It thus commences: 'Dear sister, my Lord's escape is such an old story now, that I have almost forgot it; but since you desire the account, to whom I have too many obligations to refuse it, I will endeavour to call it to mind, and be as exact in the relation as I can possible.' And so the narrative proceeds.

This most interesting letter had remained unknown for many years. It was not till 1792 that it was published by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in the first volume of their 'Transactions.' But it came from a faulty, or, rather we may call it, a *touché-up* copy, putting 'the King,' for example, where Lady Nithsdale had written 'the Elector,' and often interspersing the phrase 'His Majesty,' which she would never have applied to George the First. In the same spirit a few trifling inaccuracies of grammar and language are corrected.

Sometimes, also, it might be desired to soften some roughness of tone. Thus, for example, the published letter makes the Countess say, in reference to the joint petition which it was intended to lay before the House of Lords, 'We were, however, disappointed, for the Duke of St. Albans, who had promised my Lady Derwentwater to present it, failed in his word.' But what Lady Nithsdale really wrote was this: 'Being disappointed
because

because the Duke of —, I forget which of the bastard Dukes.'

In all these cases the motive of the finishing touches seems perfectly clear. But there are some other changes that really seem made only for the love of change. Is the phrase, as Lady Nithsdale wrote, 'I took the resolution to endeavour his escape,' improved by making it, 'I formed the resolution to attempt his escape'? Or, again, when the Countess describes how, when at St. James's Palace, she presented the separate petition to George the First, he turned from her while she clung to the skirts of his coat, and in that manner was dragged along the passage on her knees until she fell back fainting, and the petition dropped to the ground in the 'struggle'—Lady Nithsdale calls it—then why alter it to 'scuffle'?

The original, meanwhile, in Lady Nithsdale's own handwriting, was still preserved at Bruges. It was brought from thence so recently as 1828, as a present from the English nuns, and is now among Lord Herries's papers. As Mr. Fraser informs us, it consists of eleven closely-written pages of paper quarto size. At the foot of the last leaf a small piece has been cut out, which is thought to have contained the signature of the writer, and to have been abstracted by some one of the autograph-collectors—an evil-minded race, alas! to whom, in many cases, the eighth commandment appears to be quite unknown.

This letter is not dated. The omission might seem to be sufficiently supplied by a copy in the library at Terregles, which, as Mr. Fraser assures us, is 'finely bound in morocco,' and which bears the date 'Royal Palais de Rome, April 16, 1718.' This date is accordingly accepted by Mr. Fraser. We must confess, however, that we see very strong objections to it, which, though derived from Mr. Fraser's volumes, have not, it appears, occurred to Mr. Fraser himself.

In the first place, although Lord Nithsdale was at Rome in April 1718, Lady Nithsdale certainly was not. This may be shown beyond dispute from the correspondence now before us. In 1717 Lady Nithsdale had gone to a place she calls 'Flesh,' that is, La Flèche, in Anjou. There she received a visit from her nephew, Lord Linton, eldest son of the Earl of Traquair. We find her writing to her sister-in-law on the 1st of September, 1717, 'I hope you have heard something from my nephew L., who came to take his leave of me on Friday last, to begin his journey into Italie, and was to leave Angiers yesterday in order to it.' On the 1st of January, 1718, we find her writing again: 'My husband was very well the last letter I had from him. . . . I hope very soon to hear of your son's being happily arrived at

his journey's end.' And on the 1st of May following: 'In one of the 10th of March from my husband, he expected his nephew the next day.' On the 22nd of June Lord Linton writes himself from Rome as follows: 'I am glad to hear that the good lady I saw at La Flèche is well, though I have not as yet received any letter from her; yet I did not fail to deliver the commission she gave me for her husband.' It is quite clear from these extracts that Lady Nithsdale was not in the Eternal City during any part of the period mentioned; and that the date of 'Rome, April 16, 1718,' assigned to her letter is entirely erroneous.

There is another circumstance which leads us to think that the real date was several years later. Lady Nithsdale mentions in this letter—as we shall presently see—a servant of the name of Mitchell, who followed Lord Nithsdale abroad, and who, she adds, 'is now very well placed with our young Master.' The allusion is, of course, to the exiled Royal Family. But 'the Chevalier de St. George,' or, as we used to call him, 'the Old Pretender,' was in 1718 about thirty years of age. He had no especial claim to this distinguishing epithet as 'our young Master;' and is constantly mentioned in this correspondence as 'our Master,' without any epithet at all. It is probable, therefore, that the allusion is rather to his son Charles Edward, who was born in December 1720, and who from his early boyhood appears, according to the custom of princes, to have had a small household assigned him. It may also perhaps be thought that a longer interval would better accord with that failure of recollection on some points, which in her opening sentence Lady Nithsdale mentions.

Passing from this point of chronology, in which we cannot help thinking that the editor might have shown a little more critical care, we have further to complain of a slight injustice that he does to, we admit, not a very great historian. In one of his notes to the first volume, he remarks: 'It is certainly necessary here to notice that Smollett was so ignorant of this fact, that, in his "History of England," he says that the Earl of Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished or conveyed to him by his own mother.' No doubt that Smollett did commit the error here described. But if Mr. Fraser had been more widely conversant with the other writers of that or the next ensuing period, he would have known that such was then the common impression or belief. As the agent in Lord Nithsdale's escape, his wife is not mentioned, but his mother instead, by Boyer, John Wesley, and, above all, Tindall in his valuable 'History of England.' So far as we can see, it was not till the publication of Lady Nithsdale's own narrative that the true facts

of

of the transaction were established. It seems a little hard, therefore, to single out Smollett for especial blame, when he did no more than repeat the current and accepted story of his time.

Full of interest as is Lady Nithsdale's letter, we do not propose to give any further extracts from it in this place, since it has several times already, though with verbal variations, appeared in print. It may be found, for instance, in the Appendix to the second volume of Lord Mahon's '*History of England*.' Moreover, it is a little confused in its arrangement. Thus the delivery of her petition to the King, which should stand first of the events in order of time, stands by retrospect the last in her relation. But we will endeavour, with Mr. Fraser's aid, to deduce from it a narrative of her Lord's escape which shall be more concise and equally clear.

Lord Nithsdale was confined in the house of Colonel D'Oyly, Lieutenant Deputy of the Tower, in a small room which looked out on Water Lane, the ramparts, and the wharf, and was 60 feet from the ground. The way from the room was through the Council Chamber and the passages and stairs of Colonel D'Oyly's house. The door of his room was guarded by one sentinel, that floor by two, the passages and stairs by several, and the outer gate by two. Escape under such circumstances seemed to be impossible, and, as Lady Nithsdale notes, it was one of her main difficulties, when the moment came, to persuade her Lord to acquiesce in an attempt which, as he believed, would end in nothing but ignominious failure.

The Countess still placed some reliance on the proceedings that impended in the House of Lords. There on the 22nd of February, only two days before that fixed for the execution, a petition was presented, praying the House to intercede with the King in favour of the Peers under sentence of death. Lady Nithsdale herself stood in the lobby, with many other ladies of rank, imploring the compassion of each Peer as he passed. A motion to the same effect as the petition was made in the House, and, notwithstanding the resistance of the Government, it was carried through the unexpected aid of Lord Nottingham and by a majority of five. But there was added to it a proviso limiting the intercession with the King to such of the condemned Lords as should deserve his mercy. The meaning was that those only should be recommended for pardon who would give information against others who had engaged, although less openly, in the same unprosperous cause. This extinguished all Lady Nithsdale's hopes. She well knew, as she says, that her Lord would never purchase life on such terms. '*Nor,*' adds the high-minded woman, '*would I have desired it.*'

The

The axe, as we have seen, was appointed to do its bloody work on the next day but one, and there was no time to lose if Lady Nithsdale sought to carry out the project she had secretly formed of effecting her Lord's escape in woman's clothes. No sooner was the debate concluded than she hastened from the House of Peers to the Tower, where, putting on a face of joy, she went up to the guards at each station and told them that she brought good news. 'No more fear for the prisoners,' she cried, 'since now their petition has passed.' Nor, in saying this, was she without an object. She rightly judged that the soldiers believing that the prisoners were on the point of being pardoned would become, of course, less vigilant. Moreover, at each station she drew some money from her pocket, and gave it to the guards, bidding them drink 'the King's health and the Peers.' But she was careful, as she says, to be sparing in what she gave; enough to put the guards in good humour, and not enough to raise their suspicions as though their connivance was desired.

All this time she had never acquainted the Earl with her design. This plainly appears from a letter which Lord Herries has published, dated on this very day, the 22nd. It is addressed by Lord Nithsdale to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Traquair, and bids an affectionate farewell to him and to his sister, speaking of himself as fully expecting and calmly resigned to death.

The next morning, the last before the intended execution, was spent by Lady Nithsdale in the needful preparations, and, above all, in securing the assistance of one Mrs. Morgan, a friend of her faithful Evans. When she was ready to go, she sent for Mrs. Mills, at whose house she was lodging, and said: 'Finding now there is no further room for hope of my Lord's pardon, nor longer time than this night, I am resolved to endeavour his escape. I have provided all that is requisite for it; and I hope you will not refuse to come along with me to the end that he may pass for you. Nay, more, I must beg you will come immediately, because we are full late.' Lady Nithsdale had, with excellent judgment, delayed this appeal to the last possible moment; so that her landlady might be put to an immediate decision on the spur of pity, and have no leisure to think of the danger she was herself incurring by any share in the escape of a man convicted of treason. Mrs. Mills having in this surprise assented, Lady Nithsdale bade Mrs. Morgan, who was tall and slender—her height not unlike Lord Nithsdale's—to put under her own riding-hood another which Lady Nithsdale had provided, and after this all three stepped into the coach, which was
ready

ready at the door. As they drove to the Tower, Lady Nithsdale has noted that she never ceased to talk with her two companions, so as to leave them no time to reflect.

On arriving at their destination the Countess found that, as usual, she was allowed to take in but one person at a time. She first took Mrs. Morgan, and while they went up stairs spoke, so as to be overheard, of the necessity that, besides the Lords' vote, she should present a separate petition of her own. Within the prisoner's chamber she bade Mrs. Morgan take out and leave the riding-hood that she had brought beneath her clothes, and then conducted her out again, saying as she went, 'Pray do me the kindness to send my maid to me that I may be dressed, else I shall be too late with my petition.'

Having thus dismissed Mrs. Morgan, the Countess next brought in Mrs. Mills. As they passed she bade Mrs. Mills hold her handkerchief to her face, as though in tears, designing that the Earl should go forth in the same manner, and thus conceal, in part at least, his face from the guards. When alone with him in his chamber, they proceeded as they best could to disguise him. He had a long beard, which there was not time to shave, but the Countess daubed it over with some white paint that she had provided. In like manner she put some red paint on his cheeks and some yellow on his eyebrows, which were black and thick, while Mrs. Mills's were *blonde* and slight; and she had also ready some ringlets of the same coloured hair. Next she made Mrs. Mills take off the riding-hood in which she came and put on instead that which Mrs. Morgan had brought. Finally they proceeded to equip Lord Nithsdale in female attire by the aid of the riding-hood which the guards had just before seen on Mrs. Mills—by the aid also of all Lady Nithsdale's petticoats but one.

Matters being so far matured, Lady Nithsdale opened the door and led out the real Mrs. Mills, saying aloud, in a tone of great concern, 'Dear Mrs. Catherine, I must beg you to go in all haste and look for my woman, for she certainly does not know what o'clock it is, and has forgot the petition I am to give, which should I miss is irreparable, having but this one night; let her make all the haste she can possible, for I shall be upon thorns till she comes.'

In the ante-room there were then eight or nine persons, the wives and daughters of the guards; they all seemed to feel for the Countess, and quickly made way for her companion. The sentry at the outer door in like manner opened it with alacrity, and thus Mrs. Mills went out. Lady Nithsdale then returning to her Lord, put a finishing touch to his disguise, and waited
patiently

patiently until it was nearly dark, and she was afraid that candles would be brought. This she determined was the best time to go; so she led forth by the hand the pretended Mrs. Mills, who, as though weeping, held up a handkerchief to her eyes, while Lady Nithsdale, with every expression of grief, loudly lamented herself that her maid Evans had been so neglectful, and had ruined her by her long delay. 'So, dear Mrs. Betty,' she added, 'run and bring her with you, for God's sake; you know my lodgings, and if ever you made haste in your life, do it now, for I am almost distracted with this disappointment.' The guards, not a little mollified by Lady Nithsdale's gifts the day before, and fully persuaded that a reprieve was at hand, had not taken much heed of the ladies whom they saw pass to and fro, nor exactly reckoned their number. They opened the door, without the least suspicion, to Lady Nithsdale and the false Mrs. Mills, and both accordingly went out. But no sooner past the door than Lady Nithsdale slipped behind her Lord on the way down stairs, and made him precede her, lest the guards, on looking back, should observe his gait, as far different from a lady's. All the time that they walked down she continued to call to him aloud in a tone of great distress, entreating him to make all possible haste, for the sake of her petition; and at the foot of the last stairs she found, as agreed, her trusty Evans, into whose hands she put him.

It had further been settled by Lady Nithsdale that Mr. Mills should wait for them in the open space before the Tower. Mr. Mills had come accordingly, but was so thoroughly convinced of the hopeless nature of the enterprise, that, on seeing Mrs. Evans and the false Mrs. Mills approach him, he grew quite dazed, and, in his confusion, instead of helping them, ran home. Evans, however, retained her presence of mind. She took her precious charge, in the first place, to some friends on whom she could rely, and thence proceeding alone to Mr. Mills's house, learnt from him which was the hiding-place he had provided. To this they now conducted the Earl. It was a house just before the Court of Guards, and belonged to a poor woman who had but one tiny room, up a small pair of stairs, and containing one poor little bed.

Meanwhile Lady Nithsdale, after seeing her husband pass the gates in his disguise, had returned to the chamber, lately his, up stairs. There, so as to be heard outside, she affected to speak to him, and to answer as if he had spoken to her, imitating his voice as nearly as she could, and walking up and down, as though they had walked and talked together. This she continued to do until she thought he had time to get out of his enemies' reach.

'I then

'I then began to think,' she adds, 'it was fit for me to get out of it also.' Then opening the door to depart, she went half out, and holding it in her hand so that those without might hear, she took what seemed to be a solemn leave of her Lord for that night, complaining again of Evans's delay, and saying there was no remedy but to go herself in search of her. She promised that if the Tower were still open after she had done, she would see him again that night; but that otherwise, as soon as ever it was opened in the morning, she would certainly be with him, and hoped to bring him good news. Before shutting the door she drew to the inside a little string that lifted up a wooden latch, so that it could only be opened by those within, and she then shut the door with a flap, so that it might be securely closed. This being done, she took her departure. As she passed by she told the Earl's *valet de chambre*, who knew nothing of the plan of escape, that my Lord would not have candles till he called for them, for that he would finish some prayers first.

On leaving the Tower Lady Nithsdale observed several hackney-coaches waiting in the open space, and taking one, she drove first to her own lodgings. There she dismissed the coach for fear of being traced, and went on in a sedan-chair to the house of Anne Duchess of Buccleuch, widow of the ill-fated Monmouth. The Duchess had promised to be ready to go with her to present, even almost at the last moment, her single petition; and Lady Nithsdale now left a message at her door, with her 'most humble service,' to say that her Grace need not give herself any further trouble, it being now thought fit to give a general petition in the name of all.

From the Duchess of Buccleuch's Lady Nithsdale, again changing her conveyance, and calling a second sedan-chair, went on to the Duchess of Montrose's. The Duke was on the Government side, but the Duchess was her personal friend. Lady Nithsdale, being shown into a room upstairs, the Duchess hastened to join her. Then, as Lady Nithsdale writes, 'as my heart was very light, I smiled when she came into the chamber and ran to her in great joy. She really started when she saw me, and since owned that she thought my head was turned with trouble, till I told her my good fortune.'

The Duchess, on hearing what had passed, cordially took part in the joy of her friend, and declared that she would go at once to Court and see how the news of the escape was received. She went accordingly, and next time she saw Lady Nithsdale told her that 'the Elector'—for so she termed him—had, in her own phrase, 'stormed terribly,' and said he was betrayed, for he was sure it could not have been done without connivance; and he
sent

sent immediately two of his suite to the Tower to see that the other prisoners were well guarded. On the opposite side it was related that his Majesty—perhaps at a later and calmer moment—made a far more good-natured remark. He is rumoured to have said on Lord Nithsdale's escape, 'It was the best thing that a man in his situation could do.' Indeed, according to one account, Lord Nithsdale's name was included in a list to be sent out that very evening of the Peers to be reprieved. In fact, only two—Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure—were executed the next day.

Lady Nithsdale paid no more visits that evening. From the Duchess's house she went straight to her husband's hiding-place. There in that single narrow room upstairs they remained closely shut up, making as little stir as possible, and relying for their sustenance on some bread and wine which Mrs. Mills brought them in her pocket. Thus they continued for some days, until there arose a favourable opportunity for Lord Nithsdale to leave the kingdom. A servant of the Venetian Ambassador, Mitchell by name, was ordered to go down to Dover in his Excellency's coach-and-six, and bring back his Excellency's brother. By the contrivance of Mitchell, and without the Ambassador's knowledge, the Earl slipped on a livery coat and travelled as one in the Ambassador's train to Dover, where, hiring a small vessel, he crossed without suspicion, and, taking Mitchell with him, landed safe at Calais. Lady Nithsdale, for whom no search was made, remained for the time in London.

In concluding the narrative of this remarkable escape, we think that even the most cursory reader cannot fail to notice its close resemblance to that other escape of Count Lavalette from the *Conciergerie* prison at Paris on the evening of the 20th December, 1815. The Countess having changed dresses with her husband in his prison chamber, he passed out in woman's attire, leaning on his daughter's arm and holding a handkerchief to his face, as though in an agony of tears. Yet, great as is the likeness between the two cases, it arose from coincidence, and not at all from imitation. The detailed account of the whole affair, as given by Count Lavalette in the second volume of his 'Memoirs,' clearly shows that they had never heard of Lady Nithsdale, and knew nothing of any similar attempt in England.

The heroine of this later deliverance was a niece of the Empress Josephine; her maiden name Emilie de Beauharnais. Her letters since her marriage, several of which we have seen, are signed Beauharnais-Lavalette. She had been in childbirth only a few weeks before the 20th of December, her nerves were still unstrung, and her strength was not yet restored. There was also

a great

a great difficulty in the way of the disguise which she had planned; she was tall and slender in person, while Count Lavalette was short and stout. But muffled up as he was, the difference failed to be perceived by the officers on duty, and his escape from the prison was successfully accomplished.

It is well known, and we need not repeat, how the generous spirit of Sir Robert Wilson, with two others of our countrymen, effected a few days afterwards his further escape from France to Belgium. The husband was safe, but hard—hard indeed—was the fate of the wife. She had to remain behind in the prison chamber, there to sustain, on the discovery of the escape, the first fury of the exasperated jailers, all trembling for their places. During six weeks she was kept in close captivity, all access of friends or domestics, or even of her daughter, denied her. Weak in health as she had been from the first, it is no wonder that her mind would not bear the strain that was put upon it. Her reason became obscured, and soon after she was set free from prison she had to be removed to a *Maison de Santé*. When, after six years of exile, her husband obtained his pardon and was able to return to France, she did not know him again.

The mental malady of Madame Lavalette hung upon her for full twelve years. At the end of that time her reason was, partially at least, restored, and she could go back to her husband's house. But she continued subject to a settled melancholy and could only lead a life of strict retirement. Her husband died in 1830, while she survived till June 1855.

Reverting to Lady Nithsdale, we may observe that while the publication of her narrative in 1792 made clear all the circumstances of her Lord's escape, nothing further was known of his or her further fortunes beyond the dates of their respective deaths in Italy. It is therefore with pleasure that, in the correspondence now before us, we find numerous letters from the Countess subsequent to the great act and exploit of her life on the 23rd of February, 1716. To these letters, as well as to some others by which they are illustrated, we shall now apply ourselves, hoping that our readers may feel some part at least of the interest that we do in the life of this high-minded lady.

Lord Nithsdale, on landing at Calais, had gone straight to Paris. There, in the course of the spring, he received a pressing invitation from the Prince, whom he constantly regarded as his rightful King. One phrase of that letter is cited by his nephew Lord Linton: 'As long as I have a crust of bread in the world assure yourself you shall always have a share of it.' The Earl accordingly set out for Italy, there to do homage, and remain for at least a few weeks' visit. The Countess, on her part,
finding

finding no pursuit made for her in London, ventured, a little later, to ride back to Scotland with her faithful Evans, desiring to arrange her family affairs. For several weeks she lived without molestation, and took a fond—it proved to be a final—farewell of her own Terregles. When again in London she was advised that she was in great risk of arrest, and would do wisely to leave England. Embarking accordingly, she landed on the coast of Flanders, where she was detained some time by a miscarriage and dangerous illness. Only half-recovered, she set out again to join, first her sister at Bruges, and next, in October, her husband at Lille. Alas! that reunion did not bring her all the happiness that she had fondly hoped. Her letter from Lille to Lady Traquair has not been preserved, but a later one from Paris gives a full account of her proceedings and plans: it is dated February 29, 1717.

‘I could not resolve to leave this place, dearest sister, without giving you an account of the situation of your brother’s affairs and mine. I suppose you have received mine from Lille, so you are acquainted with the reasons of our quitting that place, and consequently have only to tell you that I immediately went to my old mistress [Mary of Modena, Queen Dowager of England], who, though she received me very kindly, yet there was great complaints of poverty, and no likelihood of my getting into her service again. My first attempt was to endeavour to get a recommendation from her to her son to take my husband into his service; but all in vain, it being alleged that as matters now stand with him, he could not augment his family. . . . My next business was to see what I could get to live on, that we might take our resolutions where to go accordingly. But all that I could get was 100 livres a month to maintain me in everything—meat, drink, fire, candle, washing, clothes, lodging, servants’ wages; in fine, all manner of necessaries. My husband has 200 livres a month, but considering his way of managing, it was impossible to live upon it. . . . For, let me do what I will, he cannot be brought to submit to live according to what he has; and when I endeavoured to persuade him to keep in compass, he attributed my advice to my grudging him everything, which stopped my mouth, since I am very sure that I would not [grudge] my heart’s blood if it could do him any service. . . . It was neither in gaming, company, nor much drinking, that it was spent, but in having the nicest of meat and wine; and all the service I could do was to see he was not cheated in the buying it. I had a little, after our meeting at Lille, endeavoured to persuade him to go back to his Master, upon the notice he received that 50 livres a month was taken off of his pension; but that I did not dare persist in, for he seemed to imagine that I had a mind to be rid of him, which one would have thought could scarce come into his mind.

‘And now, he finding, what I had often warned him, that we could
get

get no more, some of his friends has persuaded him to follow his Master, he having sent him notice where he was going, and that he might come after him if he pleased; and I, having no hopes of getting anything out of England, am forced to go to the place where my son is, to endeavour to live, the child and me, upon what I told you. All my satisfaction is, that at least my husband has twice as much to maintain himself and man as I have; so I hope when he sees there is no resource, as, indeed, now there is not, having sold all, even to the necessary little plate I took so much pains to bring over, he will live accordingly, which will be some comfort to me, though I have the mortification to be from him, which, after we met again, I hoped never to have separated; but God's will be done, and I submit to this cross, as well as many others I have had in the world, though I must confess living from a husband I love so well is a very great one. . . . He was to be at Lions last Tuesday, and I cannot hear from him till I am arrived at La Flesh, for I go from hence to-morrow morning at seven o'clock. . . . Pray burn this as soon as you have read it, and keep the contents to yourself.'

Lady Nithsdale, it will be noticed, speaks of having no hopes of anything from England. Her meaning here is best elucidated by the following passage from her long letter to Lady Lucy Herbert, which refers to the scene at Court, when she was dragged along the passage by the skirts of George the First:—

'My being so rudely treated had made a noise, and gave no good reputation to the Duke of Hanover; for several said, what had they brought themselves to? For the Kings of England was never used to refuse a petition from the poorest woman's hand; and to use a person of my quality in such a manner as he had done was a piece of unheard-of brutality. These talks made the Elector have a particular dislike to me, which he showed afterwards; for when all the ladies whose Lords had been concerned in this business put in claims for their jointures, mine was given in amongst the rest; but he said I was not, nor did deserve, the same privilege, so I was excepted, and he would never hear speak in my favour.'

We give the passage as Lady Nithsdale wrote it, not desiring to emulate, even at a humble distance, the very great politeness of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. But we may observe that these words of the Countess, like many others from her pen, are most strongly coloured by political resentment. Ungenerous as was, beyond all doubt, the exception made of Lady Nithsdale in the matter of the Peeresses' jointures, there is no ground to regard it otherwise than as a Ministerial measure—not a tittle of evidence to derive it personally from the King. We may add that, judging from the records of this reign, we do not believe that George the First, whatever may have been his other failings, was capable of the petty spite which is here imputed to him.

In her letter from Paris Lady Nithsdale mentions that she was going to La Flèche, on purpose to be with her son, who, we may conclude, was receiving his education at the great Jesuit College there established. From La Flèche she continued her correspondence with Lady Traquair; and, for fear of its being intercepted, commonly signed herself 'W. Joanes,' or sometimes 'W. Johnstone,' while she addressed her sister Countess as 'Mrs. Young.'

Writing on the 10th of June, 1717, after reverting to the recovery from an illness of her nephew Lord Linton, then in France, she gives the last news of her husband:—

'Now that I have given you an account of what is nearest to you, I must let you know that your friend and mine is well, at least was so the last time I was so happy as to hear from him. He has had another great preservation, being six days in so great a danger at sea that all the seamen left off working, and left themselves to the merey of the waves; and was at last cast into Antibes, from whence they coasted it to Lighorn. However, he is now safe with his Master, and both of them in good health. I hope these two narrow escapes in so short a time is not for nothing, and that God reserves him for some great good.'

Lord Nithsdale, however, was not well pleased with Italy. He did not receive from the Chevalier the cordial welcome to which, with good reason, he deemed himself entitled; and was exposed to divers mortifications at that melancholy little Court, then established at Urbino. Nor was he at all edified by his nearer view of the Pope's government in ecclesiastical or in civil affairs. Here are his own words to Lady Nithsdale as she transcribes them: 'Be assured there is nothing in this damnable country that can tend to the good either of one's soul or body.'

We must say that we give Lord Herries great credit for his candour in allowing the passage to be printed without change or comment, since we dare say that no very zealous Roman Catholic could read it without something of an *Abi Satanas!* feeling.

Lady Nithsdale herself may have disliked still more what follows, as she reports it to Lady Traquair:—

'The remainder of his letter did not much please me, it running all upon the inconveniences of living where he was, and a full and fixed resolution of leaving his Master. . . . However, as I sent him word, I hoped God Almighty reserved his reward for a better place, and that after the favour he had received in his two late preservations, he ought also to accept the trials from the same hand, with some other little motives for the doing it, whose reflections I hoped
might

might render it more easy as well as meritorious. But he answered it in so great a banter upon my virtue and resignation, that I believe that it will be the last time that I shall venture to inspire him with any such thoughts, not doubting that he makes better use of them than I do. But it proceeded from my good will alone. However, in what regards his temporal good, I shall not be so far wanting in my duty as not to tell him my thoughts, with a reference to his better judgment; after which I have performed my part, and shall submit, as I ever have done, to what he thinks fit.'

Lady Nithsdale therefore, in her next ensuing letter, takes her stand on temporal grounds:—

'You may be sure, my dear Lord, that having you with me, or near me, would be the greatest natural satisfaction I could have in this world; but I should be a very ill wife if, to procure it myself, I would let you run into those inconveniences you would do if you followed the method you propose of leaving your Master. . . . So, if you have any regard for your honour and family, leave off any such thoughts; for from that time your Master will have a pretence to do nothing for you, whereas if ever he comes to be in a condition [and with you near him] he cannot avoid it. . . . But what would go nearer my heart, if it were possible, chameleon-like, to live on air, is that it would ruin your reputation; and that all your enemies, or rather enviers, who think others' pretensions a diminution of theirs, might make it their business to say that it was not desire of serving your Master that made you do what you did, but because you could not live at home on what you had.'

Writing from Scotland, Lady Traquair argued strongly in the same sense as Lady Nithsdale, and the Earl yielded in some degree to their joint representations. It induced him at least to pause and think again before the final step was taken. Besides, there was now a strong rumour of the Chevalier's intended marriage, which would afford an opening for good places in the new and larger household to be formed.

Meanwhile Lady Nithsdale was enduring some of the sharpest privations of poverty. But for a little timely aid from the kind-hearted Lady Traquair she would have wanted all through the winter both warmth and light. Thus she writes in reply:—

'May God Almighty reward you in this and the next world for your goodness to us and ours! . . . My nephew paid me the sum you ordered, and never thing came more providentially, for I had tugged on in summer with much ado; but did not know in the world what to do for the addition of wood and candle, which it will enable me to get. But I fear I must soon think of repaying it again, since I took it up from a gentleman, who took my bill for it on the goldsmith you bid me take it from. . . . Had I not had so pressing a
need

need of it, I would not have taken it, your son having lent your brother 200 livres.'

Another calamity was now close impending on this ill-fated lady. On the 7th of May, 1718, died at St. Germain's her former mistress and her constant friend, the Queen Dowager of England. It was a grievous blow to the whole melancholy train of exiles. Father James Carnegy, a Roman Catholic priest, writes thus from Paris:—

'The desolation amongst the followers of her son, her servants, and other poor dependants, amongst whom she used to divide all her pension, is inexpressible. It is said the Regent will assist the most indigent of them; but nothing is yet certain. It is feared whatever he do to others, he dare not help the King's followers.'

Lady Nithsdale herself writes as follows from Paris on the 28th of June, and still to Lady Traquair:—

'My husband is now fully resolved not to leave his Master; for when he went to take his leave of him, his Master was pleased to tell him that he had so few about him, that he would not part with him; that he should probably be married before winter, and then he desired to have me in his family, and so desired him to leave off the thoughts of a journey for two or three months, which you may be sure he agreed to.'

Full of these hopes, Lord Nithsdale desired that the Countess should join him in Italy as soon as possible, since as he observes in these matters it is 'first come, first served.' He could send her no funds for the journey, but bade her apply to Lord and Lady Traquair, which Lady Nithsdale, mindful of their many obligations, was most unwilling to do. However, in the same letter of the 28th of June, she proceeds to say:—

'Though he bid me lose no time in writing to you about borrowing money, I would not do it, because, though he did not know it, my dear Mistress, who was, underhand, the occasion of furthering my promotion, and who, though it must never be known, was resolved I should be about her daughter-in-law, had promised me to give me notice when it was fit for me to go, and would have given me what was requisite to carry me; and writ to me four days before her illness what she would have me write to her son in order to it, which I did the first post, and sent it inclosed in a letter to her. But, alas! it arrived the day she died, some hours after her death. Imagine, you, whether her loss is not a great one to me. I may truly say I have lost a kind mother, for she was truly that to me whilst I had her. I would not write to you, being sensible that you have already done a great deal; so that nothing but unavoidable necessity could make me mention any such thing. But, alas! I am so far from being able to comply with my husband's desire now, that
I know

I know not how scarce to keep myself from starving, with the small credit I have here, being reduced to the greatest of straits.'

The kindness of Lord and Lady Traquair, as shown on many former occasions, was not denied her on this. A small sum in addition was paid her by order of the Chevalier. There was also as it chanced one of her sisters then at Paris—Lady Anne Herbert by birth, and married to Francis Smith, Lord Carrington—'a person,' writes Lady Nithsdale, 'that one would have thought should have helped me in this juncture. But so far from it that I have not got a sixpence, but a promise to keep my little girl who stays with her. But I oblige myself to pay what masters she has, without which she would have lost all the learning I have done my endeavours to give her, notwithstanding all my strait.'

By the aid of the Traquair subsidy and that from her so-called Royal 'Master,' Lady Nithsdale was enabled to join her husband at Urbino, and, after a brief interval, proceed with him in the Chevalier's train to Rome. From Rome there soon went forth another melancholy letter to Lady Traquair:—

'January 3, 1719.—Dearest sister, I have still deferred writing to you since I came to this place, hoping to have some agreeable news to make a letter welcome that had so far to go; but we still are in the same situation, and live upon hopes; and, indeed, without hope, hearts would break; but I can say no more. . . . I found him [my Lord] still the same man as to spending, not being able to conform himself to what he has, which really troubles me. And to the end that he might not make me the pretence, which he ever did, I do not touch a penny of what he has, but leave it to him to maintain him and his man, which is all he has, and live upon what is allowed me. . . . Now as to other things: the great expectations I had some reason to have conceived from my husband's letters when he sent for me hither, are far from answered. I am kept at as great a distance from my Master as can well be, and as much industry used to let me have none of his ear as they can; and though he is going to a house that his family can scarce fill, I could not obtain to be admitted under his roof. But that and many other things must be looked over; at least we shall have bread by being near him, and I have the happiness once again to be with my dear husband that I love above my life.'

The real fact as explaining the cold reception of Lord and Lady Nithsdale appears to be that the Chevalier was at this time greatly under the dominion of two unworthy favourites,—Colonel the Hon. John Hay, a son of Lord Kinnoul, and his wife Marjory, a daughter of Lord Stormont. Some years later James named John Hay his Secretary of State, with high rank in his titular peerage as Earl of Inverness. Both the wife and

husband are described as follows in Lockhart of Carnwath's 'Memoirs': 'The lady was a mere coquette, tolerably handsome, but withal prodigiously vain and arrogant. Her lord was a cunning, false, avaricious creature of very ordinary parts, cultivated by no sort of literature, and altogether void of experience in business.' It was now the object of this well-matched pair to confirm and maintain their influence by keeping away as much as possible all persons who would not declare themselves their followers and their dependants.

Within a few weeks, however, of Lord and Lady Nithsdale's arrival at Rome, James himself was suddenly called away from it. He was summoned to Spain, there to sanction and direct the expedition against Great Britain, which the Prime Minister Cardinal Alberoni had been preparing. It is well known how soon and how signally that project was baffled by the winds and tempests; and with how much of disappointment the Chevalier had to return to Italy.

In this journey to Spain James appears to have been attended by Lord Nithsdale, while the Countess remained at Rome. There she witnessed the arrival of James's bride, the Princess Clementina Sobieski, whom she describes (May 17, 1719) as follows:—

'This, dearest sister, is barely to acquaint you that yesternight arrived here our young Mistress. I and my companion went out a post to meet her, and, indeed, she is one of the charmingest, obliging, and well-bred young ladies that ever was seen. Our Master cannot but be extremely happy in her, and all those who has the good fortune to have any dependence on her. To add to it, she is very pretty; has good eyes, a fine skin, well shaped for her height; but is not tall, but may be so as yet, for she is but seventeen, and looks even younger. She has chosen a retired place in the town in our Master's absence.'

It had been hoped by Lord and Lady Nithsdale that on the return of James to Italy there would be expressed to them some disapproval of the mortifications to which they had almost daily been exposed. But it did not prove so. Lady Nithsdale writes, October 10, 1719:—

'The first of August our young Mistress went to meet her husband, who could not come hither by reason of the great heats, in which time it is thought dangerous to come into this town; so she went to a small place six or seven posts from hence, a very good air, but so small a place that she took but one person with her, which was Mrs. Hay. The straitness of the place was the reason given for my companion's and my stay behind; but there is some reason to believe that our Master did not care for to have more about him than what
he

he has there. He has not permitted anybody to go to him but those he sends for, which has been but few persons, and such only as those who addressed themselves to Mrs. Hay's brother or husband. . . . As before mentioned, our Master and Mistress comes hither, and are, probably speaking, to stay this winter, though the master of this town [the Pope] does not much approve of it. Where we shall go after God knows. His company he used to have about him is much diminished; many are gone, and more is a-going daily. My companion is a-going to her husband, and I fear neither he nor she intend to return; so that I am the only one now left of my station, and shall in all appearance be yet more trampled on than were both in our Master's absence. At his return we hoped for some redress, but now we have reason to believe we are to expect none, for everything is approved that was done in his absence, which has made many one withdraw; and I wish that may be the greatest ill that follows from the retirement of some. My husband would fain have been of the number, and have had me, but I told him my pleasure did not draw me hither, nor the slights and troubles I daily meet should make me go, but be overlooked by me for the same end that brought me, which was the good of my children and family; so I intend to act as if I saw nothing but what pleased me, and expect God Almighty's time for an alteration.'

In this same letter Lady Nithsdale laments to her sister-in-law her husband's want of forethought and consideration in borrowing, or, as she calls it, 'taking up' money where he finds it practicable, and, above all, in drawing bills on Lord or Lady Traquair without their consent and approval first obtained. She grieves at this money being

'all taken up and spent already, which,' she adds, 'is but too true; so that if his Master does not pay it, as I very much fear he will not, his reputation is quite lost. . . . All my comfort is that I have no share in this misfortune, for he has never been the man that has offered me one farthing of all the money he has taken up, and as yet all is spent, but how, is a riddle to me, for what he spends at home is but 30 pence a day in his eating. He has had but one suit of clothes since, and now he must have one for winter. For my part I continue in mourning as yet for want of wherewithal to buy clothes, and I brought my mourning with me that has served ever since I came, and was neither with my Master's or husband's money bought. But now I have nobody to address myself to but my Master for wherewithal to buy any.

'I know, between you and I, but that I need not tell my Master, that he [my Lord] blames me and his daughter for what he is obliged to take up; whereas I have not had one single penny, and as for our daughter, whose masters I must pay, or she forget all the little I have been at the expense of before, and have done it hitherto, I have neither paid out of his nor my own pension, which is

too small to do it, but that I had 30 pistoles from the Pope for her, which has done it. But now they are at an end, and I know not what to do. For as to my sister I suppose she will not see her starve or go naked, but for more I cannot rely on.'

Thus wearily and heavily the months dragged along at Rome. In March 1720, however, there came a gleam of joy when Lady Nithsdale found herself able to announce that the Princess gave hopes of an heir. Even this brief gleam was clouded over by signal mortifications. James would allow at this juncture no intimate access of any lady to his consort, except only Mrs. Hay,—

'who is one as you know,' Lady Nithsdale writes, 'that has never had any children; . . . and though I have had occasion to be better versed in these things, having been so long married and had so many children, yet they prefer one who has had no experience of that kind, and my Mistress has not so much as ever let me know how she was in any kind. And when she was indisposed, which she has been frequently since her being with child was spoke of, and that I was there constantly three times a day to see how she did, I never was thought fit to be admitted into the secret, but it was told me by herself and others that it was nothing but a cold, though I knew in what condition she was.'

In spite of these unpromising signs, Lady Nithsdale ventured at this juncture, 'humbly begging,' to know whether she 'might have any hopes of having care of the young Lord or Lady when it pleased God to send it.' She was not precisely refused—that is, there was no other person preferred. But the Chevalier answered that, 'having taken a resolution to take no servants while I am abroad, I will make neither governess nor under-governess. My wife has but little to do, and will look to it herself.'

Great was the delight of the whole mournful company of exiles when, on the last day of the year, the Princess gave birth to a son, Charles Edward, the hero of 'The Forty-five.' Henceforth the letters of Lady Nithsdale teem with accounts of his teething and weaning, and other incidents of childhood. Scarcely less were they rejoiced when, four years afterwards, there came a second son, Henry, afterwards Cardinal York.

But during this time the circumstances of the Nithsdales by no means improved. They were constantly reduced to dismal straits. Thus, on the occasion of Prince Charles's birth, when some gala dresses were required, Lady Nithsdale writes:—

'I have had the happiness to have one handsome suit procured me by the means of a Cardinal, who got it from the Pope, but that is between you and I, for I was forbid to let it be known. I have bought

bought two others, the one as good as that, the other more for bad weather, being obliged to walk on foot to my Master's several times in the day, so that I am much out of pocket, but shall in time get free, I hope, without taking a farthing from my husband for it. The reason why I thought myself obliged to provide myself so well, was that my Master might not think that because I was disappointed of what I had some reason to expect I did not care how I went; and also that if I had not he might have taken the pretence that he was ashamed I should be seen with his wife because I had not decent clothes.'

Still more grievous was it, for Lady Nithsdale at least, when dire necessity compelled them to draw bills on Lord Traquair, and trust to his generosity for their acceptance. In 1722 there went out a bill of a larger amount than usual, namely 150*l.*, and for this Lord Nithsdale desired that his sister should sell a little household furniture which his wife had left in her care, and apply the proceeds in its discharge.

'But,' as Lady Nithsdale writes, 'it will not answer our end if the money be not paid twenty days after the receipt of the bill; so I beg you by all that is dear to you to have compassion of us; for if this fails, if we were a-starving nobody would let us have a sixpence. We have pawned all our credit to hinder our being molested till this can be answered and have had no small difficulty in getting it done, and are quite out of the power of doing it longer.'

Lord Nithsdale, on his part, adds, in another letter, 'this, if not answered, will infallibly ruin me.'

Neither in this instance, nor in any other, so far as we are made aware of it, did Lord Traquair fail in the expected aid. But it must be owned that Lord Nithsdale made him a strange return. This was in 1723. Either to enhance his own importance, or for some other object, he intimated to the Chevalier that some property, belonging of right to himself, was unfairly detained by his brother-in-law. Hereupon James, desiring to do an act of justice at the same time with an act of kindness, wrote as follows to one of his agents in Scotland:—

'The Earl of Nidsdale tells me he has private means of his own in the Earl of Traquair's hands, from whom he has never yet got any account of them; and as you know the just regard I have, particularly for the first, I would have you get Mr. Carnegie to take a proper method of letting Traquair know that I should take it kindly if he would settle these affairs with his kinsman here to his satisfaction, which I am persuaded he will do when he knows it will be agreeable to me.'

Even the most placable of men must here have been roused to resentment. Here, in complete reversal of the real facts, was
Lord

Lord Traquair, a steady adherent of the exiled Prince, held up to that Prince, whose good opinion he was of course anxious to secure, as the spoiler of that kinsman whom he had so constantly befriended. No wonder if we find Lady Traquair writing to her brother as follows (January 1724):—

‘It is but within these few days that my husband was in a condition that he could know the contents of your letter, or what Sir John [the King] writ of your affairs. I do not pretend to write to you what his sentiments were upon knowing this most unexpected and unaccountable piece of news. He was not a little grieved that matters had been so misrepresented as if he had effects of yours in his hands, and were so unjust to so near a relation as not to transmit your own to you, though you be straitened and suffer in such a cause. This is indeed, dear brother, a very strange office from you to my husband, after so many services done by him to you and your family. I must say it is very unkind and a sad return for all the favours my husband has done you before and since you went last abroad; for he having no effects of yours save a little household furniture of no use to us and what I could not get disposed of, has honoured your bills, supplied your wants without scrape of pen from you; besides the considerable sum you owed him formerly, he even under God has preserved your family which without his money credit, and his son’s assiduous attendance and application, must, humanly speaking, have sunk. He might reasonably have expected other returns from you than complaints to one we value so infinitely as we do Sir John, as if my husband had wronged you and detained your own when your sufferings justly call for the greatest consideration.’

This affair, however little to the credit of Lord Nithsdale, produced no breach between the sisters: ‘I having been always kept ignorant of his affairs,’ writes Lady Nithsdale, in a previous letter (March 22, 1723). And subsequently (March 7, 1725), adverting to this very incident, she says to Lady Traquair:—

‘As to what you imagined to be the reason of my not writing you wronged me very much in the matter, for what happens between your brother and you yourselves are best able to judge. I am only sorry that he should do anything that gives you reason to take ill, and if it lay in my power I am sure he would not. As for my part I am so sensible of all your kindnesses and favours to my son and family that I never think I can sufficiently acknowledge them, or return you my grateful thanks.’

But although there might be no absolute breach of friendship, there was certainly a decline of correspondence. From this period the letters, as we find them, of Lady Nithsdale to her sister-in-law are few and far between. The latest of all, after six years’ interval, bears date January 29, 1739, and in this she
excuses

excuses herself that 'my great troubles, and illnesses occasioned by them, has hindered me from writing hitherto.'

In this period of years, however, there had been several events to cheer her. Lord Maxwell, her sole surviving son, after much litigation in the Court of Session and the House of Lords, was admitted by the latter tribunal to the benefit of an early entail which Lord Nithsdale had made, so that at his father's death he would, notwithstanding his father's forfeiture, succeed to Terregles and the family estates. Practically he succeeded to them—in part, at least—even sooner, since the life-interest of his father was purchased from the Government in his behalf.

Pass we to the daughter, Lady Anne, who had come to join her parents in Italy. There she chanced to meet Lord Bellew, an Irish nobleman upon his travels. He conceived for her a strong attachment, apparently on but slight acquaintance. As he writes himself to Lord Nithsdale (April 27, 1731):—

'I propose to be entirely happy in the possession of the lady, who has so fine a character with all those that know her. But it is not only hearsay on which I ground my happiness, having had the honour and pleasure to see Lady Anne, though, perchance, not the good fortune to be remembered by her.'

The offer of his hand, which this letter conveyed, was by the young lady accepted, and the marriage took place at Lucca in the course of the same year.

Another marriage, at nearly the same period, must have been still more interesting to Lord and Lady Nithsdale. Lord Maxwell, now a resident in Scotland, had become attached to his cousin Lady Catherine Stuart, daughter of Lord and Lady Traquair. Considering the old connection, and the constant friendship between the two families, and their agreement both in religion and in politics, to say nothing of the benefits conferred by the one Earl upon the other, it might have been supposed that the prospect of this alliance would have given Lord Nithsdale especial pleasure. But such was by no means the case. We may perceive the contrary from the following sentence of Lady Nithsdale, writing to Lady Traquair (October 2, 1731): 'Dear sister, I have this considerable while been expecting every post the good news of the conclusion of my son's happy marriage with Lady Catherine; a happiness he has long coveted, and I as long been endeavouring to procure him his father's consent to.' The marriage, however, did take place in the course of the same year. It appears to have been a happy one, as Lady Nithsdale, by anticipation, called it. No sons were
born

born from it, and only one daughter, through whom the line of Maxwell was continued.

Lord Nithsdale did not live to witness the last enterprise on behalf of the exiled Stuarts. He died at Rome in March 1744. After his decease his widow was induced, though not without difficulty, to accept an annuity of 200*l.* a year from her son, who then came into full possession of the family estates. Of this annuity she resolved to apply one-half to the discharge of her husband's debts, which would in that manner be paid off at the end of three years.

Lady Nithsdale herself survived till the spring of 1749. Nothing further is known of her declining years. We conjecture, however, that she had grown very infirm, since her signature, of which some specimens are given at this period, is tremulous and indistinct to a most uncommon degree.

Both Lord and Lady Nithsdale died at Rome, and, in all probability, were buried there. When the late Mr. Marinduke Maxwell, of Terregles, came to that city in the year 1870—so the editor of these volumes informs us—he made inquiries for any monument or grave of these two ancestors; but, after much research, was unable to find the least trace of any such.

Here then ends our narrative of the life of Winifred Herbert, as she was by birth, the worthy descendant of that first Earl of Pembroke of the last creation, the chief of the English forces at the battle of St. Quentin and the Lord President of Wales. In her was nobly sustained the spirit of that ancient race. Nor in our own century has that spirit declined. When we look to what they have done, or may probably yet do, in the present age—to the past of Sidney Herbert—to the future of Lord Carnarvon—to the future also perhaps of that son of Sidney Herbert, who, young as he is, has already wielded his pen with considerable power, though not always quite discreetly, and who has been so recently named Under-Secretary of State in that very War Department where his father gained and deserved such high distinction—we cannot but feel how much of sap and growth is left in the ancestral stem, and how aptly it might take for its motto *REVIRESCIT*.

- ART. IV.—1. *Lyra Elegantiarum; a Collection of some of the best Specimens of Vers de Société, &c.* Edited by Frederick Locker. London, 1867.
 2. *Ballads.* By W. M. Thackeray. London, 1856.
 3. *London Lyrics.* By Frederick Locker. Sixth Edition. London, 1873.
 4. *Verses and Translations.* By C. S. C. Second Edition. Cambridge, 1862.
 5. *Fly-leaves.* By C. S. C. Cambridge, 1872.
 6. *Vignettes in Rhyme and Vers de Société.* By Austin Dobson. London, 1873.

THE writer of *vers de société* (for which we have no corresponding term in the English language) stands in the same relation to the audience of the *salon* and the club as the ballad-writer to that of the alehouse and the street. The one circle is more cultivated than the other, but the poet must equally reflect its tone, think its thoughts, and speak its language. Not a few of the brightest specimens of this poetry are of anonymous authorship. Many of its best writers whose names have been recorded were not professed poets, but courtiers, statesmen, divines, soldiers, wits, or 'men about town,' who combined with their intimate knowledge and quick observation of the world a sufficient facility in the production of easy sparkling verse to win the ear of their circle. Whenever, as has often been the case in our literary history, a poet of high genius or graceful accomplishment has cultivated this branch of the art, he has not failed to enrich it with his own peculiar charm. But, as Isaac D'Israeli has pointed out in his essay on the subject, the possession of genius is 'not always sufficient to impart that grace of amenity' which is essentially characteristic of verse 'consecrated to the amusement of society. Compositions of this kind, effusions of the heart and pictures of the imagination, produced in the convivial, the amatory, and the pensive hour,' demand, as he goes on to show, rather the skill of a man of the world than a man of letters. 'The poet must be alike polished by an intercourse with the world as with the studies of taste, one to whom labour is negligence, refinement a science, and art a nature.'^{*}

Mr. Locker, in his admirable preface to the volume that heads our list, has expanded a similar view with copious illustration. He is careful to remark that while in this species of verse 'a boudoir decorum is or ought always to be preserved, where sentiment never surges into passion, and where humour never over-

* 'Literary Miscellanies' (Edition of 1863), p. 308.

flows into boisterous merriment,' it 'need by no means be confined to topics of artificial life, but subjects of the most exalted and of the most trivial character may be treated with equal success,' provided the conditions of the art be duly observed. What those conditions are he proceeds to show. His definition of them is straiter than Isaac D'Israeli's, and somewhat too exacting, for it would be easy to prove that many of the poems admitted into his collection do not unreservedly comply with them. A certain 'conversational' tone, as he notes, generally pertains to the best *vers de société*. The qualities essential to the successful conduct of conversation will accordingly be observed in them,—*savoir-faire*, sprightliness, brevity, or neatness of expression. Humour, the salt of well-bred conversation, is one of their commonest characteristics; and egotism, a *snippon* of which is never grudged to an agreeable talker, frequently lends them flavour and piquancy. But these are not indispensable ingredients. Such verse is as often purely sentimental, and may at times be tinged, although not too strongly, with the emotion of which sentiment is but the mental *simulacrum*. No precise definition, indeed, is possible of a poetry so volatile, a wind-sown seed of fancy, for which circumstance serves as soil, and opportunity as sun, and that varies with the nature of its subject, the disposition of its writer, and still more the temper of its age.

This brings us to what we deem the special feature that distinguishes it from other branches of the art, its representative value as a reflection of history. To this aspect of the subject, upon which we doubt if sufficient stress has yet been laid, the following observations must mainly be devoted. The remark already made respecting the living interest of the poetry of society applies with equal force to its historical interest. Since the days of Horace and Martial it has owed this less to the genius and culture of its authors, great as they have often been, than to the abstract merit of its faithfulness as a contemporary mirror and chronograph of manners. We use the word manners here in its largest sense, as the external index of the moral and intellectual, religious and political standards accepted at a given epoch. How strongly imprinted upon the face of a literature are the characteristics of the national life whence it has sprung; how closely interwoven with its fabric are the beliefs and habits, the aspirations and tendencies, which have acquired for the people that produced it their particular place in history, has been demonstrated by such critics as M. Taine from abundant resources upon an extensive scale. The same thesis, however, may admit of illustration within the limits of a province so restricted as that of *vers de société*; and in the volume which we have

have selected as a text-book, the materials have been so skilfully brought together, that the task of assortment for this purpose is comparatively easy. The development of our national character during the last three centuries, the changes which the canons of literary taste, the standards of social morality, the relations of the sexes, and the equilibrium of political forces, have severally undergone in the interval, may here be traced with the least possible fatigue by the light of the most fascinating of studies.

If the lines of Skelton ('Merry Margaret'), with which the 'Lyra Elegantiarum' fitly opens, quaint with insular mannerism and racy of Chaucer's English, mark the stagnant condition of our literature since the impulse imparted to that master's genius by the dawning of the Renaissance in Italy, the accompanying lines of Surrey ('The means to attain happy Life') and of Wyatt ('The one he would love') owe their thoughtful calm and grave sweetness to the influence of that revival at its noontide, and a closer study of those Italian models which were still the criterion of literary art in Europe. The luxuriant verdure into which our poetry burgeoned under its radiance, in an atmosphere purified by the Reformation of religion, is favourably illustrated in the specimen-lyrics here given of the Elizabethan era. Of the manifold elements which then contributed to the abounding wealth of national life, not a few are thus represented. The courtesy and constancy of which Sidney was the foremost type are as manifest in his love-songs ('The Serenade' and 'A Ditty') as in the career which closed so gallantly at Zutphen. Raleigh's philosophical 'Description of Love,' and 'Nymph's reply to the passionate Shepherd,' remind us that the brilliant courtier and adventurous voyager was at the same time the historian of the world. The verses attributed to Shakespeare, to which the latter poem is a reply, 'My flocks feed not,' and Breton's charming madrigal, 'In the merry month of May,' introduce us into the fictitious Arcadia created by Spenser and Sidney, which, however graceful in its origin as an idyllic reflection of the chivalric revival, subsequently degenerated into so poor a sham. There is a truer ring, an unaffected smack of the soil, in such poems as Robert Greene's 'Happy as a Shepherd' and 'Content,' wherein the healthy ideal of a country life, for which Englishmen have ever cherished an avowed or a secret yearning, is depicted in admired contrast with the delights of a palace. There is scarcely a period in our literature when the lips of courtiers and statesmen, wits and worldlings, have not, in some form or other, echoed the sentiment of these lines:—

'The

'The homely house that harbours quiet rest,
 The cottage that affords no pride nor care,
 The mean that 'grees with country music best,
 The sweet consort of mirth and music's fare;
 Obscured life sets down a type of bliss.
 A mind content both crown and kingdom is.'

The rough strength and unspoilt grace which were so kindly tempered in Ben Jonson by the addition of classical culture, make themselves felt in such lyrics as 'To Celia' and 'Charis,' more than one counterpart to which the Editor might have extracted from 'The Forest' and 'Underwoods.' The conceits of Carew, on the other hand ('Ask me no more,' &c.), seem to betray his infection with the false taste which the 'Euphues' of Lyly has the discredit of introducing into Elizabethan English. The contemporary poems of Sir Robert Ayton are admirable examples of that purer style which had arisen with Surrey, and was to culminate with Milton. Their burden of woman's inconstancy and man's self-respecting dignity ('I loved thee once,' and 'I do confess thou'rt smooth and fair') is a favourite theme with the poets of this period, and marks a reaction against the exaggerated ideal of womanhood, which, among other incidents of the Neo-chivalry, Spenser, Sidney, and their fellows had loyally striven to restore. George Wither's 'Shall I wasting in despair?' which breathes of the writer's ante-Puritan days, is the best-known embodiment of this reactionary spirit. It is but a mild prelude to the tone of jovial recklessness and *de haut en bas* gallantry running through the lyrics of Sir John Suckling. No more characteristic *vers de société* than his 'Careless Lover,' 'Why so pale?' 'Out upon it, I have loved,' 'The Siege,' and 'Love and Debt,' are to be found in the language. The opening verse of the latter, with its pious aspiration—

'That I were fairly out of debt
 As I am out of love,'

echoes the living voice of the roistering cavalier, as light-hearted in the day of prosperity as he was free-handed. The loyal devotion of which that type was capable in the crisis of adversity imparts the glow of inspiration to the exquisite poems of Lovelace. His 'Tell me not, Sweet, I am unkind,' and 'To Althra from prison,' familiar as a household word in every line, are instinct with that charm of emotional nobleness of which the thousandth repetition never makes us weary.

More completely representative of the Cavalier poets is Herrick, of whose delicious lyrics this volume affords many examples. Alike in his chivalrous loyalty, avowed the most
 openly

openly when Fortune was the least favourable to his cause, his outbursts of devotional feeling, his lapses into the grossest sensualism, his robust English instincts, his refined classic culture, his absorption in the pursuit of individual pleasure and blindness to the signs of national distress, he aptly exemplifies a party whose aspect of moral and intellectual paradox is its distinguishing note in history. Of the disastrous defeat which, owing to this instability, his party suffered at the hands of the earnest, strait-laced Puritans, 'men of one idea,' Herrick bore his full share. Had his political sympathies been less pronounced than they were, such an amorous bacchanalian priest would never have been allowed to hold the cure of souls at Dean Prior while a 'painful preacher of the Word' could be found to take his place. To the pressure of poverty consequent upon his supersession and exile in London, we owe the publication of his 'Noble Numbers,' a collection exclusively sacred, in 1647, and his 'Hesperides,' a collection miscellaneously profane, in 1648. It is significant of the writer's character that the former opens with his prayer for the Divine forgiveness of the very

'unbaptizèd rhymes
Writ in my wild unhallowed times,'

which in the following year he permitted himself to include within the latter. 'Unbaptized,' in the strictest sense of the word, many of these verses assuredly are. The poet in his distress seems to have raked together every scrap that he had written, and mingled the freshest tokens of his inspiration with the sickliest and the foulest records of his bad taste, without any attempt at assortment. Whatever drawback be allowed for the inconsistency of the poet and the inequality of his verse, the 'Hesperides' will still be cherished among our most precious lyrical treasures. Herrick is eminent among those poets of society whose art has a special charm irrespective of its representative or historical interest. That quality which is universally recognised as grace, undefinable but unmistakable as an aroma, seldom deserts him even when his theme is the coarsest. In choice simplicity of language and orderly freedom of versification few of our highest poets have equalled him. These merits are most observable in the poems that approach nearest to classic models; as, for example, the idyll of 'Corinna's going a-maying,' and the elegiac verses 'To Perilla;'^{*} but his least studied

^{*} The description of morning-dew in the former,

Take no care

For jewels for your gown or hair . . .

studied effusions bear marks of the same training. Take, for instance, these lines 'To Dianeme':—

'Sweet, be not proud of those two eyes
Which, star-like, sparkle in their skies;
Nor be you proud, that you can see
All hearts your captives,—yours yet free:
Be you not proud of that rich hair,
Which wantons with the love-sick air;
Whenas that ruby which you wear,
Sunk from the tip of your soft ear,
Will last to be a precious stone
When all your world of beauty's gone.'

In his erotics, which form nine-tenths of the 'Hesperides,' tender feeling and delicate fancy are too often tainted with an impurity that it is difficult to eliminate, but there are a few like the following, which contain not a word that could be wished away:—

'THE BRACELET.

'Why I tie about thy wrist,
Julia, this my silken twist,
For what other reason is't,
But to show thee how, in part,
Thou my pretty captive art?—
But thy bond-slave is my heart.
'Tis but silk that bindeth thee,—
Snap the thread, and thou art free;
But 'tis otherwise with me:
I am bound, and fast bound, so
That from thee I cannot go:
If I could, I would not so!'

Although as a painter of manners Herrick has left no single sketch so complete as Suckling's famous 'Ballad on a Wedding,' his profuse allusions to contemporary customs, games, articles of dress, furniture, and viands, afford ample materials from which a picture of his times may be constructed. The lewdness that had been fatal to him under the Commonwealth was no doubt the ground of his popularity under the Restoration; a popularity to which no consideration of the obligations involved in his calling can be supposed to have offered any hindrance. His

The childhood of the day hath kept
Against you come some orient pearls unwept;
and the phrase applied to death in the latter,
'The cool and silent shades of sleep,'
may serve as illustrations of his exquisite diction.

poetry thus acquires an historical significance greater than would otherwise belong to it.

The excess of the carnal over the spiritual element in the prevalent conception of love, may explain the degeneration of feeling into sentiment, and of fancy into ornament, that characterises the erotic poetry of the Restoration. Sedley, Rochester, and Etherege scarcely pretend to passion, and are content to display their skill in concealing its absence under the glitter of verbal smartness. One unique example, Waller's charming poem on a girdle, redeems the cycle of contemporary love-verse from a wholesale charge of insincerity:—

- 'That which her slender waist confined
Shall now my joyful temples bind;
No monarch but would give his crown
His arms might do what this has done.
- 'It was my heaven's extremest sphere,
The pale which held that lovely dear.
My joy, my grief, my hope, my love
Did all within this circle move!
- 'A narrow compass! and yet there
Dwelt all that's good, and all that's fair;
Give me but what this riband bound,
Take all the rest the sun goes round.'

Lord Dorset's 'Phillis, for shame!' has also an echo of truth in its tone of grave remonstrance with a half-hearted mistress, while his spirited lyric, 'To all you Ladies now on Land,' written on the eve of a naval engagement with the Dutch, affords a rare glimpse of the healthy English temper which not all the corruption of Court-life and the decadence of statesmanly honour under the later Stuarts had been able to vitiate. Of the greatest poets of the age we find but scanty record in the 'Lyra.' Milton is wholly absent. Dryden is only represented by two frigid pieces of sentiment and one fine fragment, 'Fortune,' which scarcely belongs to the category of *vers de société*. Cowley, however, appears to better advantage in his graceful poem, 'A Wish,' wherein the ideal of rural contentment, so dear to the national imagination, reappears under conditions as little favourable as possible to its birth and culture.

The influence that has left most trace upon the social poetry of the next generation is that of the sovereignty which France imposed upon our morals and taste at the very time when we had dethroned her from the empire of land and sea. The prevalence of a cynical, selfish view of life, of a practical contempt veiled under a theoretical reverence for virtue, the superiority of wit to truth,

truth, of manner to matter, are salient features in the lighter literature of the time. The frivolity and caprice of fashion which Addison and Steele unweariedly commemorated in easy and graceful prose, as if the scope of human activity contained no other theme of equal interest, were immortalised by Prior and Pope in airy and sparkling verse. Foreign words and phrases, appropriate to their subject, then openly intruded into the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare, and have left an impression of affectation and sickliness upon a literature otherwise manly and sound. We shall be understood as referring only to its intellectual characteristics; sound, in a moral sense, being the last epithet that could justly be applied to such a writer as Prior. He represents but too faithfully the standard of contemporary society. The duplicity of eminent statesmen and officials, the tolerance extended in the highest circles to the grosser vices, and the lewdness accepted as indispensable to the attractions of fiction and the drama, form a dark background to the glories which science and philosophy, strategy and policy, have shed upon our 'Augustan' age. The shadow falls upon the career and is reflected in the verse of Prior. Shifty and brilliant in public, licentious and urbane in private life, he wrote as he lived. Wit and worldly wisdom, the Epicurean's creed and the sensualist's experience, are embodied in lyrics worthy of Horace, and epigrams only excelled by Pope. 'Dear Chloe,' 'The Merchant to secure his treasure,' and 'The Secretary,' are of course included in the 'Lyra;' but we wonder at the omission of a poem so characteristic of the writer's elegant insincerity as the lines addressed to a lady who broke off an argument which she had commenced with him. The following are amongst its best verses:—

'In the dispute whate'er I said,
My heart was by my tongue belied;
And in my looks you might have read
How much I argued on your side.

'You, far from danger as from fear,
Might have sustain'd an open fight:
For seldom your opinions err;
Your eyes are always in the right.

.

'Alas! not hoping to subdue,
I only to the fight aspir'd;
To keep the beauteous foe in view
Was all the glory I desir'd.

.

'Deeper

'Deeper to wound, she shuns the fight :
 She drops her arms, to gain the field :
 Secures her conquest by her flight :
 And triumphs, when she seems to yield.'

The admirable burlesque of Boileau's 'Ode on the Taking of Namur' might well have been added to the political poems in Mr. Locker's collection, and the select epigrams which illustrate the philosophy of 'Carpe diem' include none happier than this paraphrase of the kindred axiom, 'Quid sit futurum cras fuge querere :—

'For what to-morrow shall disclose
 May spoil what you to-night propose ;
 England may change or Chloë stray :
 Love and life are for to-day.'

Prior's miscellaneous poems, the outcome of a rapid and shrewd observation incessantly at work during a vicissitous career as man of letters, diplomatist, placeman, and pensioner, contain many a lifelike sketch of the phenomena and characters of his time ; of the vices in which passion ran riot, and the follies in which *ennui* sought distraction ; of the empty braggarts who set up for wits, and the painted hags who posed as beauties. If his satires upon the aristocratic world portray its worst side and excite our disgust, his familiar epistles incidentally disclose another side which deserves our admiration. The relation between men of rank and men of genius, heretofore one of ostentatious protection on the part of the patron and obsequious dependence on that of the client, could scarcely have been in a healthier condition than when Prior, Pope, and Swift associated with Oxford and Bolingbroke, Addison and Steele with Halifax and Somers ; when mental equality effaced social inequality, and an honourable interchange was effected between intelligent sympathy and well-judging generosity on the one side, and self-respectful friendship and uncovetous gratitude on the other.

The miscellaneous poems of Pope are so familiarly known that there is no need to dwell upon their abundant illustrations of contemporary manners. Though properly excluded from the 'Lyra' by their length and elaboration, the 'Rape of the Lock' and some of the satires are *vers de société* of the highest order. The impression which they leave differs little from that conveyed by the poems of Prior as to the moral unsoundness underlying the intellectual brilliance of the age : a condition to which the idiosyncrasy of the poet, after the light recently thrown upon it by Mr. Elwin, must be admitted to afford a parallel. In the verse of Pope, however, as in that of

Prior and the less polished but not less vigorous verse of Swift, there are distinct signs of healthier influences being at work. The standard of mental and moral culture which men demanded of women, and women were willing to attain, must have risen considerably above that of the previous generation,* before a writer so conversant with the world as Pope would have expected a female audience for his second 'Essay,' or a wit like Swift have dreamed of addressing his mistress in the strain of the birthday-lines 'To Stella.' Gross on the one hand and fulsome on the other as the tone of 'Augustan' literature often is when its theme is womanhood, the height to which some of its best writers show themselves capable of rising marks a sensible approach towards that ideal of sexual relations—

'Self-reverent each and reverencing each,
Distinct in individualities'—

which it has been the proud boast of our own day to realize more approximately.

Indications of the effect produced by the great constitutional crisis through which the nation had recently passed, of a diffusion of sympathy due to the unanimity with which liberty had been welcomed, and the need of maintaining it against a common foe, of a relaxation of the barriers between social grades, are perceptible in such poems as Swift's 'Hamilton's Bawn' and 'Mrs. Harris's Petition.' His representation of the footing upon which masters stood with their servants, Prior's portraiture in 'Down Hall' of the good fellowship subsisting between townsmen and rustics, and Addison's sketch in 'Sir Roger de Coverley' of the squire's relations with his tenants, point, each in a different direction, to the prevalence of a national good-humour. How 'slow to move,' on the other hand, the English temperament has always been in obliterating class-distinctions and removing admitted anomalies, the two poems just named illustrate with equal clearness. The social status of the clergy, as Macaulay from ample materials describes it to have been in the reign of Charles II.,† cannot have sensibly improved at a time when Swift represents a chaplain in a noble family as destined for marriage with the housemaid, a captain of cavalry as taking precedence of a Dean at dinner and setting the table in a roar by ridicule of his cloth.

As the eighteenth century advances the fervour of political feeling became prominent in its *vers de société*. Lady Mary Wortley Montague's defence of Sir Robert Walpole ('Such were

* Compare Macaulay's 'History of England' (New Edition), i. pp. 192-3.

† 'Hist. Eng.' (New Edition), i. p. 160.

the lively Eyes'), and Garrick's 'Advice to the Marquis of Rockingham,' may pair with Sir C. Hanbury Williams' bitter diatribes upon Pulteney, as average specimens of their class, the fault of both the praise and the blame being that they are too obviously personal to be historically trustworthy. The blind violence of party-spirit in this age, and the difficulty that a statesman had to meet in obtaining a fair trial or a candid estimate of his policy, are excellently portrayed in the following stanzas from the pen of a neutral bystander whose name has not been handed down to us:—

' Know, minister! whate'er you plan,—
Whate'er your politics, great man,
You must expect detraction;
Though of clean hand and honest heart,
Your greatness must expect to smart
Beneath the rod of faction.

' Like blockheads eager in dispute,
The mob, that many-headed brute,
All bark and bawl together;
For continental measures some,
And some cry, keep your troops at home,
And some are pleased with neither.

' Lo, a militia guards the land!
Thousands applaud your saving hand,
And hail you their protector;
While thousands censure and defame,
And brand you with the hideous name
Of state-quack and projector. . . .

' Corruption's influence you despise;—
These lift your glory to the skies,
Those pluck your glory down:
So strangely different is the note
Of scoundrels that have right to vote,
And scoundrels that have none.'

The prevalence of drinking-songs among Georgian lyrics has an obviously political connection. With a Pretender Charles Stuart over the water, and a Patriot Jack Wilkes at home, no sturdy Constitutionalist wanted an excuse or lost an opportunity of celebrating 'Church and King' in toast and chorus. There is an echo of their hearty English voices in such a rough carol as the following:—

' Then him let's commend
That is true to his friend
And the Church and the Senate would settle;

Who delights not in blood,
But draws when he should,
And bravely stands brunt to the battle.

'Who rails not at Kings,
Nor at politick things,
Nor treason will speak when he's mellow,
But takes a full glass
To his country's success,—
This, this is an honest brave fellow.'

The national prejudice against the Scotch, which was inflamed by the Jacobite rebellions and envenomed by the administration of Lord Bute, lends a spice of malice to Goldsmith's kindly satire in 'The Retaliation' and 'The Haunch of Venison,' and even ruffles the urbane temper of Lord Chesterfield in 'Lord Islay's Garden.' Its manifestation among less restrained writers, such as the author of the lines on the construction of the Adelphi Terrace, is all but malignant:—

'Four Scotchmen, by the name of Adams,
Who keep their coaches for their madams,
Quoth John, in sulky mood, to Thomas,
Have stole the very river from us.
'O Scotland! long it has been said
Thy teeth are sharp for English bread;
What! seize our bread and water too,
And use us worse than jailers do!
'Tis true 'tis hard! 'tis hard 'tis true!
'Ye friends of George and friends of James,
Envy us not our river Thames:
The Princess, fond of raw-boned faces,
May give you all our posts and places;
Take all—to gratify your pride,
But dip your oatmeal in the Clyde.'

That heartiness in love as well as hate, the frank, homely simplicity which are among the pleasantest traits of the eighteenth-century John Bull, as we recognise him in the novels of Fielding and Smollett, find genial expression in the verse of — Collins. It is strange enough that the author of such capital verse as 'The Golden Farmer,' 'Good old Things,' and 'To-morrow,' should, after the lapse of a century, be so little known that one can only distinguish him from his greater contemporary by leaving a blank for his Christian name.* Here again the rural ideal shows itself, and in the most natural form,

* A contemporary namesake, Mr. Mortimer Collins, has identified him with John Collins, a Birmingham bookseller, journalist, and actor.

affording the strongest contrast to the unreality of artifice and sentiment to which Shenstone and his fellows had reduced 'Arcadian' poetry. In skilful hands, however, this verse, insipid as it is when its theme is love, and maudlin when devoted to elegiacs upon furred and feathered pets, does not want certain compensating graces of style and rhythm. An example offers in Gray's lines 'On the Death of a favourite Cat,' the elegant humour of which Horace Walpole closely approaches in his 'Entail,' a fable of a butterfly. Sentiment passes into the region of feeling with Cowper, upon whose tender heart, and keen though clouded intelligence, the contemporary revival of religion was efficacious alike for good and evil.

If the atmospheric clearance effected by the great revolutionary storm wherein the eighteenth century closed had less marked an influence upon *vers de société* than any other province of poetry, it was doubtless because the class which comprehended their principal writers was the first to resist the political and social changes thus inaugurated. But the process of resistance itself evoked an outburst of energy which has left its precipitate in the most spirited satire perhaps ever written in English. The drollery of invention, the deftness of wit, which Frere and Canning infused into 'The Anti-Jacobin,' must have gone far, one would think, to assuage the smart of the wounds inflicted by their shafts. 'The needy Knife-grinder,' 'The Student of Göttingen,' and 'The Loves of the Triangles,' have, for three-quarters of a century at all events, been the common property of lovers of laughter to whatever party belonging. The two first-named and other specimens of Canning's vein of comedy find a worthy place in Mr. Locker's miscellany, but are too well known to justify extraction. Though wit and humour were the literary weapons which the Tory champions found fittest for political warfare, the conflict both to them and their opponents was none the less one of grim earnest. The inevitable effect of this earnestness on both parties was a relinquishment of conventionality and affectation, a return to nature and simplicity. The poets who drew their original inspiration from Liberal ideas—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Southey, and Landor—were the first to indicate the healthy change; but once manifested, its spread was contagious, nor in those who experienced it did any reactionary current ever induce a relapse. The Tory Scott is as clearly under its influence as the Republican Shelley, and its sway over a poet so unspiritual as Moore is potent enough to colour his sentiment with an emotional tinge. The sham Arcadia has vanished, and men and women, no longer masking as nymphs and swains, are clothed

clothed and in their right mind. The literary properties which had endured so long a tenure of favour are utterly discredited, and, except in the province of burlesque, it might be difficult to find a poem of the present century that contains an invocation to the Muse or a reference to Cupid's dart. The languid, frigid tones of the eighteenth-century lover are exchanged for accents so suffused with tender feeling as Landor's, or so charged with fervid passion as those of Byron. Compare any love-poem of the three preceding generations with the following of Landor's, and the difference in kind is at once apparent:—

'Ianthé! you are called to cross the sea!
 A path forbidden me!
 Remember, while the Sun his blessing sheds
 Upon the mountain-heads,
 How often we have watcht him laying down
 His brow, and dropt our own
 Against each other's, and how faint and short
 And sliding the support!
 What will succeed it now? Mine is unblest,
 Ianthé! nor will rest
 But in the very thought that swells with pain.
 O bid me hope again!
 O give me back what Earth, what (without you)
 Not Heaven itself can do;
 One of the golden days that we have past;
 And let it be my last!
 Or else the gift would be, however sweet,
 Fragile and incomplete.'

'Proud word you never spake, but you will speak
 Four not exempt from pride some future day.
 Resting on one white hand a warm wet cheek
 Over my open volume, you will say,
 "This man loved me!"—then rise and trip away.'

Perhaps no poet of the revolutionised *régime* displays its characteristics more clearly than Landor. He brought, indeed, the courtly manners and graceful scholarship of the previous generation to clothe the thoughts and feelings of his own; but his fine perception enabled him to discard all that was out of keeping, and his thorough saturation with the modern spirit is always apparent, however antique may be the form adopted.

The chief poets of the century were usually occupied with enterprises of greater pith than the composition of *vers de société*, and their names rarely figure in Mr. Locker's catalogue; but the impulse that first animated them has extended to their lightest efforts, and Coleridge's 'Something childish' and Wordsworth's

'Dear

'Dear Child of Nature' bear the date of their production on their face as manifestly as 'The Ancient Mariner' or 'Tintern Abbey.' The *vers de société* of their minor contemporaries are stamped with the same impression. Charles Lamb's quaint tenderness is well represented by his 'Hester,' and Leigh Hunt's playful archness by his rondo, 'Jenny kissed me.' Peacock's 'Love and Age,' which we regret not having space to extract, is another exquisite example of the modern infusion of feeling into a theme on which a writer of the previous century would have been merely rhapsodical. What traces of the old school of sentiment are still left appear in the smooth grace of Rogers and the faded prettiness of William Spencer, while the unrefined humour which accompanied it finds its last representative in Captain Morris, in whose lyrics the 'man about town' of the Regency lounges and swaggers to the life.

In that brighter vein of humour which is little affected by social changes, and sparkles freely under all conditions in impromptu and epigram, few professional jesters have attained more distinction than one of the gravest of functionaries, Lord Chancellor Erskine. Among the best of his recorded verses is that composed while listening to the tedious argument of a counsel which detained him on the woolsack until past the hour when he was engaged to a turtle dinner in the City. Being observed busily writing, he was supposed to be taking a note of the cause, but Lord Holland, who caught sight of his note-book, found that it contained the following:—

'Oh that thy cursed balderdash
Were swiftly changed to callipash!
Thy bands so stiff and snug toupee
Corrected were to callipoe;
That since I can nor dine nor sup,
I might arise and eat thee up!'

The energy of the poetic reformation sensibly abated with the growth of the century, and a period of conventionality ensued, which was marked by a copious increase of 'boudoir' literature, as flimsy in texture as it was showy in pattern. In the hands of one gifted writer, however, whose capacity for higher effort was perhaps thwarted in its development by a premature death, this tawdry literature attained a temporary lustre. The sententiousness of Crabbe, the romanticism of Scott, and the sentiment of Byron, seem to have been Praed's literary nurture; but he brought wit, observation, scholarship, and experience to assimilate and modify them. His early sketches remind us of the first, his legends of

* Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Lord Chancellors,' vol. vi. p. 659.

the second, his lyrics of the third ; but in each there are features which do not belong to the original, and distinguish the artist from the imitator. In the style which he subsequently perfected, antithetical in construction and pointed in phrasing, pungent in satire or playful in raillery, always clear and exquisitely versified, he has probably never had a superior. No observer of the outer side of life has painted more finished pictures than his of a London drawing-room—the manners and customs of well-bred English men and women between 1825 and 1835. Of a society which had outlived its appetite for vice without acquiring a healthy taste, which still maintained the institutions of the duel and the gaming-house, which had worshipped Brummell and was ready to worship D'Orsay, which had originated the exclusiveness and still upheld the tyranny of Almack's, in which such a creation as 'Pelham' could be set up as a typical gentleman, in which the mediævalism of Scott was more admired than his characterisation, and the introspection of Byron than his passion—of such a society Praed was a fitly representative poet. The licentious tone which had prevailed during the Regency having died out of its own excess, left behind it a prevailing taint of unearnestness which found expression in mere frivolity. Infected with the fashionable taste, yet half-ashamed of it, Praed laughs gently in his sleeve at the follies which he gravely affects to chronicle. His 'Good-night to the Season' (which, to our surprise, Mr. Locker does not extract) and 'Our Ball' are masterpieces in this mock-serious vein. 'A Letter of Advice' from a young lady to her friend on the choice of a husband, is less veiled in its satire. How humorously the sham-romantic ideals of friendship and love, destined to extinction in a *mariage de convenance*, are ridiculed in these verses :—

'O think of our favourite cottage,
 And think of our dear "Lalla Rookh"!
 How we shared with the milkmaids their pottage,
 And drank of the stream from the brook;
 How fondly our loving lips falter'd
 "What further can grandeur bestow?"
 My heart is the same;—is yours alter'd?
 My own Araminta, say "No!"
 'We parted! but sympathy's fetters
 Reach far over valley and hill;
 I muse o'er your exquisite letters,
 And feel that your heart is mine still;
 And he who would share it with me, love,—
 The richest of treasures below,—
 If he's not what Orlando should be, love,
 My own Araminta, say "No!"

' If he wears a top-boot in his wooing,
 If he comes to you riding a cob,
 If he talks of his baking or brewing,
 If he puts up his feet on the hob,
 If he ever drinks port after dinner,
 If his brow or his breeding is low,
 If he calls himself "Thompson" or "Skinner,"
 My own Araminta, say "No!"

Praed's skill in pasquinade found ample scope for its exercise in the arena of politics. His sympathies, after his twenty-ninth year, were avowedly enlisted on the side of the Tories in their resistance to the march of innovation, and his winged arrows of wit were gallantly, if unavailingly, employed in their service. The only specimen of his political verse given in the 'Lyra' is the piece addressed to the Speaker on seeing him asleep in the (Reformed) House of Commons. The two last stanzas are the best:—

' Sleep, Mr. Speaker! Harvey will soon
 Move to abolish the sun and the moon:
 Hume will no doubt be taking the sense
 Of the House on a question of sixteenpence.
 Statesmen will howl, and patriots bray—
 Sleep, Mr. Speaker, sleep while you may!
 ' Sleep, Mr. Speaker, and dream of the time
 When loyalty was not quite a crime,
 When Grant was a pupil in Canning's school,
 And Palmerston fancied Wood a fool.
 Lord! how principles pass away—
 Sleep, Mr. Speaker, sleep while you may!

The conflict of parties to which these verses refer inspired the worthiest ambitions and absorbed the best energies that society was then putting forth. Wit and humour know no political monopoly, and Praed was doubtless the first to admire the spirited sallies of satire that issued from the Liberal camp, during the agitations which preceded the enactments of Catholic Emancipation and Reform. Moore's 'King Crack and his Idols,' Macaulay's 'Cambridge Election Ballad,' and Peacock's 'Fate of a Broom' have an ingenuity in their caricature and an absence of malice about their hearty invective that bespeak the writers' training in the school of the 'Anti-Jacobin' swordsmen.

The *bourgeois* tone inevitably attending the influx of a democratic wave makes its presence felt in the *vers de société* of James Smith, Barham, and Hood, where puns and slang are too often substituted for wit. To Hood's poetic gifts, however, the extracts given in the 'Lyra' do scanty justice. He had a true
 grace

grace and fancy, of which they afford no indication. The extracts given from Barham do him more than justice, since they convey no idea of the coarseness which was a decided drawback to his fun. A trace of this mars one's enjoyment of some of Thackeray's genuinely humorous pieces. Its worst example is 'The White Squall,' which describes a passage across the Channel in language as unrefined as it is graphic, but the touch of tenderness in the closing verse redeems it:—

'And when, its force expended,
The harmless storm was ended,
And as the sunrise splendid
Came blushing o'er the sea,
I thought, as day was breaking,
My little girls were waking
And smiling and making
A prayer at home for me.'

It is noticeable how much less pronounced Thackeray's cynical tone is in his verses than in the province of fiction wherein his chief laurels have been won. The interfusion of pathos and humour above exemplified is often skilfully contrived, especially in the 'Ballad of Bouillabaisse' and 'The cane-bottomed Chair.' Of his purely tender mood, 'At the Church-gate,' the reverie of a lover who sees his lady enter the minster, is a delicate example. A more familiar chord is struck in 'Vanitas Vanitatum':—

'O vanity of vanities!
How wayward the decrees of Fate are;
How very weak the very wise,
How very small the very great are! . . .
'Though thrice a thousand years are past
Since David's son, the sad and splendid,
The weary King Ecclesiast,
Upon his awful tablets penned it,—
'Methinks the text is never stale,
And life is every day renewing
Fresh comments on the old, old tale
Of Folly, Fortune, Glory, Ruin.'

The only other representative poet of society belonging to our own time whose name occurs in Mr. Locker's volume is Arthur Clough, of whom 'Spectator ab extra' is a fairly characteristic lyric. It affords a glimpse of that deep-searching scepticism which now threatens to penetrate the most cherished of our social institutions, a tone of that deep-seated earnestness veiled in irony by which more than one contemporary teacher has won the public ear.

Such

Such are a few of the side-lights of history which a rapid run through the pages of the 'Lyra Elegantiarum' admits of our discerning. Mr. Locker does not include any living poets in his list, nor could he have done so without heading it with his own name. Though far from being a mere poet of society, he has devoted himself so steadily to the rôle of its lyrist, and as yet maintained his pre-eminence against all subsequent competitors, that no survey of the subject would be complete without some notice of his distinguishing traits. To estimate them fairly involves a consideration of the prevailing tone of contemporary society.

The observation long ago made upon us that we 'take our pleasures sadly, after the manner of the nation,' may have been intended as a reproach, but we have no reason to be ashamed of it. It is assuredly as true of us now as it ever was. The moods of frivolity in which we occasionally indulge seem to be borrowed from the Continent, and are as transient as other imported fashions. The shadow of the end and 'the burden of the mystery' are for ever recurring to our minds, not to extinguish our mirth, but to control its manifestations, and suggest the reflections which it is only madness to ignore. That the tendency to dwell upon the serious aspect of life has been for some years past upon the increase, we think there can be no doubt. The growing appetite for scientific, metaphysical, and theological speculation, no longer confined to the learned, but shared by all the educated classes; the interest now taken in political, educational, and sanitary questions by the sex hitherto indifferent to study, and satisfied with supremacy in accomplishments; the grave, even sombre cast of the poetry in the first or second rank which has been most widely read, 'The Idylls of the King,' 'The Ring and the Book,' 'Aurora Leigh,' 'The Spanish Gipsy,' 'The Earthly Paradise,' 'Atalanta in Calydon;' the perpetual contrasts of tragedy with comedy offered in the pages of our most popular novelists—George Eliot, Thackeray, Dickens, Mr. Trollope, Mr. W. Collins—and the tendency which the greatest of them display to the manufacture of 'novels with a purpose;' the successful cultivation of high art by such painters as Mr. Watts, Mr. Leighton, Mr. Holman Hunt, and Mr. Poynter; the long popularity of the 'domestic drama,' and the reaction which the degradation of farce into burlesque has created in favour of classical comedy: all these are signs in the same direction. Not, indeed, that the moralist, *pur et simple*, has a better chance of obtaining an audience in this than in a less serious age. We want our pills, and are even anxious to take them, but it is indispensable that they should be silvered.

A writer

A writer who, like Mr. Locker, comes forward in a jester's motley, but continually betrays the preacher's cassock beneath it, and is gifted with a vein of pathos that dominates without depressing his sense of humour, may fitly appeal to the sympathy of a society thus predisposed. The six editions of his 'London Lyrics,' a number reached by no other volume of *vers de société* in our time, attest that he has thus appealed with success. Of such of his poems as are purely pathetic, we do not propose to speak. 'Implora pace,' 'Her quiet Resting-place,' and some others, are expressions of personal feeling that no one would think of classing in the category to which the majority of his lyrics belong. The characteristic aroma of the latter cannot better be described than in the writer's own words :—

'The wisely-gay, as years advance,
Are gaily wise. Whate'er befall
We'll laugh at folly, whether seen
Beneath a chimney or a steeple,—
At yours, at mine; our own, I mean,
As well as that of other people.

'I'm fond of fun, the mental dow
Where wit and truth and ruth are blent. . . .

'I've laughed to hide the tear I shed;
As when the Jester's bosom swells,
And mournfully he shakes his head,
We hear the jingle of his bells.'

A cheerful philosopher, persuaded that the destiny of the world is in better hands than his own, yet interested in all that concerns it, he devotes to its advantage, by way either of sympathy or satire, the resources of a genuine poetic faculty. The gifts which make up his credentials have been singly possessed by one or other of his predecessors, some of whom have added qualifications that he lacks, but none, we think, have equalled him in combining so much of what is excellent with so little an admixture of what is inferior. The writers of whom he most frequently reminds us are Herrick, Prior, Praed, and Thackeray. By the first he is surpassed in delicacy of fancy and lyrical skill, but he has equal tenderness and simplicity, and excels in humour and refinement. The humour both of Prior and Thackeray is more genial, but it is less refined than Mr. Locker's: Praed's wit is unapproached by him, but he adds the pathos which both Prior and Praed want, and the music and finish of which Thackeray has little. In irony, whether playful or earnest, we do not know his superior, the satirists who usually employ it being too apt to be either cynical or ponderous. The best-known
example

example of his peculiar manner is the poem on a Skull, but the same blending of a sardonic with an emotional vein characterises 'The Skeleton in the Cupboard,' from which we extract one or two verses:—

- 'We all have secrets: you have one
Which mayn't be quite your charming spouse's;
We all lock up a skeleton
In some grim chamber of our houses.
- 'Your neighbour Gay, that jovial wight,
As Dives rich and brave as Hector,—
Poor Gay steals twenty times a night,
On shaking knees, to see his spectre.
- 'Old Dives fears a pauper fate,
So hoarding is his ruling passion;—
Some gloomy souls anticipate
A waistcoat, straiter than the fashion!
- 'Childless she pines, that lonely wife,
And secret tears are bitter shedding;—
Hector may tremble all his life,
And die,—but not of that he's dreading.
- 'Ah me, the World! How fast it spins!
The beldams dance, the caldron bubbles;
They shriek, and stir it for our sins,
And we must drain it for our troubles.
- 'We toil, we groan:—the cry for love
Mounts upward from the seething city,
And yet I know we have above
A Father, infinite in pity.

His dexterity in making the jester's privilege a cloak for the moralist is shown in the poem of 'Beggars,' which analyses in a parable the selfishness that lurks under the shelter of science; a similar service being rendered to the irrationalists in the piece called 'An old Buffer.' Of his playful-pathetic mood, 'To my Grandmother' is one of the most charming examples:—

- 'This relative of mine,
Was she seventy and nine
When she died?
By the canvas may be seen
How she look'd at seventeen,
As a bride.
- 'Beneath a summer tree
Her maiden reverie
Has a charm;
Her ringlets are in taste;
What an arm! and what a waist
For an arm!

'With

• With her bridal-wreath, bouquet,
Lace, farthingale, and gay
Falbala,—
Were Romney's limning true,
What a lucky dog were you,
Grandpapa!

• Her lips are sweet as love;
They are parting! Do they move?
Are they dumb?
Her eyes are blue, and beam
Beseechingly, and seem
To say, "Come."

• That good-for-nothing Time
Has a confidence sublime!
When I first
Saw this lady, in my youth,
Her winters had, forsooth,
Done their worst.

• Ah, perishable clay!
Her charms had dropt away
One by one:
But if she heaved a sigh
With a burthen, it was, "Thy
Will be done."

• In travail, as in tears,
With the fardel of her years
Overprest,—
In mercy she was borne
Where the weary and the worn
Are at rest.

'Gerty's Glove' and 'Geraldine and I' are favourable specimens of the dainty grace which he can throw into a love-lyric; 'The Bear-pit' and 'My First-born,' of the genuine fun which he can extract from the ordinary incidents of life. Clearness and simplicity of language, polish and fluency of versification, are qualities that belong to his poems generally. He usually adopts a tone of kindly banter that diffuses itself in *nuances* of expression, and avoids epigram as too harsh a medium, but now and then knots his lash and leaves a mark not easily to be effaced. For such a quatrain and couplet as the following it is scarcely hazardous to predict proverbiality:—

• They eat and drink and scheme and plod
And go to church on Sunday;
And many are afraid of God
And more of Mrs. Grundy.

• The

' The Cockney met in Middlesex or Surrey
Is often cold and always in a hurry.'

Bringing the powers which these poems illustrate to bear upon the themes most likely to interest London society, the scenes and figures most familiar to its denizens, the love-histories transacted in their midst, the pleasures they most eagerly pursue, the sorrows they are too prone to neglect, Mr. Locker has condensed within one little volume what is not only accepted by his contemporaries, but we doubt not will be regarded by future historians, as a vivid and varied picture of Victorian life and manners. This position we think is secured to it by its evident freedom from caricature, a merit so seldom belonging to the observations of an every-day humourist. The sympathy between class and class, which is one of the healthiest symptoms of our time, is legibly reflected in his verse. The purity of tone that marks it may be primarily a personal trait; but we are convinced that this, also, represents the dominant spirit of English society, notwithstanding the temporary notoriety of that small section which battens upon the literature of diseased or lawless lust.

Among contemporary writers of *vers de société*, although their name is legion, we are acquainted with but two whose claims to compare with Mr. Locker admit of discussion. Priority of appearance, and the respect due to his exquisite scholarship, entitle Mr. C. J. Calverley to the first consideration. If, however, the view we have taken be correct as to the qualifications which modern society demands from its representative poet, he is *ipso facto* disqualified for the office. As a mere humourist, it would be difficult to find his match; but he has chosen to be no more. We say chosen, because out of two volumes of verse, a single poem, 'Dover to Munich,' contains a few stanzas that evince the writer's capacity for treating a serious theme with reverence and grace. With this exception, his original poems are confined to a series of burlesques and parodies. Some of the latter are infinitely droll, especially the imitation of Mr. Browning's mannerism in 'Cock and Bull,' and that which travesties Mr. Swinburne's sham-antique ballads to the burden of 'Butter and eggs and a pound of cheese.' A spice of intentional ridicule such as is here infused seems always requisite to make parody piquant. For lack of this, other of Mr. Calverley's clever echoes are comparatively weak, no element inhering in the subject which could avail to render it absurd, even if the writer intended so to make it. The mock-heroic stanzas on 'Beer' and 'The Schoolmaster abroad' strike us as the best of his burlesques. Beyond incidental illustrations of undergraduate life,

life, and the superficial traits of London humour that meet a passer's eye, these volumes contribute nothing to the poetry of modern manners. Regretting that Mr. Calverley is not animated by a worthier ambition, we must needs take him at his own valuation; and if he is content to do no more than amuse our idle hours, it would be ungrateful to deny that his verses have a *raison d'être*.

Mr. Austin Dobson evidently aspires to a higher place, and his recent volume of collected poems is one of unusual promise. Although his manner has obviously been coloured by the study of Mr. Locker, he is far from being merely an imitator, and in the faculty of pictorial expression he even excels his master. The following extract from a poem illustrating the condition of France under Louis Quinze is in his best style:—

‘For these were yet the days of halcyon weather,
A marten's summer, when the nation swam,
Aimless and easy as a wayward feather,
Down the full tide of jest and epigram;—
A careless time, when France's bluest blood
Beat to the tune of, “After us the flood.”’

Occasional phrases, such as describe the engraving

‘In shadowy sanguine stipple-traced
By Bartolozzi,’

and the signs of a coquette's old age in

‘The coming of the crow's feet
And the backward turn of beaux' feet,’

are very happily rendered. Where the writer chiefly fails as an artist is in over-elaboration. His portraits of ‘A Gentleman and a Gentlewoman of the Old School,’ for example, would be more lifelike if the strokes were fewer and stronger. Now and then, too, his ornaments are strangely out of keeping, as when he describes the sad gentle face of an aged lady surmounted by

‘a coif whose crest
Like Hector's horse-plume towered.’ (!)

His most successful effort in portraiture, we think, is ‘Avice,’ where the handling throughout is extremely delicate. Here are two verses:—

‘When you enter in a room,
It is stirred
With the wayward, flashing flight
Of a bird;

And

And you speak—and bring with you
 Leaf and sun-ray, bud and blue,
 And the wind-breath and the dew,
 At a word. . . .

‘You have just their eager, quick
 “Airs de tête,”
 All their flush and fever-heat
 When elate;
 Every bird-like nod and beck,
 And a bird’s own curve of neck
 When she gives a little peck
 To her mate.’

Some power of humorous characterisation is shown in ‘Tu Quoque, a Conservatory Idyll,’ modelled after the duologue of Horace and Lydia, and ‘An Autumn Idyll,’ an adaptation of Theocritus. Both evince skill in preserving the antique form while fitting it to modern usages, yet avoiding the vulgarity which is the opprobrium of ‘classical burlesque.’

As a poet of society Mr. Dobson’s gifts differ little in kind from Mr. Locker’s, but they are not employed with equal judgment. ‘The Virtuoso,’ for example, an ironic study of æsthetic heartlessness, is so direct in its application as to verge on caricature, and loses much of the force which a satirist like Mr. Locker would have thrown into the form of suggestion. Playfulness and pathos, again, though Mr. Dobson has both at command, are not so subtly blended in ‘Pot-pourri’ or ‘A Gage d’Amour’ as in his predecessor’s ‘Pilgrims of Pall Mall,’ and ‘My Grandmother.’ In point of technical skill the younger writer has much to learn. The light tripping metres, which both are fond of using, will not bear the weight of such heavy words as Mr. Dobson sometimes thrusts upon them.

The general impression produced by these ‘Vignettes’ is very favourable to the writer’s mental attitude. Their keen and sprightly criticism of men and manners is unspoilt by flippancy, their healthy appreciation of life’s purest pleasures is tempered by kindly concern for the lot of those who miss them. With a few exceptions, his observations strike us as made from a distance rather than on the spot, by one who has felt more than he has seen, and read more than he has thought. The aspect of modern life which such a spectator seizes is necessarily limited, but, as far as Mr. Dobson’s field of vision extends, the report is trustworthy and encouraging.

The *primâ facie* reflection suggested by an historic retrospect like the foregoing may probably be, how little either the optimist

or the pessimist can find in it that makes in favour of his creed. To the lyrists of society, whether one or three centuries ago, human nature seems to have presented the same motley spectacle that it presents to-day. Although from Herrick and Prior to Mr. Locker and Mr. Dobson they have, with rare exceptions, been '*laudatores temporis acti*,' they have been at no loss to discern analogies between that past and their own time. The same motives have always been in operation, the same virtues honourable, the same vices detestable. The equilibrium has frequently shifted, and the moral standard which one age has striven to realize another has been content to idealize, but the standard itself has not appreciably altered. While, on the one hand, it is evident that each age chronicles the conquest of some vicious habit, the reclamation of some province from barbarism, and that the tide-mark once scored is ineffaceable, it is evident on the other hand, that evil tendencies are prone to recur after a period of apparent extinction, and that an ebb of puritanism is inevitably succeeded by a flow of libertinism. That the balance of such advance and recession is equal may not unreasonably be the impression first produced. A second consideration, however, is sufficient to correct it. However little the types of humanity have changed since Horace and Martial painted them, it is certain that the painters would not recognise the world to which their sitters belonged, a world of refined gentlemen and ladies who no longer delighted in seeing gladiators hack each other to death, and runaway slaves torn by lions. If they discerned some resemblance to the habits with which they were familiar among the fashionable congregation at a Ritualistic service, the crowd at a poll-booth, and the audience at a theatre, they would marvel at the interest which one distinguished assembly took in organizing a famine-fund, another in the composition of a school-board, a third in canvassing for an orphanage or an almshouse. If Herrick and Prior, in their turn, were transported to the London they had known, they would find its manners materially altered, the sanctity of marriage more respected, the representations of the stage more decorous, the evening meal no longer an orgy. Even Præd would find something to welcome in the abolition of Crockford's, and admit that the decision of a police-magistrate at Bow Street adjusted a quarrel at once more equitably and more economically than a pistol-shot at Wormwood Scrubbs. Whatever else has been lost, these are unquestionable gains. The Hydra, how often soever we behead it, will infallibly put forth new heads, but they will not be the same as the old. The lover of his kind, who is disheartened by the survey of the past and of the present,

present, should find comfort in this outlook for the future, inexorably as the logic of events may convince him that the term of human perfectibility can never be fixed more definitely than "ad Græcas Kalendas."

ART. V.—*The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland; with a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War.* By John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., LL.D., &c. Two vols. London, 1874.

WITH the publication of these two volumes Mr. Motley has brought to a close a series of most meritorious intellectual labours. 'The Rise of the Dutch Republic,' 'The History of the United Netherlands from 1584 to 1609,' 'The Life and Death of John of Barneveld,' form a fine and continuous story, of which the writer and the nation celebrated by him have equal reason to be proud; a narrative which will remain a prominent ornament of American genius, while it has permanently enriched English literature on this as well as on the other side of the Atlantic. We congratulate warmly the indefatigable man of letters from beyond the seas, who has ransacked the archives of the Hague, Brussels, and London, who has come to rank as the greatest authority concerning one of the chief episodes in the history of European peoples, who has compiled from original documents, and, as it may fairly be said in view of the general public, for the first time, an important and entertaining and very instructive chapter in universal history.

A citizen of the United States and an experienced diplomatist, Mr. Motley was by sympathy and training alike fitted to be the historian of 'the United Provinces.' The zest and thoroughness with which he identifies himself with the spirit of the Netherlands give a genuine and solid value to his compositions; they are a constant stimulus to his industry and love of research; they spur him on, as he rummages among State-papers or deciphers the unprinted letters, 'in handwriting perhaps the worst that ever existed' (vol. i. p. ix), from which, as he tells us, he had to win the materials for his last book. Again, his own life as a servant of the State has implanted in him tastes which otherwise might not have had encouragement from him. By nature he is fondest of swift political and military action. A statesman by profession, he has dared to dedicate nearly 800 pages to the last nine years of John of Barneveld's life; and neither for ourselves

as critics, nor on the part of his larger audience, are we in the least, on this account, disposed to grumble at him.

American historians turn generally with a strong appetite to the history of Spain, and next in order to those old Spanish territories in the Low Countries where they find so early the name of 'the Republic.' So Washington Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, and quite recently, beside Mr. Motley, Mr. Kirk, the historian of the prelude to Mr. Motley's period, the biographer of Charles the Bold. At the opening of the history of the New Western World, the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty occupied a place not very unlike that occupied by the Roman Cæsars when the history of Western Europe began. This has been felt by American historians, as a rule; it has been felt, for instance, by both Mr. Prescott and Mr. Motley. It has affected, with characteristic difference, the imagination of each of these two writers. It gave a lofty and dignified charm to Mr. Prescott's style and historical fancy. Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Diocletian, all seemed to enter as indirect memories into Mr. Prescott's view of Charles V. Mr. Motley's clever sketch of Charles V. is, on the other hand, a burlesque; and from his grotesque caricature of Philip II. few of the combined vices of Tiberius, Claudius, and Domitian are absent. He at times flings about his pen as if it were the brush of some angry Dutch painter turning from studies of coarse village interiors and herds of cattle, stung by his country's wrongs to portray and to gibbet the beast and savage under the purple and the crown. For, with Mr. Motley, every physical and mental trait, in almost everyone who has the unhappiness to wield sovereign power, becomes monstrous and deformed. There never was a dwarf Laurin or a sprite Rübezabl, an elf-king or gnome-king, so despicable or distorted as Philip of Spain in Mr. Motley's pages, or, for the matter of that, as James of England and Scotland. For an out-and-out enthusiast for democratic institutions, at all times and in all places, commend us to Mr. Motley. We would venture, in a whisper, to remind him that both the Hague and Brussels, not to speak of London, are seats of monarchies, and that, notwithstanding, or rather because of, all their past, with a portion of which he is so well acquainted, the Dutch, Belgians, and English—poor, benighted beings that they are—must be said to be on the whole well contented to have it so. A European reader would be irritated, if he were not still more amused, at the perpetual cry of 'Democracy for ever.' We cannot resist the temptation which invites an Englishman, a little restive under Mr. Motley's lash, to extract a passage, which with very slight alterations—not very warily Mr. Motley himself inserts the allusion which suggests them—might surely

surely describe not only the Europe of Rudolf II. and Ferdinand II.

‘The Holy Empire, which so ingeniously combined the worst characteristics of despotism and republicanism, kept all Germany and half Europe in the turmoil of a perpetual presidential election. A theatre where trivial personages and graceless actors performed a tragi-comedy of mingled folly, intrigue, and crime, and where earnestness and vigour were destined to be constantly baffled, now offered the principal stage for the entertainment and excitement of Christendom.’—Vol. i. p. 11.

With regard to English foreign policy during the times of which he has written, we give up argument with Mr. Motley, for if we commenced upon this topic, we know not when we should end. Quite briefly: we do not agree with his estimate of James the First and his policy, much less do we agree with his estimate of Elizabeth; we should be prepared, were there any necessity, to defend at length English policy toward the Netherlands—that it was tardy, cautious, now and then even foolish and mistaken, we admit; we also assert, that it was generally and ultimately successful and beneficent; were there need of proof, we should refer to the history of Holland and England—always remembering who were then the foes of both countries—in, amongst others, the concluding years of the seventeenth century. Sometimes we have felt surprise and mortification that America, possessing such promising historical scholars, should have turned her back so entirely on English history—we do not forget some most admirable chapters on English history in Mr. Kirk’s book—but with some of Mr. Motley’s observations in our mind, we confess, for the moment, to feeling every inclination to be gratefully acquiescent in the decrees which have ruled in this particular heretofore under the merciful Fates.

To pass on. Mr. Motley’s rough, sturdy, but highly picturesque English is remarkably adapted to his subject. Here and there, indeed, one might quarrel with a faintly ‘Batavian’ phrase or term. Such a word as ‘disreputation’ (i. p. 320, and ii. p. 241) grates rather on the ear. The following is a more than Batavian, is a Siamese sentence:—

‘The consummate soldier, the unrivalled statesman, each superior in his sphere to any contemporary rival, each supplementing the other, and making up together, could they have been harmonised, a double head such as no political organism then existing could boast, were now in hopeless antagonism to each other.’—Vol. ii. pp. 151–2.

We cannot make out whether Mr. Motley means us to see a superhuman or a ludicrous exhibition of crime and podagra,
when,

when, in one long sentence, he writes of an arch-offender, 'Epernon, the true murderer of Henry,' that he '*trampled on courts of justice and councils of ministers,*' that he '*smothered for ever the process of Ravallac,*' and that he '*strode triumphantly over friends and enemies throughout France, although so crippled by the gout that he could scarcely walk up stairs.*' (Vol. i. p. 230.)

But ordinarily Mr. Motley's style, if not free from blemishes, is very effective. Indeed we could not easily mention another historian who possesses so fully the art of bringing the actors and localities of the Past back into reality and into the very presence of his readers. And these last two volumes have all the excellence in this respect of their predecessors. The account, to cite one instance, of Henry IV. of France is most brilliant, and at the same time we think neither unjust nor unsound. Mr. Motley shines particularly when he has to deal with startling contradictions and exaggerations in character. We are not sure that the mystery of Henry's death is not darkened beyond what history demands by Mr. Motley, who strikes us as too credulous of the wild reports that flew about close to the event. But, as a whole, the picture is full of truth as of colour. And with what illustrious historians is Mr. Motley here competing! In his elaborate likeness of Henry, he has drawn that complex creature in every mood and in all lights. How masterly is, also, this little vignette, sketched in a couple of strokes!

'Strange combination of the hero, the warrior, the voluptuary, the sage, and the school-boy—it would be difficult to find in the whole range of history a more human, a more attractive, a more provoking, a less venerable character.'—Vol. i. pp. 221-2.

The principal fault of Mr. Motley's Dutch histories, with which we are impressed more than ever now that the succession of them is finished, and we have re-read them as a set of works extending over the sixteenth century—it implies more praise to him as a Dutch, than detraction from him as a European, historian—lies in the position which he gives to the story he has chosen to relate. He writes of the Low Countries as though in them was the centre of interest of the sixteenth century, as if not only in the history of military affairs, but everywhere, in Politics and Thought, the Low Countries were right in the foreground, starting and proclaiming the prospectus of independence. We demur to this, and will attempt to give the grounds of our demurrer.

We propose to make use of the present opportunity to review rapidly the situation and the perils of Christendom in the latter half of the sixteenth century. We shall try to trace the

the main springs to such lives as that of Barneveld. And we hope that our sketch will be of some service to readers of Mr. Motley's works, even though purposely we shall only rarely and incidentally touch upon the history of the Netherlands. We hope that we may enable them to connect the movement and the chiefs concerning whom he writes, with wider movements and heroes of even greater originality and more splendid parts. In this sort of survey, not easily to be compressed at all into the room at our disposal, the private and separate fortunes of any single individual can occupy our attention only in a subordinate degree. We must send our readers to Mr. Motley's last book for the history of John of Barneveld, which deserves their affectionate and studious perusal. A word or two we desire to devote to him, and this the more, since, for our objects, the epoch of his later life will not require such ample notice as the epoch to which the formation of the principles by which he was actuated belongs. John of Barneveld was one of the pupils, not one of the teachers, of the age, and yet the stubborn and rugged force of the Advocate of Holland will leave its distinct mark on the tide of public and universal revolutions.

Seldom have a prominent politician's life and character corresponded so nearly with the extent and bias of an accurately limited time and of a widely diffused sentiment. His chequered and protracted career touches at their extremities the limits of a momentous period. His birth took place a few months after the death of Martin Luther; he was executed a few months after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. His biography expands naturally into a history of the Netherlands for more than seventy years. His activity as a lawyer and a publicist accompanies through every stage the rebellion of the United Provinces, and their transformation into free and prosperous states. It is scarcely too much to say of his pen, that it summarised, that it often directed and overruled the conduct of diplomatic business throughout the several leading kingdoms of Western Europe, during days when glorious pages in English and French, as well as in Dutch, annals were being filled in. Under the eye of princes like Elizabeth Tudor, William the Silent, and Henri Quatre, there were assigned to no man such difficult negotiations and such dangerous missions as to him: nor did any man recommend himself for the fullest confidences by such noble proofs of sagacity and integrity. And there is no event which points more impressively the growing frowardness of impure motives, the lurking strength of jealousy and violence, the half-unconscious, the none the less wicked, usurpations of military and dynastic ambition than the trial or, to use the words employed long

long ago by Lord Macaulay, 'the judicial murder' of John of Barneveld. That grey and venerable head fell as a kind of signal of war. An end was made of truce and prudence, and to the contrivances and precautions of cabinets.

The scaffold which was erected for the 13th of May, 1619, on the Binnenhof at the Hague, claims to be commemorated beyond many a bloody field where thousands may have perished in a paltry cause. The words of a score of synods and councils, in defence of whose prolix decisions it would be vain to tempt philosopher or patriot to risk reputation and to sacrifice life, are outweighed by a few broken utterances, in which the staunch old steward of constitutional privilege, in the sight of the people he had served, and of the ministers of divine and human law who had doomed him to the block, summed up his account and bade farewell to the republic: 'Men, do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally . . . Christ shall be my guide . . . Be quick about it. Be quick.' The 'quick' act of the executioner declared how much, at all events for a while, the laborious achievements of statesmanship were despised and discredited. With the work of Barneveld, much of that of Sully and of the Cecils might be held to have been undone. Worse furies than those which their wisdom had managed to quell, or at least to restrain, were to be let loose. What were the campaigns in the Low Countries when compared with the devastation about to overwhelm Germany and the adjacent territories! Was not the fiery fame of Alva and his Spaniards to grow almost pale beside that of Tilly and Wallenstein, of Banner and Torstenson, of the Swedes and the Croats, and the whole huge mercenary rabble, without name and nearly without number, which for upwards of a quarter of a century renewed far and near in Central Europe the miseries of the dark ages, and the aspect of the great national migrations!

Charles V. ruled for thirty-six years. The year 1556 may be taken as historically the central year of the century; chronologically it divides it into two fairly equal halves. That is the date when—one year after his mother's death, one year after he had, with tears flowing down his cheeks, his broken frame supported on the shoulder of young William of Orange, bidden farewell to the Netherlands, his favourite provinces, and then warned by a comet, had ('*Me mea fata vocant*,' he exclaimed) hurried from Brussels—the last great Emperor entered the monastery of Juste. The words placed in his mouth in Count von Platen's poem, suit well the occasion:—

'Nacht

'Nacht ist's, und Stürme sausen für und für,
 Hispanische Mönche, schliesst mir auf die Thür!
 Bereitset mir, was euer Haus vermag,
 Ein Ordenskleid und einen Sarkophag!
 Nun bin ich vor dem Tod den Todten gleich,
 Und fall' in Trümmern, wie das alte Reich.'^o

He had been outwitted by Maurice of Saxony; he had been foiled by the French before Metz; he had been forced to grant equal privileges with Catholic to Lutheran Electors, Princes, Estates; he had been humbled in the centre of his patrimonial and in the centre of his imperial power; he had trembled at Innsbruck, he had yielded at Augsburg; he had sent his son Philip beyond the seas, bridegroom to Aragonese Mary, now at last the Catholic Queen. In England he had hoped the days of Ferdinand and Isabella would renew themselves, his family-tree would strike root and flower again. 'Philip and Mary,' cried the herald at the wedding, 'King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland.' But there was no blessing on that 'bloody' reign, there came no heir from the Spanish match. And if Charles looked to Rome, it was to see a new and vigorous Pope, as Cardinal Caraffa, the bitterest and unreconciled enemy of his house and policy: a new Pope, he was elected May 23rd, 1555: a vigorous Pope, though in his eightieth year, who remembered the free political atmosphere of Italy in the fifteenth century, and longed to breathe it again. 'Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder,' Paul IV. used to mutter to himself over the thick, black, brimstone-flavoured Neapolitan wine, of which he was fond, thinking of the Spaniards who had overrun the country where he and his beverage were native. Charles could carry the burden of affairs no longer, he would try no more to sustain the universal Church and to pacify the universal State. It was a toil beyond the strength of a man. Later, just before his death, he was heard to say, 'In manus tuas tradidi ecclesiam tuam.' Physical weakness had told on him, his personal sins oppressed him, he was troubled how to make his own peace with God. Care was taken that the view from his rooms should be bounded by the walls of the convent garden, and that his sleeping-chamber should be placed so that he might

* 'Tis night, and the storm rages more and more,
 Ye Spanish monks, open to me the door.
 And, as you may afford, for me provide
 A coffin, and your order's garb beside.
 So, gathered to the dead while I suspire,
 I fall to ruins like the old Empire.'

follow the chapel music and the service of the mass. Yet heresy tracked him into his last asylum. There was no escape from it. And, as people liked to relate whether the story was quite true or not, the hopelessness of his task among men had come home to his mind most as he worked among mechanisms; he had found it impossible only to bring two clocks to tick in unison.

Charles V. might turn in despair from the world, but the hopes which had animated Catholicism and Spain at the dawn of the century were not extinguished. And Catholicism and Spain—though not always as represented by the House of Habsburg and the Papacy, were at the middle of the century far more closely allied than at the beginning. The year of Charles V.'s abdication is in the annals of Catholicism not most memorable on account of that event. The year 1556 is the year in which the greatest saint of Spain—not excepting St. Dominic, the most passionate and reverential worshipper of the mystical Church; not excepting St. Francis—passed away from earth, leaving a large field to his successors, and confident of their joyful harvesting. It is the year in which died Ignatius Loyola. The Order he founded has always retained something of the national character of the Spaniard of the sixteenth century. Loyola was born on a frontier, and nourished in the literature and scenery of battles. Then, when he began to be about thirty years old, for his conflict with the world and Satan is brought by his panegyrists into awful proximity with that of the Divine Being, whose name—is there not here the pride of Spain?—is borne by the Society of Jesus, he was disabled, fighting against the French at the siege of Pamplona, from the further profession of carnal warfare. On his sick-bed, reading *Amadis of Gaul* and legends of the mendicant foundations, he imagined himself called according to the laws of a celestial chivalry to be the knight of the Blessed Virgin. The old wars with the Moors, the contrast in the familiar Spanish romances between Jerusalem and its king and his legions and the Soldan of Babylon, coloured still all his thought. In the spiritual Exercises there is, to this day, commended to the Order 'the contemplation of the kingdom of Christ Jesus under the similitude of a terrestrial king calling out his subjects to the strife.' On the vigil of the Festival of the Annunciation and before the image of Mary he hung up his sword and took his palmer's staff into his hand; he went then to pray, to confess and to scourge himself, to fast, a week at a time, to Manresa, and, fitted at length for the journey, he passed on to Jerusalem. He was not allowed to stay there. He was not permitted on his return to Spain to
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preach without further acquaintance with theology. He travelled humbly to Paris; he was dull at grammar, but he had visions which explained the mysteries of the sacraments and the creeds. To return to Jerusalem was still the idea that governed his plans. From Paris he and a few friends went to Venice; a quaint thread they twine into the life of those capitals of luxury and pleasure. Insuperable difficulties came in the way of the voyage to Syria. The little band fared on to Rome, the object before it continuing to be to preach to Saracens and Indians. The Pope at the time was Paul III., who took no step of importance without observing the constellations and consulting his astrologers. One would like to know what said now the stars and the soothsayers. He sanctioned the new Order in the Bull, '*Regimini Militantis Ecclesiæ*;' it was Spanish in its military organization, in its regimental obedience; the Company of Jesus, with Ignatius for first General, restricted for a short time to sixty souls, bound to do all the Pope's bidding, to go anywhere, to Turks, heathens, and heretics, at once, unconditionally, without discussion, without reward. What the Templars had been—with such modifications as were involved in the times—the Jesuits were to be. The verses in Solomon's Song, which the Temple had applied to itself, might be appropriated by the Company, would suit its distant wanderings, its wealth, the persecutions it inflicted and underwent, its watchfulness, its perpetual peril. 'Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant? Behold his bed, which is Solomon's; threescore valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel. They all hold swords, being expert in war: every man hath his sword upon his thigh because of fear in the night.' The Jesuit was to bend his head forward a little, to keep his eyes downcast, to have on his face a pleasant and calm look, and so forth. Should the Church define that what appears to the sight as white is black, he is to maintain the definition. In his Superior, the Soldier of Christ is to recognise and to worship the Presence, as it were, of Christ. He is to have no will of his own, he is to be as a log of wood, as a corpse, as a stick, which the old man can turn how and whither he likes. At first, a Jesuit might not accept a bishopric; we have quite lately seen with what difficulty a member of the Order was persuaded to receive a cardinal's hat. But from its foundation, the greatest names flocked into the society. Francis Borgia, who when Ignatius died stood over the seven Pyrenean provinces, who was afterwards the third General, had been a duke and a viceroy. When the next century opens, the Jesuits are, in all four continents, at the seats of political life.

life. The Fathers are in Akbar's palace at Lahore, in the Imperial chamber at Peking, at the court of the Emperor of Ethiopia. One Jesuit founded 300 churches in Japan. Among the Indians of Paraguay the noblest and most enlightened philanthropy of the Order showed itself in the so-called 'Reductions,' a new experiment in the way of Christian republics. In Europe the Catholic nobility and gentry were schooled in Jesuit seminaries, and the confidential spiritual direction of Catholic monarchs was, nearly universally we may say, exercised by specially trained Jesuit casuists. That Spanish power, which had shot up so rapidly, what a real strength it had put forth! Out of that series of marriages, from Ferdinand and Isabella to Philip and Mary, what a network of domestic and political and also of hierarchical intrigue had spun itself! How it encumbered Europe and the known world! Castilian priests, who at the commencement of Isabella the Catholic's reign would have been checked by the Guadalquivir, might now roam from the Paraná to the Yantsekiang.

And, though the popes were unwilling servants, they, from Clement VII.'s time onward till long after the sixteenth century had terminated, were at the mercy of Spain and had to attend to her mandates. The independence of Italy, for which Julius, Leo, Clement himself had striven, had come to an end. Southern Italy was altogether Spanish, and the whole peninsula was held by Spanish arms and Spanish agents. The most curious and instructive study in Italian politics is presented in the Council of Trent. The Pope first shrinks from it in terror of Spain, then, reassured and reliant on Spain and for Catholic and Spanish objects, carries it on and concludes it. The Council was a diplomatic training ground for all the nations which took part in it. The rough sketch for the Council was discussed by Charles V. and a Venetian cardinal, who had lived amid the business of the republic and had written a book on the Venetian Constitution. The author of a careful essay on French diplomacy during the sixteenth century, M. Edouard Frémy, gives up, and in our opinion very rightly, his first chapter to an account of the behaviour of the French ambassadors at the later sittings of the Council. The narrative of the Council of Trent was a fine subject for political historians. It was written by a man who cared to unmask its treacherous diplomacy, by a Venetian, Sarpi. It was written again, as against Sarpi, by a Jesuit, Pallavicino. In an appendix to the last volume of his work on the Popes, Professor von Ranke has criticised Sarpi and his opponent. The German historian is, by much, the best living authority on the history of diplomacy: he calls Sarpi the
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second of modern Italian historians ; the first rank he awards to Macchiavelli.

General Councils had been numerous in the preceding century, in which, in fact, they had gone far to supply the place of the papacy. The desire for another Council had been strongly felt under Leo ; had very possibly been felt by Adrian, in many respects so exceptional a pope ; that desire was urged anew upon Clement. Popes hated Councils. A Medicean pope was likely to have Councils in special hatred. Leo had taken pains to have it recorded that a pope was above a council. Clement might dread that, were he arraigned before such an assembly, his use of his own money at the time of his election, his use of the funds of the Church since that event, and especially the illegitimacy of his birth, might cost him his chair. At last in 1545 the Council came together. The leaders of the reforming party among the cardinals were there. But they were soon met by the disputants of the new order, the Spaniards Lainez and Salmeron, to whom the word of command had been given by Ignatius Loyola to oppose every change, every novelty. Thus the Jesuits entered into the arena of Theology and European Politics. From that moment to this they have prevented or prejudged General Councils. The persuasion of Loyola had already helped to determine the Pope to listen to Cardinals Caraffa and Burgos, to re-organize the Inquisition, and to establish its head-quarters at Rome. We need not further accompany the Council of Trent through its scholastic windings, its verbose controversies, its pilgrimages from city to city ; it is thenceforward in the hands of Pope and Order.

The history of the sixteenth century is, first and foremost, the history of statecraft. This maxim will be our best guide, while we pick our way through the last fifty years of it. In some degree it is a history of great diplomatists on the Imperial and Papal thrones, and it is from those heights that a storm threatens which stirs panic and rouses energy. But it is ultimately a history of politicians with narrower and, as we might say, modern views, lovers of new institutions and constitutions. It is a marked era in the life of nations. Still more does its interest lie in its grand biographies, in which, as in representative statuary, are modelled beforehand, naked and defiant, the instincts and features of peoples. Statesmen never had harder work before them and never had such reason to mistrust themselves. A kind of authority, claiming to be parental, had been long disregarded, it might be, and disliked ; but, to dislike and disregard an infirm and inactive parent is quite a different thing from altogether disowning and denying him. For countries to develop slowly, to become stage by stage
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the homes of national dynasties and churches, the contradiction never becoming very perceptible between their traditions and inclinations, the feeling always being that a stimulus from within prompted each step, was a very different process from that into which countries were rapidly torn of conflict with powerful, pressing, foreign principles, which, moreover, often seemed to set them at variance with their own past and the piety of their ancestors. How far were these boldly aggressive movements, these revolts, justifiable? how far were they natural? How far was their universal spread simulated and artificial? how far was it the work of a few selfish and licentious leaders? Never were the imperfections of human nature seen more plainly, felt more keenly, than in that age. We alluded, a little while ago, to the influence of the Society of Jesus at courts. And that influence was in no small measure due to the pains and skill devoted, of set purpose, by the Order to the management of the confessional. In the combats of interest and opinion, conscience, where a man was honest, was constantly baffled; a person, from whom his position demanded that he should lead others, would be in continual want of a guide himself. The same needs existed, where the prescriptions of the Jesuits have never been, on any large scale, applied, where the hostility to Rome was strongest. Men in general were doubtful about their acts and about their motives, which they desired should be approved by God as well as by government. The very same causes, which in some countries threw such power into the hands of the Jesuits, in other countries produced a multiplication of sects, until it looked probable that Christianity would soon have as many various subdivisions as there were Christian congregations. Wherever a man would undertake the control and cure of souls, there was sure to be no lack of souls anxious and wishful to be cared for. Many explained these symptoms in communities to mean the dissolution of the whole life of communities. They refused to believe that a Henry VIII. or a Gustavus Wasa could be a saviour of society. The real question to them, they said, was not at all a question of ecclesiastical doctrine or of royal supremacy. It involved the first rules of morality. And, though popes might sometimes be bad in morals, were not monarchs usually so? Would it do not to hold reserved the highest place, in the sight of all nations, for a potentate, who had once embodied and who might again embody Moral Greatness. What was happening? Lassitude was sapping the vital force of the people, luxury that of the courts. What prospect could be more doleful? One saw cities swayed by the filthiest and most blasphemous ravings of demagogues, and, in the country, peasants were rallying on behalf of
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the lowest of the older superstitions or on behalf of communistic heresies.

The lives which have been, in their example and result, most beneficent to humanity, have been at the last consumed by a sense of loneliness and failure; and it may be, that always after intense effort, whether on the part of a person or a combination of persons, a corresponding slackness of mental fibre is inevitable.

'*Post tenebras lux*' is the ancient motto of the town of Geneva, on which the dawn and the warmth of the sun break from behind the wall of the Alps and of eternal snow. In the heraldic bearings of the city meet the Eagle and the Keys, the symbols of Cæsar and of St. Peter. On the very geography of Geneva and on all her fortunes there is set the seal of an international vocation. Fable makes Geneva four centuries older than Rome, and the eldest daughter of Troy. History connects the site with the opening event in Cæsar's Western campaigns. Here was the frontier of the Allobroges, the allies of the Romans, where Cæsar met and turned aside the unwieldy caravan of the Helvetians. In our own time, Geneva stands in a way of her own between the divergent interests of nations, of labour and capital, of ecclesiastical establishments; she offers a theatre for Alabama arbitrations, for social congresses, for the preaching of Père Hyacinthe. Throughout the Middle Ages and at the rise of modern history she took a very prominent part in the progress of commerce, and was the home of much literary and military activity. '*Clef et Boulevard de la Suisse*,' the city has been styled. Geneva stood on the confines of three languages, of three political organisms, Italy, France, and the Empire. She had a close connection with the trade of Northern and Western Europe through Cologne, with that of the South and East through Florence and Venice; she was in closer neighbourhood and more intimate relations with, at about equal distances, Bern, Lyons, and Turin. And the mountain, the river, the lake—above all natural objects most suggestive to the mind of the traveller on the Continent in the nineteenth century, inviting and familiar as they have been to the typical philosopher, and historian, and poet, dear even to the satirist, of modern Europe—Mont Blanc, the Rhone, Lake Leman, the delight of the large intellects of Rousseau, Gibbon, Byron and Voltaire, enliven and define the landscape of Geneva.

In Carolingian times a count of Geneva had governed on behalf of the Roman Empire. In Swabian times, the Emperor had made the bishop of Geneva count. The bishop in his turn gave secular rule under himself to the Count of Savoy, who bore the title of '*Vidomne*.' By degrees this title of vidomne passed
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—the count at Turin willing it so in order that his relations with Geneva might lose as much as possible the traces of their origin in a delegated authority—from the Count of Savoy to his local officer, the custodian of the island-fortress in the Rhone. We are led to remark how, in the early history of the House of Savoy, the design to reach and enclose Geneva was as warmly nursed and as persistently maintained as, in the later history of that House, the design to reach and to enclose Rome. Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, in the variety and incongruity of the distinctions he accumulated, claims celebrity as having surpassed all his successors. He became, one after the other, Count and Duke of Savoy, Pope of Rome and Bishop of Geneva (A.D. 1444); at intervals in his career he let his beard grow and lived a hermit at Ripaille. From the times of Amadeus VIII. the bishops of Geneva were mostly members of the ducal family. The ambitious house was increased and extended; at last Geneva was on all sides encompassed by the possessions of the Duke of Savoy. The line which separated the rights of the duke over Geneva from his rights over the territories beyond the city-property had become the slightest imaginable. But under the shadow of the Cathedral of St. Peter at Geneva had sprung up—the plant is a common one in mediæval episcopal purlieus—a further Power, a determined democracy. So far back as 1387 a charter of liberties was granted, which made an important landmark on the road toward the full enjoyment by Geneva of the forms of a republic. Thus the city was one of most diverse population and opinions. It had a most complicated jurisdiction and police. Bishop, Vidomne, and Syndicate were bound by oath to uphold each other's privileges and administration. Then there was the action of the Chapter, of the Vidomne's lieutenant, of the various civic committees, from the General Council, the Smaller Council, the Council of Sixty, down to the numerous and restless clubs and confraternities—*abbayes et compagnies*—in which the youth of Geneva enrolled itself for the discussion of affairs and for drill and the practice of archery. A street of Geneva was called after the German, a market-hall after the French, merchants. In one part of the city rose a Franciscan, in another an unusually spacious Dominican convent ('le Grand Palais'). Pilgrims crowded to the shrine of St. Victor. A band of the hungry shaggy mountaineers from the Italian side of the Alps, who formed the garrison, might be seen to pass vociferating in their vile Piedmontese jargon on one side of the road, while on the other might stand a group of high-born cathedral dignitaries paying their respects to each other in Ciceronian Latin. Processions, manœuvres, fairs, festivals, traffic kept the town in an unintermittent bustle. There
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were as many as fifty notaries-public. The fondness of the Genevans for amusement and gaiety, in particular their patronage of allegorical and comic representations, became proverbial. But the joyous and prosperous city had its turbulent and bitter moods, and these recurred more and more often. It knew what it was to be under interdict and under martial law. The first decades of the sixteenth century were spent at Geneva in internal dissensions, quarrels between duke and bishop, bishop and citizens, duke and citizens. Some of the leading citizens had been admitted to the freedom of Freiburg and Bern. Three men of the popular party are famous above the rest: the versatile and eloquent François de Bonnivard, who has sometimes been styled the Erasmus of the Genevan Reformation; Philibert Berthelier the favourite of the multitude, with a humorous and a melancholy vein in him, fond of music and conviviality, but amid the clatter of wine-cups imparting to the friend next him his prevision of a violent death,—Berthelier has been called the Egmont of the Genevan struggle for independence; then Bezanson Hugues, the coolest and, as it strikes us, the noblest of the trio, whom, continuing the comparison between Geneva and the Netherlands, we would take leave to think of as a companion spirit to John of Barneveld.

It was in connection with a section of the inhabitants led by Berthelier, Bezanson Hugues, and Bonnivard, that a famous nickname of faction came into vogue at Geneva. The partisans of the Freiburg and Bern 'combourgeoisie' were called Huguenots, the adherents of Savoy Mamelukes. The word 'Eyguenot' may with most probability be derived from the German 'Eidgenoss,' the Swiss league being best known as the 'Eidgenossen,' 'the sworn comrades;' with less probability from the name of the ablest Genevan leader, Bezanson Hugues.*

Anyhow the term had a political before it had a religious meaning, and, whether it be the same with the French party-epithet or not, which is sometimes still a subject of dispute, this description of the term would still be true in both localities. Bezanson Hugues and Berthelier were much more political than ecclesiastical reformers; Bezanson Hugues remained in life and death a Catholic; even Bonnivard's revolt from the papal and monastic system had its root in and took its savour from literary

* Kampechulte's 'Calvin,' p. 49. We have to acknowledge great obligations to this book. Not only the University of Bonn and the Old Catholic movement, but historical literature generally, suffered a great loss in the premature death of Professor Kampechulte. Only one out of the three volumes he meant to write on Calvin, had been published when he died. This fragment is a very remarkable example of learning, a still more remarkable example of impartiality.

rather than moral tendencies in his generation. Of the two implicated towns, Freiburg was strongly Catholic and Bern was Protestant. It was from Freiburg that, in the first instance, the citizens of Geneva had most support and sympathy; later, indeed, though not because Geneva freely willed or wished it so, Bern supplanted Freiburg. Geneva passed, without knowing well how and in what direction she was being moved, out of one relation into another. Very slowly and under the sheer compulsion of the Duke of Savoy's policy, with which fell in after countless subterfuges and hesitations that of the bishop, Peter de la Baume, a policy bent on confounding and causing to be confounded the desire for local franchises with the taint of those reviled heresies which were known, like every other novelty, to have made some way in the place,—most slowly was Geneva as a city pressed into pronounced antagonism to Catholic doctrine and the system of the Catholic Church. When the bishop had excommunicated Geneva; when the Archbishop of Vienne, who was metropolitan, and the Pope had confirmed the excommunication; when it was announced that the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop of Geneva in concert were levying troops and preparing to take the field against Geneva,—then, and not till then, did Genevan councillors begin to advise with a foreign missionary at whom hitherto they had looked askance, a *protégé* of Bern, which had given him introductions that had hitherto been of small service to him, 'the Welsh Luther,' the particular *bête noire* of Erasmus, William Farel;—not until then did Farel become a political personage at Geneva, though thenceforward a forward enough station was taken by him; not until then did the Protestant watchwords become those of Genevan patriotism. By the act of her enemies two courses only were at all open to Geneva. She must make her choice if she would have those enemies thrust back, kept at bay, between two, the only possible allies. Bern or France! Alliance with France could have but one result—union with France. As it was, when, with the help of Bern, Geneva was safe from her old tyrants, she found Bernese statesmen—they had far and wide the reputation—not much less covetous than French, and she was put to no little trouble to preserve her autonomy. Had it not been for her professedly sincere and thorough Protestantism, for the thus assured guarantees of religious affinity and fellowship, Bern would have enforced, as she demanded, the most substantial pledges; she would have annexed the town she had rescued.

At the conclusion of a contest of about thirty years' duration, Geneva had shaken off the yoke of her bishop and of the Duke of Savoy. She had secured what men called her liberty; had

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she not sacrificed her character? 'A tottering republic, a wavering faith, a nascent church,' the sceptical and alarmist observer would have been able to see, as nowhere else, at Geneva, the picture traced for him vaguely in the whole condition of Europe, reproduced in a speaking and highly-finished miniature. The chiefs who had begun the movement had nearly all passed away, and their righteous and moderate enthusiasm was gone with them. In the place of old ecclesiastical foundations, of old patrician and civic authorities, what remained? In numbers the leading Genevan families had gone into exile with all the corporate and ceremonial, all the time-worn and time-honoured, furniture of the past. They had left a blank. The very soul of the city was extinct. How quickly did Geneva become the byword of Europe for the wildest scenes of debauchery, for as wild scenes of iconoclasm! The frenzied passion for excitement, change, and destruction had but to overleap another hedge or two, and it would have consummated political suicide. What were the materials for a future? Here a poor remnant of the old Genevan stock, the cringing and unworthy children of noble names, who had given up their old beliefs for the sake of having none, who had broken with Catholicism and its dignified official protectors, because they wanted to break with all religion and order; there an unreasoning, insurgent mob collected together by refugee revolutionary preachers, who, as soon as controversy and church-storming were over, lost all love for their untractable flocks, and found, day by day, their posts more untenable.

At this very darkest moment a work was to commence at Geneva, beside which every other previous and later enterprise originated within her walls sinks into insignificance. In July 1536, a poor French man of letters, travelling under an assumed name, tired with his journey, arrived, intending to rest for one night, at Geneva. He met a former companion, Louis du Tillet, who chanced to inform Farel that the author of the 'Institutes of the Christian Religion' was in the city. Farel had been for some time at his wits' end; he was through and through conscious of his incompetence as an organizer and legislator; he was full of fear lest, master of so many battle-fields, he should never succeed in making any use of victory. Here, the thought flashed on him at the instant, was in Geneva the very man Geneva required, the writer of a book which, published only a few months before, was on the lips of the entire learned and inquisitive world, which had become already the programme of Protestantism, or, as the Romanist historian Florimund de Raemund put it, 'the Koran, the Talmud of Heresy.' The man who had set forth the theory

of Protestantism should bring into action the practice of Protestantism. From the bottom of his overtasked, perplexed, ardent, bold heart, Farel determined that Calvin should not leave the spot. He hastened to the stranger's lodgings, and in a few impetuous words forced upon him his plan. Calvin showed astonishment and annoyance. He was, he stated, a young, shy student; his tastes were for quiet, academic pursuits; he had found his place; and manifestly the first successes, the successes of the sole kind appropriate to his talent and mode of living, which had fallen to him, forbade in him the thought of renouncing his chosen career. But the preacher, who had stood before the stoniest congregations and felt his own fires, who never turned from insult or blow and had shed his blood for his tenets, who had carried by assault church after church, the 'Conqueror of Geneva,' was not to be daunted when he had at last before him the person for whom he was in his conscience convinced he had through all his past actions been preparing the way. 'Thou pratest of thy studies: I tell thee in the name of Almighty God that His curse is upon thee shouldst thou dare to withdraw thyself from this work of the Lord, and hearken to the cry of thine own flesh before the call of Christ.' 'And I was frightened and shaken as if by God on high, and as though His hand had stopped me on the way,' says Calvin, recalling the interview and the marvellous power with which Farel had delivered himself of his message.

Though it is a very modern and, as commonly applied, a somewhat inapplicable phrase, yet we think that one of his recent French biographers has touched exactly Calvin's own thought, when he describes him as undertaking his labours with the intention of making Geneva the capital of an idea. To no one in those days or in ours were the disorders of the sixteenth century more abhorrent. His nicely poised and clear intelligence chafed and struggled and must break through and get to light, wherever the clouds of barbarism and ignorance had defiled the image and dulled the knowledge of truth, Divine and Immaculate. He hated, and with every instinct of a creative and masterful genius he bent his whole strength of character and intellect to wrestle with, chaos. Never was Geneva's motto truer of her than in Calvin's time, 'Post tenebras lux'; never was its legend of the implacable agonizing hostility between good and evil, light and darkness, the active Spirit of God and the shapeless, lifeless waters of a lower world, more finely illumined than in the life of Calvin. Calvin is one of those heroes of history who have lived by and acted by the guidance of abstract principles. The common weaknesses of men, such

as beset even most great men, are not discernible in him. He is too severe, too cold; one misses in him not many of the more excellent, but many of the more amiable qualities of the race. The whole earth wore for him, one might say, the air of a strange land. He was never at home, in the domestic and tender sense which the word has, at Geneva or anywhere. How, it has been felt, if a Luther had lived at Geneva instead of a Calvin, would its scenery have been extolled and recapitulated in his 'Table Talk'! At Geneva a Luther would never have let any other man but himself translate the Psalms of David. From Geneva a Luther would have preached sermons and sung hymns hardly more inspired by Scripture than by the sublimity of the mountain and the ripple of the lake. Glacier and avalanche, the silence and the sounds of the high Alps, the difficult pass through which he had come, the fragrant meadows in which he had reposed, a Luther would have celebrated in the ears of all the countries of the Reformation. Luther would have somewhere had a word to say, not altogether disparagingly, of that artist of the olden time whose altarpiece had been turned to the wall, who had put St. Peter, fisher of men, founder of the Church, patron of Geneva, out upon those particular waters to net his miraculous draught: '*On y reconnoît parfaitement les deux Monts Salève, le Môle et les Voyrons.*' But to Calvin Geneva was always a foreign city. The records of the city have caught the chill of his presence; that foreigner, that Frenchman, '*iste Gallus*,' so run the first entries respecting him. Not the beautiful and well-proportioned aspect, the ugly and disorganized aspect in external life in every province of it struck Calvin most. He came in time to love Geneva to a certain degree, as a sort of city of refuge. And at best Switzerland was to Calvin what the wilderness of Sinai was to Moses: not a promised land, though one hallowed especially in the interference of Providence. In sight of Mont Blanc Calvin re-issued, as peremptorily and as literally, the Divine Word as the Jewish law-giver had done, and he re-asserted the doctrine of predestination and of a chosen people.

Of himself Calvin, in his voluminous writings, rarely speaks. It is at once an aristocratic haughtiness and a literary taste which restrain him, and also a feeling of the nothingness of personal incidents along the track of one in whom self has been destroyed and whom God speeds onward in a special mission. Nor need we dwell on his early youth. One coincidence we may notice, the more as it has escaped most of his biographers. At the Collège de Montaigu at Paris he studied dialectics under the same Spanish professor to whose instructions Ignatius Loyola was indebted for
his

his introduction to letters. Until he was about eighteen, Calvin read grammar, philosophy, and theology; then, in accordance with a change in his father's intentions concerning him, law at Orleans and Bourges. After his father's death, while he continued his studies in jurisprudence, he gave special attention to the ancient languages; it was at this period of his life that he made himself acquainted with Greek. With his Humanist training came religious doubt. Some years of deliberation followed, during which he thought rather of embracing the literary than either the ecclesiastical or the legal profession. A Reuchlin or an Erasmus was his model. He was again for twelve months at Paris, in the libraries and lecture-rooms. He was there when he published his first work, a commentary on Seneca's treatise on 'Clemency.' In this exercise, of which he took care to send a copy to Erasmus, Calvin's interest in philological inquiry and in the political questions of his day is the most marked feature; he is still keeping, in his occupations and in his own meditations, his religious scruples as much as he can out of sight and consideration. It is as a young classical scholar that he makes his *début*. But the effort to distract himself was too much for him. Very shortly after the publication of his book must have occurred his 'conversion,' of which none of the details can be said to be known. We have him immediately the chief of the Protestant learning in Paris. He composed for a friend, who was Rector of the University, a speech, which, delivered on All Saints' Day, roused the indignation of the Sorbonne and made it necessary both for orator and author to flee. From that time, 1533, to the time of his settlement at Geneva, he was wandering from place to place: Angoulême, Noyon, Nerac, Basle, writing now and then a tract or a preface, preparing and at last sending to press the first edition of the literary exploit of his life, the 'Institutio Religionis Christianæ.' 'In doctrine,' says Beza of Calvin, 'he was always the same, from the beginning to his last breath.' It is so. His whole system of theology was finished when he was six-and-twenty years old. And there is the same smoothness, sureness, want of flaw, in his style as in his mind. From the beginning his writing was as correct as his thought was accurate.

The appearance of the 'Institutes of the Christian Religion' is quite as much an incident in the history of French literature as is that of Christianity or of politics. It was probably first sketched in French, though first printed in Latin; here, however, we touch, and at once withdraw from, a most debatable and unsettled question. Of this there can be no doubt: the French volume, whether ready before or after the Latin, stamped Calvin as a first-rate classical writer in his mother tongue.

tongue. And he was a French classic from the first moment that he wrote French. The prose of the earliest editions is as perfect as any of Calvin's work. M. Nisard, himself an Academician and the author of the best known modern history of French literature, declares Calvin to have understood far better than the other great contemporary light of literary France, Rabelais, the genius and capacity of the French language, and, out of the magnificent roll of French theologians, to have expressed the truths of religion with a native eloquence never surpassed and never equalled unless by Bossuet. Calvin created, M. Nisard goes on to say, a particular branch of modern, and conspicuously of French, literary composition; he created a new language, that of polemics. He had passed from one French university to another just at the right moments of the sparkling effervescence of the French revival of letters; he had been in contact with the leading teachers in Roman law and ancient scholarship as well as in theology. The two former subjects had exerted over him a strong attraction and had moulded the forms of his mind; a legal and a literary acumen will sharpen and clarify every page of his theology. The political briskness of Francis I. had kindled him; he was on the scent of a new diplomacy. By education a Humanist of Humanists, in intellect a Frenchman of Frenchmen, in morals a Reformer of Reformers, such was Calvin when he took up his abode at Geneva. Now, as so often, Genevan policy is set to general policy. The foreign bishop, the foreign duke, have made way for 'iste Gallus,' 'maitre Calvin.' 'The Aristotle of the Reformation,' as his friends called him, had dedicated his book, in a glowing piece of rhetoric, to the King of France, 'Christianæ Religionis Institutio . . . Præfatio ad Christianissimum Regem Franciæ.'

Let us note, moreover, even in this hasty view of him, how his French instincts were strengthened during his exile from Geneva in Germany, when the Libertines had for a while got the upper hand of him and driven him out. He wrote letters which are replete with information about the condition of Germany; he had dived deep into the muddle of German political and religious disputations: in his exposition and criticism some perspicuity and brevity can be imparted to them. The heavy and somnolent movements of German princes and divines offended the polished and sprightly Frenchman. The long and tedious digestive process, in which they mentally lounged and dozed, disgusted Calvin. If he mentioned the pressing subject of the day,—that of discipline, of self-government,—the answer from every German was the same, a deep-drawn sigh. He looked in vain for anything like his ideal in
Germany.

Germany. His patience was exhausted, his fine sense of manners was wounded. 'Novi Germaniæ morem,' he wrote years after in good-humoured sarcasm. He had stored his memory with peccadilloes to be avoided, in that country of conscientious fogginess and organized procrastinations, where, as he complained, at assemblies, which were to be decisive, the authoritative persons never arrived, nor was it expected of them; where the mode of concluding business was to adjourn it; where the object of coming together was to heap document on document, all formularies of concord and mediation between people who meant contentedly to go on for ever agreeing to differ.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the two political powers which overshadowed civilization were the Imperial system, as administered by Charles V., and the Hierarchical system, as represented by such a ruler as Leo X. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Empire and Papacy, greatly modified as they had been, were still most dangerous engines of reaction, and Spain and Italy placed exquisitely trained, and by no means effete, forces at their disposal. He who would understand the essence of the opposition they then aroused, the nature of the issues at stake, the reasons why the sixteenth century draws to it throughout Europe, and wheresoever European thought and speech prevail, such lively attention in the nineteenth, would, we take it, do well to examine and analyse very minutely the principles and policy of two societies, which, we should further advise, should be approached first in their literary character. We mean the Republic of Geneva, but chiefly the Genevan Academy; and the kingdom of England, but chiefly the Court of Queen Elizabeth. From English history we, for the present, must resolutely turn. English history proper is not the history either of Genevan ideas or of those with which Geneva was at war. But if not in England proper, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Wales, in almost all British colonies, those ideas have had, and, in many instances, continue to have, the mastery; and as under Mary Tudor there was a Spanish, so under the whole line of Stuart there was a Scotch period in the history of the kernel of the Anglo-Saxon race, in the history of England itself. The Academy of Geneva, surrounded by the life of the civic republic, from which idleness, frivolity, and luxury had been expelled, and not quite unhampered, though far less hampered than one would suppose, by a grim and scrutinising church discipline, remained in its first youth down to 1605, the year of Theodore Beza's death. He was its earliest Rector, whom Calvin had recommended for it, whom he had preferred

ferred to himself. After Calvin's death, Beza took up the whole work of Calvin. The Academy got its original endowment from the legacy of his entire estate for its purposes by 'the prisoner of Chillon,' Bonnivard, the survivor of so many changes at Geneva. It speedily became a centre of culture, letters, and education. Robert Stephens—Robert I., these printers rank in their calling as kings—spent the last eight years of his life at Geneva, printed there some of his best specimens, and died there. His son, Henry II., was a citizen of Geneva; was as much established in that city as in any other. His learning and his labours were universal, and his activity was ubiquitous. He was ever welcome and safe at Geneva. The Stephenses were the finest and most honoured scholars of their day; their fame is as classic as Calvin's. Conrad Badius was another great Genevan printer. Proudest of his press and above everything anxious to produce editions free of errors, he had also a high reputation as a pulpit-divine and as a profound writer. M. Michelet counts as many as thirty printing establishments, working night and day, at Geneva, and supplying the colporteurs of Italy, France, England, and the Netherlands. For the Genevan public, the chronicles of the city were written in French; and works, full of lessons of patriotism, such as Josephus and Livy, were translated into that language. Geneva had, Senebier tells us, sixty booksellers' shops. Isaac Casaubon lived for many years at Geneva. The learned of that age spent missionary lives: journeyed from place to place. Geneva was their house of call and harbour of safety. Joseph Justus Scaliger lectured for two years at Geneva, at the same time Francis Hottoman was lecturing there on law. Bonnefoy, the Oriental jurist, of whom Cujas said that he would be the only man fit to supply his own place, had a chair at Geneva. Scrimgeour, professor of philosophy and law, was a Scotchman. Chevalier, the first professor of Hebrew at Geneva, was born in Normandy; subsequently he taught Hebrew at Cambridge. Similarly Daneau taught for some time at Geneva, and then passed on to a chair at Leyden, and to a place in the political history of the Low Countries. To careful readers of Mr. Motley, a brief notice of Charles Perrot will commend itself, who was Rector of the Academy in 1570 and again in 1588. The qualities reported of him show a kind of scholar and thinker, whom one would not have suspected at Geneva. Foremost among those qualities was his deep veneration for the ancients. In the album of a favourite pupil—a certain *Uytendogaert*—he inscribed the words, 'Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.' It is also on record that a book by him was suppressed after

after his death, entitled 'De Extremis in Ecclesiâ vitandis.' Let us turn to one man's library table and catch a glimpse of the extent of the personal associations into which the student of Geneva, as he raised his eyes from his page, as he scattered the products of his brain abroad, entered. Beza dedicated the folio second edition of his New Testament, in Greek and Latin, to Queen Elizabeth of England, the octavo edition to the Prince of Condé and the French nobility; he presented a famous manuscript of the Gospels and Acts to the University of Cambridge; he left by will a Greek manuscript of the New Testament to Sully; when his hand began to fail, in order to prevent—though the effort turned out a vain one, for the volumes cannot be traced—the dispersal of a precious collection, he sold six hundred louis d'ors' worth of books to a house-pupil of his, a Moravian seigneur, George Sigismund of Zastrizl. With Mr. Motley's last pages in our minds, we may not forget how Barneveld in his extremity turned to the shade of Beza, the 'Pope of the Huguenots,' the Genevan psalmist.

'After an hour he called for his *French Psalm Book*, and read in it for some time.'—Vol. ii., p. 374.

'The clergymen then re-entered and asked if he had been able to sleep. He answered, "No, but that he had been much consoled by many noble things which he had been reading in the *French Psalm Book*."—Vol. ii. p. 376.

"Will my lord please to prepare himself?"

"Very well, very well," said the prisoner. "Shall we go at once?"

'But Walaens suggested a prayer. Upon its conclusion, Barneveld gave his hand to the provost-marshal and to the two soldiers, bidding them adieu, and walked downstairs, attended by them, to the chamber of the judges. As soon as he appeared at the door, he was informed that there had been a misunderstanding, and he was requested to wait a little. He accordingly went upstairs again with perfect calmness, sat down in his chamber again, and read in his *French Psalm Book*.—Vol. ii. p. 381.

Let us also remember, how to this Protestant Rome exiles and fugitives gathered. There was an English church with English services at Geneva as early as 1555, an Italian church with Italian services in 1551, a little later a Spanish church with Spanish services. In the year 1558, we read that in one morning 279 persons became permanent residents at Geneva, namely, 50 Englishmen, 200 Frenchmen, 25 Italians, and 4 Spaniards.

But pre-eminently as a High School for the youth of Europe does Geneva claim attention and the lasting gratitude of civilization. As the chief lights of learning settled for a longer or shorter stay at Geneva, so too did future soldiers and statesmen
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from the leading aristocratic families of the Continent, in a remarkable degree from the more decentralized countries of Europe—as Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, the Netherlands, North Britain—travel to Geneva as the resort of classical culture and the cradle of a fresh and hopeful political life. Theodore Beza was at once the head of Calvinistic Geneva and of the science and literature of Protestant politics in Europe until the century had closed. He was the one Reformer who lived right through the sixteenth into the seventeenth century. In 1600 he preached, it was a pious but not a prophetic discourse, from the text, ‘Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.’ Beza, like Calvin, was a Frenchman. He took a personal part in French politics. He was a man of high descent and of majestic visage, a poet, a courtier, a strict Calvinist about whom there was no outside appearance of the Puritan, a diplomatist at ease among cardinals and fine ladies, an adept at epigrams and complimentary verses. Throughout the religious strife in France he was appealed to and he gave counsel; at the conference of Poissy he and the Cardinal of Lorraine were matched against one another. Henry IV. after his apostasy still revered Beza; when he met him, embraced him, sought to please him, addressed him as ‘Father.’ Beza was the spiritual father and political guide of the Colignis, the Rohans, the D’Aubignés, the Sullys, pure and earnest Christian nobles, as virtuous as they were valiant, rushing on the field like a mountain torrent, over every obstacle, and—for a space, so long as they remembered Beza and the Fountain-head of their prowess—among the polluted and miry currents of royal and aristocratic French life, bright and unstained like a mountain torrent.

The narrative of the Religious Wars in France and of their connection with Geneva has an exact counterpart in Scotland. For Katharine of Medici, there are the two Maries: Mary of Guise and ‘the Queen of Scots.’ For Admiral Coligni, there is the Regent Murray. For Calvin, there is—a sterner and, in planting an undying seed, a more successful Calvinist than Calvin—the most congenial and fervid disciple of the master, John Knox. For Beza, there is Andrew Melville, who had been for ten years of his life at Geneva and among the Huguenots. For Beza’s pupil, Henry of Navarre, there is Melville’s pupil, James of Scotland, on whom London acted as Paris on Henri Quatre, leading him away to Prelacy.

We observed above, that the Slavonian countries sent their young nobility, in considerable numbers, to Geneva. No nationality took a larger place in Beza’s mind. Zastrizl bought, as we have seen, that it might remain together and be transplanted

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to his own country, the bulk of Beza's library. Charles of Zierotin excelled in his time among the younger scholars of Geneva; there he learnt to love Plato and Plutarch, to admire Beza as the greatest man of that age, to comprehend the world-wide significance of the struggle his own Hussite forefathers had begun. When he had finished his studies at Geneva, Zierotin visited the West. He saw England, where he became a bosom friend of Robert, Earl of Salisbury. A few years later he came all the way from his family castle to take part in one of Henry IV.'s campaigns. His after-career was devoted to the public service of his country, he became its leading statesman—Landeshauptmann of Moravia,—he remained an important personage in the politics of Eastern Europe until the very eve of the Thirty Years' War.

How much the Netherlands owed to the political model and teaching of Geneva our readers will have learnt, or can easily learn, from Mr. Motley's present work and from his previous writings.

More practical, and so more profitable, than a study of Athens in her prime, of Rome in the palmiest days of the Republic, was, in full sixteenth century, the study of Geneva herself. Nowhere had there been in State and Church such disunion, in moral character and in mental sinew such decrepitude, as at Geneva, when, as one might well deem, God's hand and the voice of Farel arrested Calvin. And on the very 'Slough of Despond' Calvin had planted a good and substantial city. All Europe took courage. What Luther had done for the individual, Calvin had done for the State. After Calvin's work, there could no longer be any doubt about the stability, the vitality, of the political movement into which that work was linked; there could be no doubt that Christianity could exist without the Roman Papacy, and civilization without the Imperial system. A mass of political superstitions was exploded. And where were thews and muscles, where were military authority and rigour, where were religious zeal and discipline, where was rational and logical statesmanship to be found, if not among the Calvinists of the seventeenth century?

Every one, we suppose, is conscious of his proneness to think of periods of a hundred years, of centuries, as if these were something more than just conventional arrangements for chronological purposes, as if an integral change took place in universal human character at such an epoch as the year 1500 or 1600. We speak continually, say of the nineteenth century, as if there were some greater inherent distinction between the years 1799 and 1800 than between the years 1800 and 1801. However, it

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is a subject for thankfulness that on such a matter a little mental carelessness is not very misleading. For it is evident enough that, roughly stated, in a hundred years, in the course of about three generations, the general fashion of things does alter, the origin of leading maxims falls out of record, necessary re-adjustments have to be made, points of departure have to be recovered. Political memory is bounded much as domestic memory. Tradition has no real and healthy life when it ceases to be oral, when it reaches backward beyond the tales of a grandfather. It loses its hold as an instinct, as a nature, when it is not bred at home and current from the nursery, when it begins to depend upon the training of the schools and calculations grounded on the maturer experiences of him who allows it to weigh with him. Tradition will not do instead of faith; unless, at least, it falls from the lips of one to whom it is faith, not tradition. So it is that, when a hundred years have passed since Charles, Leo, Henry, Francis trod the stage, the eye looks in vain for anything that resembles them. What strides diplomacy and national spirit have taken! It needs an effort to find predecessors for Gustavus Adolphus, Oxenstiern, Richelieu, Turenne, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell. Not that there is a breach in the history; yet how independent is the century, how different the age, how new the field!

On the threshold of those other times we pause, our limits are reached, and the task we had set ourselves is—as we are well aware, rather in the way of hint than of exposition—most imperfectly accomplished. And for the present we must part with Mr. Motley. He is a writer to whom the public is much indebted, and whom it will be always pleased to meet again. We can well understand Mr. Motley's eagerness at the turn to which his studies have brought him, and with his relish for heroic incident and example, to leave 'the narrow precincts of the Netherlands.'

In one of the most ancient and famous libraries in this country hang in a conspicuous position two paintings rich in historical, indeed in romantic, attractions. Of the first picture one would guess, had one no other index but the artist's labour, that the man presented in it had been of noble and interesting quality, apt to entertain high hopes and rash designs, though there has come a look into his face as of amazement at some suddenly unveiled prospect of power and renown; one would guess that he would be bold and dashing in onset, and that at the beginning of a fray others would readily appeal to him, but that he might be proved too pliable and irresolute as the cavalier, in command through desperate encounters, of a cause where
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brain and heart should show as sure and firm as stroke of sword or seat in saddle. The other likeness, though not so well authenticated, suits even more admirably the individual it is reported to represent. A lady stands holding a lance; she wears a soldier's slouched hat covered with heavy yellow plumes which flap over her face and mix with her hair; a black and a red feather, half hidden in the background, join to make up the proud imperial colours of the head-dress; a closely-fitting string of pearls is round her neck, her black robe has sleeves of slashed yellow silk, and a yellow scarf is pinned with a jewel over the right shoulder. The male figure is that of the fugitive from the battle on the White Hill of Prague, the female that of his wife. Granddaughter of Mary, Queen of Scots, sister of Charles I., aunt of Charles II., her manner and physiognomy bear resemblance to each of these among her illustrious kindred, while they are eloquent besides of an originality and of adventures quite her own. It has by chance happened that the preceding pages were for the most part written in the shadow of these portraits. Thus we have been constantly reminded of the act which was to follow next in the drama of European history upon those we have been contemplating—of the conflict, some of the premonitory symptoms of which along the western borders of the Continent Mr. Motley, in the work before us, has ably and carefully described. Most cordially do we wish the historian of the Dutch Republic good speed to his narrative of the Thirty Years' War. His practised and still active hand will, we trust, give new life and spirit to the scenes in which the beautiful Elizabeth of Bohemia* assumes among princesses an engaging and uncommon attitude, and it will find its grasp and cunning strained to their utmost effort, as it disentangles destinies not less troubled, but of far deeper import and more lasting influence than those of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, 'King for a Winter'—as Carlyle expands the metaphor—'built of mere frost, a *snow-king* altogether soluble again.'

* We have tried to give an idea of a presumed portrait of her. She connects, we need scarcely remind our readers, the houses of Stuart and Brunswick, James I.'s daughter, George I.'s grandmother. Her mental charms were celebrated by Sir Henry Wotton in the well-known lines, beginning,

'You meaner beauties of the night.'

- ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence with Her Majesty's Missions abroad regarding Industrial Questions and Trades Unions.* 1867.—*Reports from Her Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular Agents abroad respecting the Condition of the Industrial Classes.* 1870.—*Further Reports, &c.* 1871-72.
2. *On the History and Development of Gilds, and the Origin of Trade-Unions.* By Lujó Brentano, of Aschaffenburg, Bavaria, Doctor Juris utriusque et Philosophiæ. London, 1870.
3. *Zur Geschichte der Englischen Gewerkvereine.—Zur Kritik der Englischen Gewerkvereine.* Von Lujó Brentano, &c. Leipzig, 1871-72.
4. *Verhandlungen der Eisenacher Versammlung zur Besprechung der socialen Frage, am 6. und 7. October 1872.* Leipzig, 1873.
5. *Das Deutsche Handwerk und die sociale Frage.* Von J. F. H. Dannenberg. Leipzig, 1872.
6. *Die Lehren des heutigen Socialismus und Communismus.* Von Heinrich von Sybel. Bonn, 1872.
7. *Le Mouvement socialiste et les Réunions publiques avant la Révolution du 4 septembre 1870. Suivi de la Pacification des Rapports du Capital et du Travail.* Par M. G. de Molinari, Rédacteur du 'Journal des Débats.' Paris, 1872.
8. *L'Organisation du Travail, selon la Coutume des Ateliers et la Loi du Décalogue etc.—L'Organisation de la Famille selon le vrai Modèle signalé par l'Histoire de toutes les Races et de tous les Temps.—La Paix sociale etc. Réponse aux Questions qui se posent dans l'Occident depuis les désastres de 1871.* Par M. F. Le Play, etc. Paris, 1870-71.
9. *On Work and Wages.* By Thomas Brassey, M.P. Third Edition. London, 1872.
10. *Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes.* By A Journeyman Engineer.—*Our New Masters.* By Thomas Wright [the Journeyman Engineer]. London, 1867-73.
11. *The Lock-out of the Agricultural Labourers.* (From our Special Reporter.) 'Times,' April—June, 1874.

WHETHER or no England maintains her old renown of teaching the nations how to live, she may, of late years, certainly claim to have taught the nations how to strike. Having bestowed on the world railways, the iron railway-horse, ocean-telegraphy, and the penny-postage, she crowns all by diffusing the doctrine and discipline of Trades Unions. When the French operatives, sent to London by Prince Napoleon's International Exhibition Commission in 1862, came in communication with English work-people, they acquainted themselves, for the first time, says M. de Molinari,* 'with the principal organizations of

* 'Le Mouvement socialiste,' p. 176.

the Trades Unions, of which they had no previous notion, and immediately sought to use them for the realization of their Socialist scheme for arraying all the World's Labour against all the World's Capital.' Their efforts resulted in the formation of the since far-famed International Association, which held its first meetings in London in 1864. The main practical aim of that Association, as understood by the English Trades Unionists, with reference to the interests for which they were concerned, was to prevent the importation of foreign work-people on the occurrence of strikes. In the minds of its French, Belgian, and German associates its more important ulterior object was to place the powerful lever of the English machinery of Trades Unionism in the hands of the leaders of the Socialist Propaganda all over the world.

'England,' says M. de Molinari, 'has, since 1848, imported a considerable stock from the Continent of missionaries of Socialism; for example, the leaders of French and German Socialism, Louis Blanc, Karl Marx, &c. How does it happen then that English work-people, for the most part, have remained refractory to teachings which fanaticised their Continental brethren? This is to be ascribed doubtless to the practical good sense which forms, we may say, the predominant characteristic trait of the English mind, and which has rendered England the classic land of economic progress.'

While we have no objection to accept whatever compliments may be paid to the English character, we should be disposed, for our own part, to ascribe the scission which soon showed itself between the English Unionists and the foreign Propagandists of Internationalism to the longer experience which the former had enjoyed of industrial freedom. Since the repeal of our old Combination Laws a period has elapsed longer than that which is usually assigned to a generation of man. Since Trades Unions ceased to be secret and illegal, their leaders have had abundant opportunity of learning by experience the practical limits of what is attainable by their agency. But French and German labour has, we may say, lived in fetters till yesterday. The French law prohibitive of all operative combinations was not repealed till 1864, and even afterwards the meetings of work-people, like all other meetings, remained subject to the law which restricted their numbers to twenty, unless with official sanction. In the States now composing the German Empire, the laws prohibiting combinations were not finally repealed till 1869. Labour, therefore, had no opportunity, till those recent dates, of learning what we may call its practical politics. The wildest schemes of social subversion found easy access to the imagination of multitudes whose practical wants and interests had no legal representatives, and with whom the most visionary projects might find the readier audience,

audience, as they were never put in any substantive shape, or submitted to any actual experiment. They were the natural offspring of a *régime* of absolute repression of operative free-agency. Even since that *régime* has ceased to exist in the leading commercial countries, operative politics may still continue for some time as exclusively and mistakenly labour-protectionist, as the politics of their betters, till within these thirty years, were exclusively and mistakenly profit-protectionist. But it may safely be predicted that they will not continue to exhibit the fanatical extravagance, which is the distinctive badge of the politics of classes without political experience. The prevailing Socialism in the French and German working classes will, it may be hoped, not long survive the relaxation of the fetters on free discussion and free agency, which left nothing but 'the realm of dream' as a substitute for the world of realities.

It is curious to observe the different methods employed about the same time, under different *régimes*, to enlighten the popular masses on matters affecting their condition in our own and other countries. The British Government, between the years 1867 and 1872, took measures to inform itself and those most concerned of all the facts of the condition of the industrial classes in all the countries with which we hold diplomatic relations. The French Imperial Government, in 1868, suddenly flung open the flood-gates of popular discussion, which it had kept jealously closed for a score of years, and, instead of inviting the communication of knowledge from those who had it, let in upon its public an inundation of ignorance from those who could supply *that* in any quantity, with the unhappy fluency so often found in its company. Every hall disposable for public meetings in Paris was thronged by eager listeners (as afterwards during the two sieges) to the most rabid representatives of the most advanced Socialist schools. The *salles* of the 'Redoute,' the 'Marseillaise' at La Villette, and the 'Folie Belleville' resounded, in the passive presence of the then Imperial commissaries of police, with the old democratic-social rhapsodies of twenty years before, reproduced by a new generation of spouters of the same froth. 'Capital,' exclaimed one speaker, 'is accumulated shame.' 'Property,' said another, 'is not theft, as it has been styled by a well-known writer, it is assassination.' 'The workman who saves his earnings,' affirmed a third, 'is a traitor to his brethren.' (By the way, an Unionist delegate, not very long back, preached precisely the same doctrine to Mr. Gladstone.) The fruits gathered corresponded with the seeds sown by these opposite modes of promoting popular instruction in social economics. The English work-people have been enabled by the 'People's Blue-books' to convince themselves that there is no Sluggard's Eldorado even

under Republics, where the Communist ideal, proclaimed in the Paris reunions of five or six years back, is realized in this workday world—where absolute equality of condition is established ‘without distinction of industrial energy, talent, or virtue—absolute equality of wages, without distinction of quantity or quality of work—the value of all products of labour being solely estimated by the time taken to produce them.’* Among the French work-people an ignorant and fanatical Socialism, as might be expected, increased and multiplied from the seeds sown in the Imperially licensed gatherings of 1868-70, and reached its full pitch, as our readers are already aware, in the Clubs Rouges of the siege, and the final saturnalia of anarchy under the Commune.

In all discussions of the varying phases of the Labour question, whether at home or abroad, we must start from the ‘great fact’ that the time-honoured policy of legal prohibition of labouring-men’s combinations to sell to the best advantage the commodity, Labour, which they bring to market, has been deliberately and definitively abandoned by the three leading nations of Europe. England, France, and Germany have successively and solemnly renounced that policy. To produce this final and ultimate concurrence in so grave a decision, in the face of the manifest and manifold inconveniences, not to say social dangers, which have followed, and could not fail to follow, the emancipation of multitudes from long-worn fetters, there must have been felt moral and political necessities, such as to silence all scruples and misgivings. In future practical consideration of the Labour Question, whether at home or abroad, it is necessary to acquiesce in this foregone conclusion. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.*

During the recent suspension of social vitality in France by war, petroleum, and martial law, Continental industrial movements have been pretty much confined to Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland. Cousin German, it must certainly be confessed, is learning to *striken* with an alacrity rivalling that of the celebrated German Baron whom a Frenchman found jumping over chairs and tables ‘*pour apprendre à être fif.*’ Strikes and lock-outs seem the order of the day in Fatherland, almost as much as in England. It may fairly be surmised that the French in-flowing milliards have not been unconnected with this unwontedly lively posture of the relations between Labour and Capital. Germany has been infected with a fever of speculation by French gold, and the labouring class, which cannot take part in tempting speculations, has sufficiently shown that, at any rate, it can strike for advanced wages.

We have before us a very able publication on the present

* Molinari, ‘Le Mouvement socialiste,’ p. 14.

condition of the German artisan-class by Herr Dannenberg of Hamburg, who made his voice heard succinctly but distinctly in the first Assembly 'for the Discussion of the Social Question' held at Eisenach on the 6th and 7th of October, 1872, and variously composed of prominent representatives of all sorts of opinions and interests—except of 'the Manchester school'—the one economic scapegoat which all seemed agreed in driving into the wilderness. Herr Dannenberg's views derive additional weight from the fact that they have been practically adopted in recent measures of the municipal government of that city. Herr Dannenberg traces the spread of Socialistic and Communistic doctrines—not to Trades Unionism, which he considers to have nothing in common with them—but to the dislocation of the whole pre-existing industrial economy, produced by the dissolution of the old Gild organization, which has not been replaced by a new. Man—working man especially—must, after all, have something to lean on. If he no longer finds the desiderated *point d'appui* in the old-established form of fixed customary relations with associates in trade and labour, he will be fain to catch at it in whatever new shape, and from whatever new quarter it is offered. This is a fruitful source of the ready receptiveness, especially of late years in Germany, of Socialistic and Communistic doctrines by a very large proportion of the working-classes.

If Trades Unionism has not generated Socialism, Trades Unionism, as well as Socialism, has been favoured by the collapse of the old Gild system. 'If,' says Herr Dannenberg, 'that collapse was expected to put an end to workmen's unions, a complete mistake was made, as is now indeed acknowledged on all sides. The old Gild of masters, journeymen, and apprentices has indeed ceased to exist, but in its place has arisen the separate journeymen's Gild—the Trades Union—which, in pursuit of its exclusive class interest, hostilely confronts the masters. The latter, as soon as they too have come to feel the disadvantage of isolation, bethink themselves in turn of forming *their* union against the journeymen. And thus, instead of one Gild, we have two Guilds, each of which has for its main object to maintain its force on a war-footing against the other. Those who fare worst between the belligerents are the third class, the apprentices, who completed the old organization, and for whose interest (that of training in the craft by which they are to live) nobody now cares at all.'

'The preference,' says Herr Dannenberg, 'which has hitherto been awarded to the German artisan in other countries, has been mainly founded on the more thorough training which the apprentice-worker has hitherto received in Germany. No one will pretend that the

German has innate aptitudes for technical excellence superior to those possessed by the French or English workman; and if the German in Paris excelled the Frenchman in tailoring, shoemaking, musical, mathematical, and surgical-instrument making, &c., his superiority did not lie in the Frenchman's inferior aptitude for those branches, but in the fact that a regular apprenticeship system did not exist in France or England [?]. The relaxation therefore of that system in Germany must not only make itself felt in the internal industrial economy of our own country, but must have the most serious consequences as regards the estimation in which the German working-class has hitherto been held abroad.'

Herr Dannenberg justifies his all but exclusive attention to the condition of German *handicraftsmen* by the large numerical preponderance of that class over factory work-people, and by the fact that, in many branches, it is in the artisans' workshops that the factory work-people get their training. Very important branches—machinery, for instance, and coachmaking—recruit their working force almost exclusively from the handicrafts connected with those branches of manufacture. Whatever therefore affects artisan-labour directly concerns the majority, and indirectly the whole body of the work-people. Owing also to their greater degree of personal freedom and individual independence, almost all trades' movements originate in the class of handicraftsmen. Of the strikes so prevalent of late years in Germany, ten at least have arisen among handicraftsmen for one which has owed its origin to work-people employed in factories.

It is clear, however, that the factory system is advancing towards that ascendancy in Germany which it has been gaining in England ever since the commencement of the present century. And it is appositely remarked by Mr. Morier, in the able paper contributed by him to the official 'Correspondence' of 1867, that the freedom of action exercised from the first in Germany by the employers of factory labour showed in strange contrast with the restrictions maintained, till within these few last years, on the employers of artisan labour. The millowners and manufacturing capitalists were the invading power, against which it was desired to defend the industrial position of the handicrafts. But, paradoxically enough, the factory capitalists, instead of being handicapped by legal restrictions in their wholesale competition with lesser producers, were left perfectly free to carry on any kind of work within the walls of their factories, whether in mass by ordinary millhands, or in detail by journeymen and apprentices; while, on the other hand, a very complete system of restriction was maintained in regard to all trades exercised by handicraftsmen as distinct from factory operatives. While, on the one hand, the master manufacturer could work in what manner
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and by what hands he pleased, the master handicraftsman, who had served out his apprenticeship, worked his three years as journeyman, passed all his examinations, and paid all his fees, was confined in the choice of his workmen, and tied down to the statutes of his gild.

The latest development but one—or shall we say corruption?—of Labour Association is that which has been exhibited in the recent discords and extravagances of the motley fraternity claiming 'International' sway over the whole industrial world, while unable to preserve harmony or unity even in their own body. On one point at least the fragmentary and conflicting sections of that Association, which held their separate meetings in the course of last autumn at Geneva, remain unanimous—on the point, namely, that the common foe, with whom war *à outrance* is now to be waged by Labour, is *Capital*; in other words, that the portion of wealth invested in all civilized countries in the employment of labour becomes, by the fact of such investment, Labour's enemy—an enemy against whom the most zealous and least instructed of these Labour champions proposed an instantaneous and effectual Social Revolution by an *Universal Strike*! The practical absurdity of such a proposition struck even the less rabid Socialist sectaries who met at Geneva. But the theoretical absurdity on which it was based remains inscribed on their banners—War of Labour against Capital!—Emancipation of handwork from all subordination to headwork, and of the industry of the present from all connection with, and all obligation to the stored wealth of, the past.

We have above adverted to the cross-purposes pursued from the outset by the British and some of the Continental fellow-founders of the noted or notorious 'International Association.' What the former looked for from it was such a compact alliance with their comrades in the ranks of labour abroad as should secure concerted action on both parts in case of conflict with their employers. But the then leading spirits amongst the foreign Internationalists had much more vast, if much more vague, objects. Nothing was in their minds or mouths but 'Social Revolution.' Nothing short of a Revolutionary Dictatorship, to be placed in the hands of an Executive Council supreme over all the doings of their constituents, seemed to them the agency equal to effecting that Revolution and establishing the absolute political and social domination of Manual Labour. It was this *Intransigente* revolutionary programme of theirs—namely, complete subjection to a new Committee of Public Safety, with a view to complete emancipation from all other Powers on earth—that produced the open schism
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in the Congress of the year before last at the Hague between the two parties—between the Industrialists proper and the Revolutionists proper—and has reproduced that schism at Geneva, in the ‘admirable disorder’ of *two* assemblies, each claiming to be the sole legitimate representative of the original International Association.

It may be affirmed that neither International No. 1 nor International No. 2 at Geneva represented either the more eminent theoretical or practical characters of the Association, as it first came into existence. The men who had stamped those characters on the distinct sections of it (for bodies of that sort always split into sections) were conspicuous by their absence from either of the places of rendezvous of the Geneva Congresses of last autumn. It is now some years back since the first split took place between the followers of Marx and Proudhon at the Lausanne Congress. What they could have to quarrel about, in point of principle, may not be immediately obvious to outside observers. Had not Proudhon proclaimed ‘*La propriété c’est le vol*,’ and had Marx done anything more than follow out that principle logically to its Communistic consequences? But there are revolutionary rhetoricians, and Proudhon was eminently one of them, who have no idea whatever of having their revolutionary rhetoric taken at its word. Proudhon stood aghast in naïve consternation at the Revolution of 1848, as if his journal had been working for years at anything else than to bring about Revolution. Like most men of vivid imagination and mobile temperament, Proudhon disliked, as Rousseau did, to find himself challenged to put his paradoxes in action.

We believe we may say that none of the intellectual leaders of what we should call the *revolutionary* labour-movement among the working classes have belonged themselves to those classes, whether in the ranks of hand or head labour. It is true that the malcontent portions of the working-people throughout Europe lend their ears very readily to the sweeping generalities and sounding watchwords of their amateur agitators. This is always the case; the less the knowledge, the readier the reception of large and vague programmes. Ferdinand Lassalle, and Karl Marx, who survives him, are conspicuous examples in Germany, and the latter for many years past in England, of sterile but persistent agitation of practical interests on theoretical postulates. ‘Marx,’ says Professor von Sybel, in his noticeable lecture now before us on the doctrines of the Socialism and Communism of the present day, ‘is, as Lassalle was, no Proletaire, but the son of a Jewish member of the bourgeois class; and, like Lassalle, is a zealous disciple of the Hegelian philosophy.’

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The German democratic Socialists (whose above-mentioned leader, Ferdinand Lassalle, fell some years back in a duel arising from the *belli teterrima causa*, a woman-quarrel, in Switzerland) proceed on the assumption that 96 per cent. of the community are totally without capital (an assumption widely remote from truth, as we need scarcely tell our readers); that the remaining 4 per cent. alone possess it, and that from the alleged all-possessing 4 per cent. Labour has never got, and will never get, its fair due. In the interest, therefore, of the overwhelming majority—the 96 per cent. against the 4 per cent.—the State must take upon itself the function of a leviathan capitalist, and the risk of subsidising, or supporting by its credit, Labour-Associations in all branches. Now, it cannot be imagined that the State has inherited or saved capital for any such purpose. What must be proposed, therefore, is that the State should take it from those who have saved or inherited it—take it from the fabled 4 per cent. and lend it to the Labour-Associations of the alleged utterly indigent 96 per cent. The *modus operandi* is expressed under such euphemisms as the State lending its *credit* to such Associations. But credit is the shadow, capital the substance. If the State pledges its credit for the Labour-Associations, there must come an hour of reckoning. That hour will come when the State-dandled Associations *fail*. Then will the State be called upon to make good its promises to pay, in default of its *protégés'* solvency; and the liquidation by the State of the bankrupt undertakings it had propped by its credit can only be effected by confiscating the capital of those who have been saving capital, while the State has been incurring reckless engagements for the non-saving class. In short, the Lassalle Democratic-Socialist ideal of government is that of a sort of national Overend and Gurney Company 'Unlimited,' carried on for the supposed special benefit of the Proletariat, with nothing but confiscation of private capital to fall back upon. Well and good! till progressive taxation, or some other Democratic-Social screwing-machine, shall have transferred private capital, to the last florin, into the public treasury. According to the Lassalle assumption, the 96 per cent. had no capital before—the 4 per cent. have none left them now. What will the State then have to fall back upon, in continuing the course of its advances to fresh *protégés*? Its credit? That is gone with its (plundered and squandered) capital. Then comes the final smash of the Democratic-Social 'Overend and Gurney Unlimited;' then (too late) will be lamented the killing of the goose that had laid the golden eggs; then will the dream of universal wealth end in the wakening to universal poverty.

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We might wade through a good many speeches of 'International' Congress oracles without finding much evidence of Socialist or semi-Socialist faculty for that 'collectivity of production' which is to supersede 'individualism' in the industry of the future. So many essentially different things are spoken of under the same name, that we must fix what is meant to be understood, in each case, by the name of collective or co-operative production, in order to form any judgment of the practicability or impracticability of what, in each case, may be proposed. There is no mistake about what is proposed by the Internationalists—namely, that the profits of production should accrue to the manual workers only; and that the capitalist employer is, the sooner the better, to be 'improved out of existence.' Well and good, if the manual workers are really the sole contributors to the production from which is derived the profit. But if the raw materials—the delicate and costly machinery—the money—the directing mind, even more essential—if all these are contributed by quite other persons than the manual workers, the contributors of these essential requisites must reap corresponding returns, or it is certain that their contributions will not be continued. It will then be seen what the manual workers can do for themselves, without the head workers, without the cash holders, without the advances of capital, without the aid of business talents and experience. Those who contribute these requisites to the work of production must be paid *their* wages. These wages are *profits*, and, it may be added, the workmen's wages, which are pre-paid in anticipation of profits not yet realized, are, in reality, just as much a share in those profits as the residue left for capital and direction after that pre-payment. It is an untenable position to say that workmen get no share of profits. They get in advance the share calculated to be due to their share in production. If the claim on their behalf is that their share of profits should increase with every rise which takes place in those of their employers, it may be said, firstly, that this is precisely what, in a rough way, is effected at present, since every prosperous period of trade excites competition for labour amongst employers, and enables labourers to demand increased wages. But if wages are to rise in exact proportion to every rise, they ought to fall in exact proportion to every fall in profits. That is a position not so readily admitted by the champions of Labour-profits, whether Unionist or International.

'Working men, as a body,' says the 'Journeyman Engineer,' 'think too much of capital in the abstract, they are too much given to see in an employer a capitalist, and nothing more. They do not see that capital, as they chiefly come into relation with it, as engaged in productive

ductive industries, is practically a *tool*—as much a tool, though in a larger way, as a hammer or file. They make no allowance for *capitalistic skill*, do not understand that it is as palpably and specially a skill as is mechanical skill, and as fully entitled to remuneration. The number of instances in which working men who have had no particularly great skill in their trade, technically speaking, have risen to be masters and capitalists in it; and the fact that, of men who have started with equal advantages in respect to mere money capital, some, though working hard, have come to ruin, while others have made fortunes, would, it might be thought, be sufficient proof to make the existence and importance of such a skill self-evident; but it has not had that effect with working men, and that is the chief cause of their estimating the natural rights of capital as almost *nil* as compared with those of labour.*

The Trades Union delegates examined before the late Inquiry Commission expressed themselves unable to understand how the interests of employers and labourers could be the same; the former having for their object to make the most they can of their capital, and the latter to make the most they can of their labour. But how, if the same principles of action which promote the one end also promote the other? How, if labour performed with all the energy which the workman can throw into his work, and wages proportioned to the results achieved by that energy, are reciprocal conditions of the *permanent* power to command either good wages or good work? No doubt, if employers could excite equal energy in their work-people by stinted as by liberal wages, or if workmen could permanently screw high wages from employers without giving good work in return, each might have hopes of acting successfully on the principle of giving the least possible to, and taking the most possible from, the other. But that is not the principle of permanent any more than of honest prosperity. It was a saying of the late Robert Stephenson, that 'men should not try to eat each other up.' A noble saying—which may condone much mistaken opposition to the cutting of the Suez Canal.

Amongst the most interesting portions of Mr. Brassey's little volume on 'Work and Wages' are the detailed illustrations, chiefly from the railway-contracting experience of his late father, of the 'great fact' that the rate of wages furnishes no measure of the cost of production,—that the lowest paid labour, beginning with that of slaves, which is not paid at all, turns out in a large proportion of instances the dearest,—and the highest-paid the cheapest, when compared with the products obtained, or the

* 'Our New Masters,' p. 292.

results achieved. Half-pay labour can be no source of profit, if the employer gets less than half-work for half-pay.

It must, however, be evident that exceptionally high rates of wages can only be afforded when exceptional energy of labour can be thereby obtained. The late Mr. Brassey found it better economy to pay high wages to English than lower wages to Continental railway labourers; but if he had had to deal with a Navy Union, prescribing how many strokes, of pickaxe or yards of excavation should be done per man per day, the comparative cheapness of English high-priced labour would have speedily disappeared. Or had the incessant impediments which would have been thrown in his way by such an Union driven him to substitute machinery (supposing such substitution practicable) for much of the high-priced manual labour before employed, no Union whatever could have carried the point, on the part of the work-people, that navvies should still be employed at the old wages, merely to watch the new machines doing their old work. Precisely similar pretensions, however, were put forth by the operative engineers at Oldham in 1851, who struck against Messrs. Platts' firm to enforce them, and struck unsuccessfully. Similar ill-success attended the more extended strike of 1852, which effected indeed precisely the reverse of what its authors intended—further economy, namely, of labour by further inventions and improvements of labour-saving machinery. In England, as in America, the great stimulant to these has been scarcity of labour: in America produced by natural causes; in England by the artificial operations of Trades Unions and strikes. Mr. Nasmyth, in his evidence before the Trades Unions Commission, described very graphically how the long engineers' strike of 1852 made him anxious to develop to the utmost the use of labour-saving machinery.

'The great feature,' he said, 'of our modern mechanical improvement has been the introduction of *self-acting tools*. All that a mechanic has to do, and which any lad is able to do, is, not to labour, but to watch the beautiful functions of the machine. All that class of men who depended upon mere dexterity are set aside altogether. I had four boys to one mechanic; by these mechanical contrivances I reduced the number of men in my employ—1500 hands—fully one-half. The result was that my profits were much increased.'

Professor Brentano—whose essay 'On the History and Development of Gilds and the Origin of Trades Unions,' originally written for the Early English Text Society, has since been published separately, and who has further brought out in German two volumes entitled respectively 'History' and 'Critique' (a very apologetic critique) 'of English Trades Unions'—

Unions'—comments as follows on the above frank statement of Mr. Nasmyth:—

'Surely the love of gain cannot more openly declare itself the prime motive of human action! Surely there is here lacking the slightest spark of consciousness of the gross wrong done to the whole commonweal by such modes of action.'

And yet this same writer admits, in another page of his 'Critique of Trades Unions' (p. 263), that—

'the defeat of the machine-makers in the struggle of 1852 was not to be regretted. But for such defeats the labourers would probably become not less tyrannical than the employers often are now. Under existing circumstances, lock-outs on the part of employers are, without doubt, often justifiable. In like manner, as strikes, they are often acts of necessity.'

It may be permitted to ask Professor Brentano how the strike of the skilled workmen in question could have been defeated, unless by the invention of machinery rendering their skill superfluous? Or how, after such inventions are once accomplished under such pressure, it can be expected that they should be straightway rendered profitless by taking back into employment the high-paid workmen whose importunate exactions first forced them into existence and application? What is claimed apparently by the one-sided apologists of Trades Unions is that, while the workmen hold themselves free to consult their supposed interests, without even affecting the slightest regard to those of their employers,* the employers should remain bound to provide employment for those very workmen whose secession had led to mechanical improvements rendering their labour useless.

And now, after all, what is to be hoped or feared from Labour Movements and Labour Associations in the future? From Trades Unions, according to Mr. Brassey, who may be considered to speak with hereditary authority on these questions, there is not much either to be hoped or feared. Not much, that is to say, of any positive influence on the rate of remuneration which may in future accrue to labour. That will depend on the question whether, at any given time, employers or labourers happen to be the parties competing for labour or employment:—

'Their organization and united action,' says Mr. Brassey, speaking of the Unions, 'may secure an advance of wages at an earlier date; but eventually the competition among employers would be equally beneficial to the working people. The advantage to the working

* See the evidence of Messrs. Applegarth, Allan, and Connolly before the Trades Unions Commission.

classes of obtaining an advance at an earlier date is not, in my opinion, sufficient to compensate for the expense of perpetually maintaining, by heavy subscriptions, the Trades-Union organization, still less to compensate for the loss which is caused by unsuccessful strikes. . . . But the most protracted strikes in which the working men have been engaged have generally taken place, not for the purpose of securing an advance of wages, but for the purpose of resisting a fall. Resistance to a proposed reduction was the cause of the engineers' strike in 1852; of the strike at Preston in 1853; of the strike in the iron trade in 1865; and of the strike of the colliers at Wigan in 1868. In each of these cases the masters had found it necessary, in consequence of the depressed state of trade, to reduce the rate of wages; but the men, ignoring the circumstances of the trade, and looking only at what they believed to be a degradation of their position as workmen, refused to accept the reduction. They, therefore, went out on strike; but, after a protracted struggle, were compelled to accept the original proposal of their employers.

There is one advantage, and one advantage only, as it appears to us, derivable from Trades Unionism on an extended scale,—one, we fear, far too unambitious to satisfy those who aspire to take a lead among their working comrades in Labour politics—politics, by the way, into which faction may be expected to enter at least as much as into other politics: that is, the advantage of collecting and diffusing information amongst work-people in all branches as to the actual state of demand for their labour in each locality, and thus enabling, in the common interest of workmen and employers, a deficiency of labour in one place to be supplied promptly from a surplus in another. But to confine themselves to this modest function of mere channels of information, in which the Unions, it must be acknowledged, sometimes do good service, would be to admit limits to their power which they do not think fit to recognise, and to strip themselves of a prestige in the eyes of their operative followers which they desire to retain.

It is nothing but the habitual want of combination amongst the employers that has sustained the prestige of the boundless power of combination amongst the employed. 'The power of combination,' says Mr. Brassey, 'has been proved, by experience of its results, to be at least as much for the advantage of the masters as the workmen. The defeat of the shipwrights on the Thames in 1852, and more recently the failure of the iron-workers' strike in Staffordshire, are conspicuous examples of the power which the masters acquire by combination among themselves.' Except under stress of adverse commercial circumstances, or active Unionist aggression, there is no combination at all amongst employers, who regard each other less as partakers of common interests than as business rivals.

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Amongst forms of Labour Association of the Future from which most is expected, Co-operation takes, by common consent, the first place.

It is essential, as we have already indicated, to make clear to ourselves what we precisely mean when we speak of Co-operation as some new moral and social discovery, which is to put an end to the alleged natural antagonism between Labour (receiving wages) and Capital. What has been meant by the word, by writers of some pretension to the title of economists, is a form of association of which the beneficent novelty consists in being composed exclusively of working men. The economic propounders of this panacea for all discords between Labour and Capital do, in fact, espouse the operative prejudices against Capital as a power hostile to Labour. And they have assumed from the success of the Rochdale Pioneers that industrial production on a large scale needs nothing for success but operative combination, and can afford to reject the aid of all Capital not actually saved by the working people, who are also to perform the whole of the labour required by the concerns of which they are at once shareholders and workmen. The fact that the Rochdale Pioneers themselves, when they set up manufacturing establishments on a large scale, threw this principle of exclusive operative dealing overboard, had no effect on our pseudo-philanthropic economists, except of provoking them to stigmatize their former favourites as the Iscariots of Co-operation!

The real truth is that there is nothing of absolute novelty, and still less any promise of an universal panacea for the ills of industry, in the exceptional fact of the success of associations operative in their origin, but which have invariably recognised, when they came to employ labour themselves, precisely the same distinction recognised by all other employers between what is due to Capital and what is due to Labour. It may here be observed that work-people, taken generally, show little alacrity to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by benevolent employers to acquire shares in the concerns for which they work. Of 9770 shares in Messrs. Briggs's Co-operative Colliery, 'only 264,' says Mr. Brassey,* 'are held by the workmen.' It must, moreover, be added that the working minority, who have invested their savings in those shares, show themselves the most jealous vindicators of the right of shareholding Capital to preferential dividends over those conceded to non-shareholding Labour. The non-shareholding work-people, it is truly alleged by their shareholding comrades, do

* 'Work and Wages,' p. 256.

not contribute so much as *they* do to the support of the concern in which both are engaged, and, therefore, are not entitled to an equal beneficial interest in it. In this instance, as in every other of successful co-operative association, the *élite* of the work-people, who have invested therein their small capitals, have seen clearly, and asserted firmly, their rights as workmen-capitalists, as distinguished from those of workmen pure and simple. Those co-operative associations which have been most conspicuous as commercial successes count many more operative *employés* than co-operative partners. And such *employés* are simply paid wages for their labour like other work-people. Thereupon great outcry from amateur Labour-champions and sensation-economists—a sort of writers whose standing quarrel with the nature of things and the force of facts fits them admirably for helping to swell to a more respectable figure ‘the beggarly account of empty benches’ at a future International Congress.

Mr. Fawcett cites, as the latest instance of the co-operative principle applied to agriculture, Mr. Brand’s offer to the labourers whom he employs on his farm, ‘to allow them to invest in the farm any money which they may save, receiving the same interest as he obtains on his capital.’* Nothing can be more legitimate than profits thus earned by investment of savings. Nothing, however, can have less in common with Mr. Fawcett’s fixed idea of profits in excess of wages as being somehow due to labour in all cases, without any such savings, or investment of savings at all. Workmen who do save, and who do invest their savings, are found, for the most part, amongst the strongest opponents of the co-operative principle in this its alleged purity.

Are we then to hope for no new forms of association between employers and work-people, comprising all grades of the industrial hierarchy, like the old Craft-Gilds, and affording opportunities for the operative contributors to industrial production to make their voice heard on all debateable points betwixt themselves and their employers? To this we may reply, in the first place, that the tendency of the age we live in is to get rid of old forms which have come to be regarded as fetters, rather than to institute new, and that the spirit of modern communities opposes itself to all organizations setting up an *imperium in imperio*, and laying down laws of their own which may haply come in collision with the law of the land. The simpler the forms in which masters and workmen can agree to meet each

* ‘Fortnightly Review,’ February 1874.

other the better—the important point is that they *should* meet each other on all occasions when matters of difference arise between them, and exchange words before they come to exchange blows. Employers who mean fairly by their work-people, and take pains to show it, seldom fail to find themselves met by work-people who mean fairly by their employers, and outside agitators are no match for those natural leaders of the army of industry who will but give themselves the trouble to take the lead. Messrs. Akroyd of Halifax, whose establishment is justly noted for the beneficent arrangements connected with it, stated, some years back, to the Social Science Association, that their firm made it a rule to receive with the utmost courtesy deputations of their work-people, bringing forward demands for a rise of wages, or redress of any real or supposed grievance, and to go into the subject, if necessary, at repeated meetings with them, till the matter of difference was, in almost all cases, arranged amicably. Mr. W. E. Forster gave in evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons as the reason why his work-people never had struck against him, that he had always received them personally, and given careful attention to every cause of complaint they might have to bring before him. We suspect the right honourable ex-manufacturer, in his late official position, found his Secularists considerably less amenable to reason than he had found his operatives.

‘When I had the privilege of accompanying my lamented father,’ writes Mr. Brassey, ‘on visits of inspection to works under construction, I was ever deeply impressed by his genial manner towards his old followers. He used to recognise many of the old navvies, even some whom he had not met for years, and address them by their Christian names. He would never omit to shake hands cordially with old gangers and sub-contractors, and when he met them in the works he would generally pull up for a few minutes to talk over old times, and ask after mutual acquaintances who had been employed on former contracts. A small manifestation of kindness like this how little it costs; how much it is valued!’

The instances above cited may perhaps be considered as above the average of ordinary individual employers, and it may still be asked whether no provision can be made for new forms of association between men of the common stamp of intellectual and moral mediocrity, which may be assumed to be that of the general run of employers and work-people. This question may be considered as, to some extent, practically answered in those trades and places where voluntary Boards or Courts of Conciliation have been established, with which the names of Messrs. Mundella and Kettle are honourably connected, and
which,

which, so far as their operations have extended, seem to have really supplied means hitherto much desiderated for bringing workmen and employers in friendly personal contact, and facilitating the free and equal discussion of their relative rights and interests. We should for our own part regard as an advantage anything which would promote more of moral cohesion amongst employers, even apart from the advantage which we should expect to arise from more of frank communication with their work-people. The absence of combination amongst the masters for good purposes (and good purposes there are which such combination only could accomplish) goes some way to excuse the mistakes committed by the cumbrous and one-sided combinations of the work-people.* As matters now stand, it is impossible to affirm that the latter have any security that those permanent interests which masters and workmen have in common, will govern the conduct of all employers. If there is tyranny in the treatment, or attempted treatment, by the Trades Unions of all inside and all outside their pale, there is anarchy in the relations of the employers towards their work-people and each other. Out of that anarchy proceed the efforts of an unscrupulous minority, making haste to be rich, to supplant their more conscientious business-rivals in home and foreign markets, ultimately throwing on the work-people the heaviest consequences of their reckless speculations, in the shape of stagnation of trade or fall of wages. 'A melancholy illustration,' says Mr. Brassey,† 'of the disturbance in the labour-market caused by the inflation and subsequent collapse of trade, has been lately exhibited on the banks of the Thames. The number of men employed at the principal ship-building yards on the Thames was in 1860, 11,830; in 1869, 20,880; and in 1870, 3190. Making every allowance for the faults committed by the men, the principal share of blame for the disasters of the panic must, in justice, be laid on some of their employers.'

Mr. Brassey, in citing the highly honourable example set by his father in refusing to send in an unduly low tender for the execution of some projected railway works, saying that if business could only be obtained by screwing down wages, he would rather be without it, adds: 'A similar feeling I believe to be generally entertained by employers.' We hope it may be said with equal foundation that a similar feeling is entertained by employers generally against such fraudulent practices as have

* The objects of the lately established 'National Federation of Associated Employers' seem to be simply self-defensive. We should have wished to see them self-regulative also.

† 'Work and Wages,' p. 241.

recently been exposed in the Manchester trade, and the ultimate consequence of which, if they continue unchecked and prevalent, must be to dethrone this country from its once well-won position of manufacturing and commercial pre-eminence, so far as that position was won by manufacturing and commercial probity. Employers generally, we are heartily willing to believe, dislike and deprecate those practices. But they do not combine against them; they do not set up amongst themselves an authority which should excommunicate all who lapse into them from reputed membership of their body. There ought to be recognised trade jurisdictions on the employers' as well as on the workmen's side—whether endowed or not (and we do not see why not) with legal authority to enforce their decisions—under whose cognizance should come all deviations from honest modes of doing business, and who should be armed by their constituents (and, we repeat, we do not see why not by the National Legislature) with adequate powers of condign animadversion on all such deviations. At this price only, we are disposed to believe, will employers generally acquire or recover due influence over those they employ. If an aristocracy of honour and honesty cannot be established, or re-established, in the former class, it will be idle to quarrel with a democracy equally destitute of those qualities in the latter.

It is painful to have to confess that hitherto the most prominent instances of organization of employed and employers working together to one end have been those where both have been working together against the public. In former times, when coal was the monopoly of a single district, the great coal owners of the North acted in regular and avowed combination for what was called 'limiting the vend,' *i.e.* abstaining from raising or shipping coal in such quantities as to lower its price in the London market below the figure at which they desired to keep it. In those times, the pitmen were employed on a system of yearly hiring, and continued in regular receipt of their wages, whether they worked or not. Their employers preferred paying them for not working at those seasons at which their policy of 'limiting the vend' came into play. Afterwards it suggested itself as an improvement on that policy to abolish annual hirings, so that the coal owners dispensed themselves from paying wages when they stopped work. But in these latter days, the pitmen have taken their turn of limiting labour, with the improvement, in *their* sense, of exacting increased wages for diminished work. The vend is now limited by the refusal of the pitmen either to do more work themselves or to suffer relays of labour to be brought in to supply their deficiency. And now, as in old times, the coal owners still find their account in starved markets, by

finding themselves in receipt of scarcity prices for short supplies of a prime necessary of life. *Quousque tandem?* may be well asked, on the part of the much and long suffering public.*

The recent phenomena of Trades Unionism in the counties are not without analogy, as marking an epoch of industrial transition, with the anarchical accompaniments of the abolition of the old German guilds and the old Russian serfdom. By the whole system of legislation and rural administration, which had been piled for centuries on the basis of the Elizabethan Poor Law and of the Caroline Settlement Law, English agricultural labourers had been *ascripti glebae*,—barred all outlook and all outgoing beyond their parish. The forefathers, for long back, of the landlords and farmers of our days, by their parliamentary and parochial action, had enormously complicated the original scope and provisions of the old Poor Law of Elizabeth by imposing on parishes, partly in a spirit of mistaken charity, partly on the impulse of an equally mistaken self-interest, not only the duty laid on them by that statute, of providing employment and sustenance for those who used no trade whereby to get their living, but also the duty of eking out by parochial doles the wages of those who *did* get their living by farm or other labour.

‘Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.’

Consequently, under the old Poor Law, as aggravated by the old Allowance System, it became the plain and palpable interest of the ratepayers of each parish to guard jealously against labouring immigrants from other parishes obtaining legal settlement within *theirs*, and thus obtaining legal claims to relief in case of destitution. Nay, it became their interest to thrust outside their boundaries—as regarded their habitations—even the labourers whose sources of livelihood lay within them, and to contrive, if possible, that those employed by themselves should receive their parish doles in aid of wages from others. Thus the agricultural labourer was, on the one hand, bound to the soil of his own parish, inasmuch as no other would let him migrate thither; and on the other hand, in very many cases, severed from the soil he tilled for fear he should become chargeable on that soil when he could till no longer. In very many cases, under the old Poor Law and Settlement Law, landlords and farmers were tacitly leagued to pull down rather than build

* The present state and prospects of the coal and iron trade have made the recent period of inflation in both a matter of history. These vicissitudes, taken in connection with their causes, are full of warning for the future.

cottages on their farms. It suited their interests—*quâ* ratepayers—better that their labourers should live anywhere else than where they worked. Hence it has been a notorious fact that, in very numerous instances, agricultural labourers have had to find lodgings in the outskirts of towns, three or four or even five miles from the farms which employed their daily labour. There is no one cause to which the deficiency of labourers' cottages was so distinctly traceable as it was traceable to the ratepayers' interest against their erection and maintenance created by the old Poor Law and the old Settlement Law. The reforms accomplished in these laws within our own times, especially the change, quite of late years, in the old Law of Settlement, have had an effect analogous to the abolition of serfdom in Russia, in emancipating agricultural labour in England from its parochial fetters, in conferring on it that freedom of movement, that *Freizügigkeit*, which the abolition of the time-honoured gild system has also quite lately conferred on the working classes in Germany. The English labourer no longer finds legal obstructions thrown in his way, when he adventures migration beyond the narrow bounds of his parish. He no longer finds, wherever he may seek for employment, the old feeling uppermost—not that his work might not at present be worth its wages, but that, at some future time, he might become chargeable when he was past work. If all the evil which that feeling, meeting them wherever they moved, inflicted on the English labouring class under the old Poor Law, were set against all the good parish doles have ever done them, he must be a bold man indeed who would affirm that the benefits outweighed the injuries.

The worst effect of the old *régime* of restriction and pauperism was that, while eking out wages with alms, it rendered work hardly worth wages. If the Dorsetshire peasant had sunk into the stolid recipient of 9s. a week, Canon Girdlestone might perhaps have found one reason for it in the fact that his labour might have really become worth no more. For the purpose of popular rhetoric, his case might be the best to select as that of the typical 'agricultural labourer;' but for the purpose of fair comparison and practical instruction, it would have been as well to contrast it with the condition of other districts, where better work commands better pay. The extended market for labour opened of late years by freer and more facile locomotion has been, of itself, producing without the aid either of ecclesiastical or unionist agitators, an equitable adjustment of wages to work in agriculture as in other employments.

Mr. James Caird, in a letter published in the 'Times' of the 3rd of January last, giving the results of extensive and long-

exercised observation of the agricultural economy of the past, and anticipations, founded on those results, of the agricultural economy of the future, makes the following statement of the present, as compared with the past condition of the English agricultural labourer,—a statement which derives, from the long-continued attention which the author has devoted to the subject, an authority very different from that of the stump-oratory of agricultural agitators:—

‘The condition of the English agricultural labourer has much improved within recent years—more so than is shown by the weekly rate of wages, for that in most parts of the country is considerably increased by what is earned by piece-work. It does not now compare unfavourably with the condition of other classes of labourers in towns, and his earnings probably give him as great a command of the necessities of life as those of the skilled workman or the lowest grade of public *employés*, who have to pay out of their salaries 8*s.* or 10*s.* a week for the humblest accommodation for themselves and their families. The country labourer in many counties in the South has his cottage and garden and garden allotment for 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, from which, in addition to lodgings, he provides himself with vegetables and potatoes, articles which must be paid for at retail prices by the workman in town. I have before me the exact earnings during the past year of sixteen married labourers on a corn and sheep farm in Hampshire, where the wages are nominally 13*s.* a week, but where piece-work is encouraged and as much as possible practised. The average actually earned by each of these men under this mixed system of day and piece-work was a little over 16*s.* 6*d.* a week, or 26 per cent. more than the nominal wages. None of them earned alike, the difference arising from greater industry, capacity, or opportunity being very considerable, some averaging more than 20*s.* and some not exceeding 13*s.* 6*d.* These men have good cottages and gardens and garden allotments, for which they pay from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* a week. Their wives and a boy or girl at certain seasons contribute something to the common store. In this case they added on the average 4*s.* 2*d.* to the weekly earnings of each household, making the total 20*s.* 8*d.*; and this is no uncommon example at the present day, but is quite capable of being realized by industrious men where the system of piece-work is adopted—a plan at once advantageous to the labourer and economical and effective in its results to the employer.’

Referring to the past, as compared with the present, Mr. Caird states as follows:—

‘Twenty-three years ago I concluded in your columns an inquiry into the agricultural condition of England. At that time I ascertained the rate of wages in the various counties, and compared it with the wages in the same counties when visited by Arthur Young in his tour eighty years before. I found a marked distinction between the

the wages in the Northern and Southern counties, in favour of the former, and exactly the opposite of Young's experience, the wages in 1770 having been lowest in the North. In 1850 the wages in the Northern counties were 30 per cent. higher than in the South, and that difference is fully maintained to the present time. It will be convenient to show here the wages of agricultural labourers in these three periods in the North and South:—

	1770.	1850.	1873.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Average weekly wages of Northern counties	6 9	11 6	18 0
Average weekly wages of Southern counties	7 6	8 5	12 0

'There have been many changes since 1850, one of the latest and most satisfactory being an improvement in the prospects of the agricultural labourer in the Southern counties, partly the result of the freedom he acquired by the alteration of the Law of Settlement, one of the measures most urgently pressed as indicated by that inquiry.'

It would have added to the instructiveness of Mr. Caird's review if he had pointed attention to the fact that, in bygone times, it was in the Southern more than in the Northern counties that the landlords and farmers carried into operation the system of parish allowances in aid of wages, first introduced on a large scale, with parliamentary sanction, in the earlier years of the long war with France, and intended to compensate to married labourers with families the high prices of the necessities of life which ruled in those years. It was intended, as a statesman of that day expressed it, to render a large family a blessing instead of a curse—by Act of Parliament. The blessing of large families was undoubtedly promoted in rural parishes by this measure; but as the merit of begetting them became the sole title to increase of agricultural wages, that merit became the sole merit cultivated by agricultural labourers.* Thence, mainly, the reversal of the previous relative condition of North and South. Agricultural improvements bore their legitimate fruits in the former region; while in the latter, the elevating effects they should have had on the labourers' condition were in great measure nullified by the deterioration in the quality of

* The following striking illustration of the pestilent effects in East Anglia of the old Poor Law allowance system in aid of wages, is given by the 'Times' Special Reporter (May 16, 1874):—'The other man (one of two farm labourers asked to by the reporter) recollected times when half the labourers or more used to be on the parish at one time or other during the year; when men were hung for incendiary fires; and the single men used to be paid a shilling a week less wages than the married men, though they might be better workers. The natural result was a premium upon early improvident marriages, and the labourer with whom I talked shyly owned he had married, as many other young fellows did, chiefly with a view to the extra shilling.'

labour

labour caused by the so-called Allowance System in aid of wages. Matters are mending southward as well as northward, since parliaments and justices of the peace have ceased to adjust wages—not to the comparative value of the recipients' labour, but to the comparative fecundity of the recipients' wives. Matters will continue to mend, doubtless, in exact proportion as—labourers becoming more instructed—their labour shall become more efficient and more productive, and they shall attain a position to command better pay for better work. If it were the aim of the Unions to promote this increased energy of labour and its proportionate recompense, we should wish, for our part, God-speed to the Unions. But the aim of the Unions is not so single or simple as this. The very idea of wages as naturally corresponding, in a normal state of things, to the value of work done, is strange to them. What they affect power to obtain for their clients, from whom they levy weekly tribute, is an artificial rate of wages, screwed up by all sorts of Protectionist devices for lessening instead of increasing the efficiency of labour and the amount of its products. The old notion remains rooted in their minds, which was the notion of the whole mercantile world in the ages preceding Adam Smith, that one party to a commercial bargain can only acquire a gain by compelling the other party to that bargain to submit to a loss. This was universally believed of all commercial transactions between nation and nation. It is still believed by Trades Union leaders, and those who follow their lead, to be the general law of all transactions between employers and labourers. Increased wages can only come to agricultural labourers by setting up Union-machinery to screw the increase out of rents or profits. That they can and ought to be *earned* by better instructed and more efficient labour is an idea inconceivable to Trades Unionists generally, and apparently to one member at least of the Episcopal Bench. 'You are angry with me,' writes the Bishop of Manchester to Lady Stradbroke,* 'for saying that, if farmers cannot pay better wages, and at the same time make a reasonable profit on their capital, rents must come down. . . . I beg to ask your Ladyship, *what other source there is for better wages to the labourer but either from the profits of the farmer or the rent of the landlord?*' That there should be a source of better wages to the labourer in the acquired and exerted ability to give his employer better work for better pay, is an idea one is prepared to expect to find absent from the minds of the John Balls of the nineteenth as

* 'Times,' April 22, 1874.

of the fourteenth century. In Bishop Fraser we can ascribe only to a slip of the pen the appearance of the like total want of perception of so plain a truth. An apt instance of the manner in which increased wages may be earned more easily by effective labour than by Unionist agitation, is afforded in the following extract from a dialogue at which the 'Times' Special Reporter was present, between Mr. Henry Stanley, of Bury St. Edmunds, and his labourers. Mr. Stanley, who is honorary secretary of the West Suffolk Defence Association, farms 700 acres of his own land, which he purchased four or five years ago in very bad condition, and has since, by a liberal outlay of capital, doubled the number of labourers employed upon it, and introduced the use of the threshing machine and the steam plough. Mr. Stanley's labourers, under their recent Union inspiration, suddenly left him just on the eve of last harvest. They had asked to be taken back afterwards, and were taken back.

"We farmers," said Mr. Stanley to his men, "feel that we cannot, after employing so much capital to obtain a crop, have that crop put in danger, as mine was last year, for the want of labour to gather it. . . . You know how I was left last harvest. That shows what your Unions will do. How can you expect us farmers to bear such things? We get a fine crop on the ground, and our year's profits depend on getting it in quickly and well, and just at the moment you leave us. That's your Union." Men.—"Well, master, but we've a right to better ourselves, you know, and most on us made more last harvest than you offered us." Farmer (singling out the spokesman).—"Now, what did you make?" Man.—"I made 11*l.*, master." Farmer.—"How did you make it?" Man.—"I took the harvest at 12*s.* an acre, and finished in a month and three days." Farmer.—"Well, haven't I, year after year, asked you all to work on that system"—i.e., taking the harvest by the acre instead of contracting for the whole job—"and haven't you, year after year, said you would rather go on upon the old system, though I showed you by figures you could earn more money under the new one?" Men.—"Yes, that's true enough, master." Farmer.—"And then you leave me and do with a stranger what you wouldn't do with me?"*

The Protectionist delusion, propagated by the Trades Union leaders, that increased wages are to be got by screwing them out of rents or profits, and not by increased productiveness of labour aided by capital, is likely to receive rude practical confutation in either of two conceivable events of the present struggle. If Capital is deterred from agricultural investment by perpetual agitation, agriculture, and the producers and consumers of agri-

* 'Times,' April 27, 1874.

cultural produce, will alike suffer. If, on the other hand, the Unions are not destined to succeed in artificially crippling labour; if agricultural improvement is to continue to advance, and agricultural wages to rise, those results will be due precisely to the triumph of the principle of Production over that of Protectionism. It is somewhat ominous of the first of the two alternatives above indicated, that during the last year, for the first time since the publication of the Agricultural Returns, the annual increase of new land reclaimed and brought into cultivation has received a check. 'The figures for the present year' (1873), says Mr. Caird, 'give an addition of 340,000 acres to the permanent pasture, and show a diminution of some 200,000 acres taken out of cultivation. This is coincident with the first serious alarm created by the Labourers' Union, and will of itself have displaced the labour of many thousand men.' On the other hand, the experienced and apprehended dictation of the Labourers' Unions has recently given an immense stimulus in agriculture, as formerly in other branches of industry, to the employment of labour-saving machinery.

So far then as matters have hitherto gone, Trades Unionism in agriculture, as in every other branch of industrial production affected by its action, has had for its main and most important effect the giving an immense impulse to invention, or to the application of inventions already made for economising human labour. The object of the Unions has been, by artificial regulation of labour, to obtain the highest wages for the greatest numbers possible. Their effect has been to reduce the numbers employed to the indispensable minimum, and to precipitate the substitution, wherever practicable, of machinery for hand-labour. We have seen by Mr. Nasmyth's evidence before the Trades Unions Commission, to what an extent this has been done in that branch of skilled labour in which that gentleman raised himself from the ranks to well-earned eminence amongst the 'Captains of Industry.' We are now seeing to what an extent this is practicable, and is being effected in that branch of industry which has hitherto troubled itself less than any other to economise labour, or supply its scarcity by machinery. Necessity, the proverbial mother of Invention, is setting the farmers on finding substitutes for labour which Unionism is rendering unreliable, and Invention is rapidly answering the maternal call of Necessity. 'Until harvest,' the 'Times' Special Reporter is informed, 'the farmers will be able to tide over very well.' 'And what then?' I asked.

'My informant thought the farmers would be in no difficulty even then; and he is corroborated by other authorities. "The tinkers
and

and the tailors" will come from the towns. A few strong men are wanted to pitch the sheaves into the waggon. Little or no skill, however, is required nowadays. Scythe and sickle are now as much out of date as the barn flail. Tying-up is a simple process, and the reaping-machine does the rest. As I stated the other day, the implement-makers are using great efforts to perfect a machine which will follow the reaper and dispense with hand-tying, and this valuable labour-saving invention will be chiefly due to the lock-out. In other ways the lock-out will, for the time, be a fine thing for the implement-makers, for it will set farmers upon buying elevators and other labour-saving machines. Returning to the prospects of harvest, I find a general belief that sufficient labour will be forthcoming even without the men now locked-out. If not, these men will be glad enough to come back in order to earn harvest wages, and at such a time "no questions will be asked."

This agricultural agitation would have been almost worth encountering—if for nothing else—for the mere sake of exposure of the monstrous exaggerations which have hitherto had unquestioned currency as to the condition of the agricultural labourer. The cottagers of Cheveley or of the villages around Bury St. Edmunds will have little to thank their Unionist guides for, if they agitate them out of their quiet homes and gardens into the harder labours and sharper climate of Canada or the solitary squattings and 'magnificent distances' of Queensland. The 'Times' Special Reporter has done good service by setting before the public the unvarnished and unblackened picture of the agricultural labourer and his surroundings. With such exceptions as have been greedily seized upon by sympathetic stump-orators, of squalid and overcrowded cottages (for instance, in the villages of Burwell and Exning), it comes out clearly from the 'Times' Special Reports that the liberality of the landlords and the cessation, in late years, of the discouragements to the building and maintenance of cottages under the old Poor Law, are rendering unfit habitations for farm labourers an exceptional relic of the past, much rather than a general rule of the present.* The cottages on the Duke of Rutland's property at Cheveley, those on Mr. Mackworth Praed's at Ousden, may be cited amongst numerous other instances of the modern march of

* Mr. John Ball, ex-agricultural labourer and ex-Methodist preacher, expresses a dislike, natural in grievance-traders, to seeing new cottages built. 'He saw that on many farms new cottages were being built, and he warned the men that if they went to live there they would forfeit their freedom and have to work for pretty much what the farmer chose to give them. . . . What was expected from them in a village was a deal of bowing and scraping. If they took off their hats to the village clergyman a long way off, he would say, "How do you do?" It was funny for one paid servant to expect this homage from another.'—'Times,' May 27, 1874.

improvement.

improvement. 'The fact,' says the 'Times' Reporter, is 'alleged by farmers wherever I have gone, that women are now obtained with difficulty for any kind of agricultural labour. They stay at home and mind the house, and the reason must be that there is less need for them to add to the husband's earnings by field-work.' There is a trait which may contrast very advantageously with France or Germany, to say nothing of raw settlements across the Atlantic or at the Antipodes.

It does not follow—and we are glad to see that this is discerned by influential members of the farming and land-owning body themselves—from the antiquated and perverse persuasions which are in truth at the root of the larger part of Trades Unionist action and attempts at action, or from the precisely opposite results produced to those aimed at, that Trades Unionism can therefore be 'stamped out' by coercion in the counties any more than in the towns, or that labourers can be prevented by the mere authority of their employers from forming combinations deliberately allowed by law. As the irritation excited in the rural districts by the recent irruption of Unionism calms down, and the exaggerated fears and hopes from its aggressive and pretentious agency shrink within limits drawn by reason rather than imagination, employers and labourers may be content to take up their respective positions on grounds which do not compromise on either side that free agency which is the birthright of all orders of men in a free country. While, on the one hand, the farmers cannot be expected to accept the decisions of Union delegates on disputes about wages, or any other matters, between themselves and their men—labourers, on the other hand, cannot be expected to forego the legal right of combination to support their own views of their own claims and interests. Lord Waveney has suggested arbitration by landowners between farmers and labourers in such cases—a suggestion which had been anticipated in action by Sir Edward Kerrison, and seemingly with success*—though, it must be admitted, parliamentary and magisterial precedents have proved that landlords have not always been infallible authorities on agricultural economy.† After all, the Unionism of this generation is a rural apparition of less fatal portent than the rich-

* 'Times,' June 4, 1874.

† Burke in his 'Thoughts and Details on Scarcity' (1795) treated with contempt the assumption, which seems to have been as popular then as now, 'that the farmer oppresses the labourer, and that a gentleman called a justice of the peace is the protector of the latter, and a control and restraint on the former.' . . . 'The squires of Norfolk,' he wrote, 'had dined, when they gave it as the opinion that the rate of wages might or ought to rise and fall with the market provisions.'

burning of the last; and the Balls and Arches, if not exactly *personæ græte* in agricultural high places, are preferable to such firebrands (without metaphor) as the 'Captain Swing' of 1830.

The greater or less contradiction and hostility of the politics and economics of Labour to those of Capital, Commerce, and the higher grades of cultivated intelligence, may be taken as the measure of less or more advanced political progress. There must be some point of coincidence between all honest interests in civilized and industrial communities; and the practical problem is to ascertain that point, and to take our stand on it. That there should be any separate political and economic creed of Labour shows that a right understanding has not yet been arrived at of the mutual dependence and mutually beneficial relations between those classes and orders, which form in all countries the natural social and industrial hierarchy.

Armed peace, as Europe has good reason for knowing, is the next worst thing, and the sure prelude, to war. Yet armed peace, or rather truce, has become in these days the least hostile posture between Labour and Capital in the three most advanced nations—England, France, and Germany. It may be asked, as well with reference to the industrial as to the national system, Is that posture to be perpetual? And the answer depends on that which may be made to this other question: Is there really any natural antagonism, threatening to be perpetual, between Labour and Capital? Sam Johnson's admonition, 'My dear sir, clear your mind of cant,' might be altered in these days to 'My dear sir, clear your mind of abstractions.' Labour and Capital!—imposing aggregates—signifying, however, simply, in everyday life and work, hands to do or make, and means to pay for doing and making, whatever is wanted to be made or done. Unless it is asserted that all the moneyed and other capital is in hands which ought not to be allowed to hold it, and all the work in hands which ought not to be expected to do it, what can be the rational sense of 'natural antagonism' between those who are ready to give work for money and those who are ready to give money for work? The one party supplies exactly that which the other wants. The terms of the commerce between Capital and Labour, as of all other commerce, are of course a matter for fair negotiation between seller and buyer. But what propriety is there in describing *negotiation* as *antagonism*? If you go into a shop, is there a natural antagonism between you and the shopman? If you go on 'Change, are all these men of merchandise in smug civil costume so many natural antagonists in internecine conflict? Why is the ordinary 'biggling of the market,' which meets us everywhere, to be spoken grandly of as 'natural antagonism,'

antagonism,' when the parties to the bargain happen to be a mechanic or labourer on the one hand—on the other, an employer who finds pay for his work? If work equivalent to the pay is not performed, or pay equivalent to the work is not given, *there* doubtless is a source of natural antagonism. But where nothing else is on either side intended but a fair exchange of equivalents, the notion of natural antagonism is a mere maggot of malcontent brains. So far as that goes, the working 'hand,' and the employer or customer who demands his handiwork, stand on a footing of complete commercial equality and exchange of equivalents. If what is meant to be made a grievance (sensational-economists do make a grievance of it) is the degradation alleged to be involved in belonging to a manual labouring class at all, so much may be conceded to such complainants—that the manual labouring class does occupy the ground floor and not the first floor of the social fabric. If all are degraded who are not elevated above manual occupations, then a society must be dreamed of in which there shall be either no manual workers or all manual workers. To such 'Labour-emancipators' we can only say, Let us have your whole scheme before us. Let us know what social state you really aim at constituting. And meanwhile leave your iteration about natural antagonism between class and class. What you really object to seems to be that civilized modern society arranges itself into any classes at all.

It must not be imagined that the mere extravagance of such principles affords the slightest security that very serious collisions may not yet be impending between the champions and assailants of all that has hitherto constituted the social and industrial system of Europe. Madness with a method is never a force to be despised: the fanatic Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, and the fanatic Fifth-Monarchy men of the seventeenth, are not without politico-economical successors in the nineteenth in one essential dogma, put on record in the often-cited Resolution ascribed to some armed sectaries of Cromwell's day—'Resolved, 1stly, That the Saints shall inherit the earth. Resolved, 2ndly, That *we* are the Saints.' For Saints read Socialists, and we have precisely the modern programme of the Republic Democratic and Social. It is not because such doctrines have no solid economic foundation that they may not find thousands prepared to embrace—even prepared to fight for them. All that multitudes want, when there are circumstances in their condition to make them discontented, are a few leading principles—the larger and the more sweeping the better—which, from the mouths and pens of ready speakers and writers, may supply reasons for their
passions.

passions. And be it always remembered, that the sources of discontent are as often moral as material. Tocqueville has well remarked that it is not when public administration or public burthens are most oppressive that revolt against them is most likely to occur. It is when the yoke of authority and the burthens it imposes are in course of being lightened, that popular impatience is apt to run ahead of all practical and practicable reforms. When, so to speak, only the last feather remains on the camel's back, the cry waxes loudest that it is the last feather which breaks it.

Amidst the confusion of ideas, amidst the artificially fomented social antagonisms and moral corruption, too widely prevalent in old civilized communities, one almost doubts sometimes whether the best hope of humanity may not be, once more, to be turned out to grass. 'So often,' says Le Play, 'as corruption has invaded the civilized nations of the Old World, the pastoral populations have always been Nature's reserve-force for their reform and regeneration by conquest. They have performed that function, at recurring periods, for the Chinese empire, and are ready to resume it for the now dominant European races, if these should, at some future time, as in the last days of decadence of Imperial Rome, sink into a condition of which they can neither endure the evils, nor supply the remedies by any surviving virtue or energy of their own.'*

What has been, may be—all our railroads, telegraphs, daily newspapers, ironclads, steel cannons, and breech-loading rifles notwithstanding. Material forces and machinery avail nothing, when those moral and social forces, which first combined to create, and must still combine to work them, have been crippled and disorganized by that last ill of old nations, the War of Rich and Poor.

ART. VII.—1. *New Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun; its Annals during the past Twenty Years, recording the remarkable Progress of the Japanese in Western Civilization.* By Samuel Mossman. London, 1873.

2. *The History of Japan from the Earliest Period to the Present Time: Vol. I. to the Year 1864.* By Francis Ottewell Adams, F.R.G.S., H.B. Majesty's Secretary of Embassy at Berlin; formerly H.B. Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and Secretary of Legation at Yedo. London, 1874.

* 'La Réforme sociale en France,' vol. ii. p. 455.

3. *The Legacy of Iyeyas (deified as Gongen Sama), a posthumous Manuscript in One Hundred Chapters.* Translated from Three Collated Copies in the Original by John Frederic Lowder, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Legal Adviser to the Board of Revenue and the Customs in Japan. London.

MR. MOSSMAN, though modestly disclaiming 'the high functions of a historian,' has endeavoured 'to lay before the reader a clear and succinct narrative of the most important occurrences in its recent annals, culled from the best authorities,' with a view not only to elucidate its present condition, but to throw light upon its past history. That this is a difficult undertaking may be readily believed, when we are told, that 'notwithstanding the numerous historical and descriptive accounts of Japan and the Japanese which have appeared from time to time, a comprehensive and authentic history of the country, its people, and institutions, has yet to be written in a European language; and for this to be undertaken by a foreigner competent to do justice, he must not only be a Japanese, but a Chinese, linguist, and have access to the national archives, written chiefly in the latter character.' We must agree therefore with Mr. Mossman 'that this is a task impossible for foreigners to accomplish—at least unaided by native scholars;' even if it were less true that 'hitherto the information gleaned from native sources concerning its history has been, for the most part, mythical, meagre, and unreliable.' He quotes a late Minister in Japan, who said that 'the incorrigible tendency of the Japanese to withhold from foreigners, or to disguise, the truth on all matters great and small; and consequently the absence of reliable elucidations of their character, institutions, and system of government, constitutes a great obstacle in getting at the facts;'—and the correctness of this opinion appears to be acknowledged by all who have ever had any dealings with the Japanese in their own country. Hence, although the author may be right in his conclusion, that we have now 'a fair amount of authentic data to furnish a record of its recent history,' and that it is highly desirable these 'should appear in a collected form, such as will be found in this unpretending volume,' we must warn our readers not to be too critical in noticing numerous inaccuracies and mistakes as to names, titles, and other matters purely Japanese. Such errors are all but unavoidable where a writer has to quote from a very miscellaneous collection of records, unaided by any personal acquaintance with the places, the people, or the language. Some of these are, fortunately, of no great importance, though others there are, misleading in reference both to the facts and the personages

personages referred to. A few of these we may more particularly advert to as we proceed; and as these might easily be rectified by a list of errata on a fly-leaf, we trust the author will lose no time in supplying it. Despite such flaws in execution, the conception of the work, and the consecutive narrative it furnishes of the leading events, since the first treaty with a foreign Power was negotiated in 1854 by Commodore Perry, deserve great praise. It supplies a want, and will enable the reader to obtain with little labour a good general idea of a series of changes affecting the destinies of an Eastern race, now for the first time joining the comity of Western nations. It has been truly said that 'never probably since the world began has a nation developed so rapidly, or for two consecutive decades had so eventful a history to show;' and were it only on this ground, such a chapter in the history of our own day could not fail to be of great interest. But the past and present of Japan are nearly equally attractive to any student of the philosophy of history, from the many curious problems it presents, and the unexpected solutions furnished by passing events.

In reading the history of the twenty years' struggle in which all the ancient landmarks of Japanese policy, statecraft, and administration have been thrown down, as if by one of their own volcanic shocks, and all the elements of Western civilization have been poured into the crevices, filling up the gaps with materials of a disintegrating and explosive character, we cannot but be struck by the suddenness and completeness of the revolution effected. In this commingling of things old and new, a people of Asiatic stock, as numerous as ourselves and to the full as proud of their history and all that constitutes nationality, appear to be swept by irresistible forces into the vortex of a political and social cyclone, which has gone far to denationalize them. What were the forces thus suddenly brought into play, from within and without, by which the most conservative and exclusive of Eastern nations was so rapidly transformed into something new and wholly alien?

Nothing more striking in history or sociology can well be found than the fact, that much of what has happened is mainly due to their intense hatred of the foreign element in every shape. Yet, strange as this may seem, we are convinced the dominant influence in the Japanese mind when the struggle began, and far on to the final issue, was this national feeling of hatred, mingled with fear, towards the foreign intruder on 'the sacred soil of Nippon,'—as their own Samurai and Braves have many times since written in the blood of their victims. The ruling classes, from the Tycoon (or *Shogun*, as it now appears

appears he should be called) to the Daimios and their retainers, including the whole of the military and dominant class, when first we forced our presence upon them, had no other thought or wish than our expulsion. For the first ten years, from 1854 to 1864, they never ceased to nurture plans, both at Miaco (the Court of the Mikado) and at Yedo—the ‘capital of the Tycoon,’ or Shogun, his Lieutenant and Generalissimo—the object of which was the extermination of the foreigners and the closing of their ports. Mr. Mossman quotes the reflections of the British Minister at the beginning of 1861, just after the murder of the Secretary to the American Legation in the streets of Yedo—only one of a long series of such political assassinations by the Samurai—observing that

‘the victims previous to this were in a comparatively humble position; but Mr. Heuskin, though a Hollander by birth, was the official Secretary to the Legation of a great Treaty Power, and in whose violent death a blow was aimed at the American envoy, who might himself be the next victim. Not only was this the true interpretation of such a deed of blood, but every envoy and member of the embassies risked his life in performing his diplomatic duties. “It can hardly be realized in these modern days, in an European land, what it is to live under a perpetual menace of assassination, with apt instruments for its execution ever at hand, not for days or weeks, but month after month, and not occasionally, but constantly, from year to year. Never to put foot in stirrup without a consciousness of impending danger; never to sleep without feeling as your eyes close that your next waking may be your last, with the vengeful steel at your throat and the wild slogan of murderers in your ear.” Such were the reflections of the British Minister on reviewing the category of these catastrophes and the perilous position of affairs, and it may well be said that a diplomatic post in Japan was anything but an enviable one.’

How this blind and indiscriminating hatred, contrary to their avowed design and all their patriotic hopes, by some overruling and unseen power was hurrying the country on to a revolution, the end of which was to be a fevered desire for changes entirely foreign in type and aim, is now apparent. The nations from afar were to the Japanese an ‘Old Man of the Sea,’ whose clutch was on their throat, inciting them to frantic and unceasing efforts to rid themselves of his hateful and domineering presence. Failing all else, they rushed to meet him in his own element of Western civilization, where alone, it was felt at last, they might hope to find the secret of his power, and the means of recovering their lost immunity from interference. Mr. Mossman misses the force of this feeling by assuming that they had once been tributaries to China. It is true that the history of the Ming
dynasty

dynasty contains notices of tribute-presents having been sent at that remote period; but this is simply an assertion, like so many others made by Chinese when speaking of other States (England among the rest), treating all as subordinate and tributary to the 'King of Kings' and the 'Son of Heaven.' Kublai Khan, the greatest of the Mongol emperors, twice attempted their conquest by fitting out great expeditions, and each time met with signal defeat and the loss of all his troops and ships. There is no authority for saying they were ever conquered, or sent tribute to any Power. They not only successfully resisted the colossal Power at their gates, but carried the war into the enemy's country, partially conquering Corea, and making constant inroads on China proper during the following century, by way of retaliation. Hence their pride as a conquering and unconquered race, and the alarm and anger with which they have watched the insidious approaches of a more formidable neighbour than China, and the general menace to their independence from the forced establishment of permanent relations with all the Western Powers, whose means of aggression they felt themselves unable to resist with effect.

We cannot but feel a strong interest both in the past and the future of such a people, and nothing can be more opportune, therefore, than the appearance of the two works, the titles of which follow Mr. Mossman's at the head of this article. Mr. Adams, formerly Secretary of Legation and *Chargé d'Affaires* at Yedo, has had all the advantage of a long residence in Japan and the best opportunities of obtaining accurate information on the spot, of which he has availed himself with great ability. If he does not both speak and read Japanese himself, he has, as he handsomely acknowledges, had all the benefit of such assistance as Mr. Satow, the most advanced of our Japanese scholars, and now Japanese Secretary of Legation, could afford. We may receive this book, therefore, with great confidence as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Japanese and their history, the materials for which have been derived from the best sources, with all the advantages attending a knowledge of the language and a conscientious desire to insure accuracy.

The third work is only a little pamphlet of thirty-seven pages, but one, nevertheless, of very special interest. The author of this 'Legacy' was both a warrior and a statesman, who, although of comparatively humble origin, became one of the most powerful and celebrated of the Shoguns, or virtual rulers of Japan, and succeeded to his office under the Mikado of the day, in 1602. Not content, however, with the power of the sword and undisputed sway during his life, he aimed at establishing a system

of government and policy that should go down to posterity with the prestige of his name, and preserve both his country and dynasty from change. That success should have followed so ambitious a design for two centuries and a half is not more remarkable than the fact that the fall, both of the system and the dynasty, was mainly due to the return of foreign invaders under the peaceable guise of merchants and missionaries; the event which he vainly thought he had sufficiently guarded against by his expulsion of the foreigner, and the extermination of all Christian converts, with every trace of their religion.

To keep the Mikados in bondage, to govern in their stead, but under the sanction of their authority—to keep the Feudal nobles and chiefs of clans in subjection and all other classes in a servile state under them, and thus held together to resist to the death all attempt on the part of foreign nations to break through their isolation—was, in sum, the policy of Gongen Sama, as it continued to be that of all his descendants for nearly 300 years. But the moral to be drawn from this history is the futility of any Ruler, however powerful or sagacious, seeking to bind the hands of his posterity, or by any deep-laid plans and traditional policy securing any particular end, national or dynastic. That such policy may exercise a great and long-protracted influence, when based upon the reverence of a people for a great Ruler, is all that is possible. Some unforeseen combinations from within, or influences from without, set at naught the wisest and most deep-laid plans, when prevision seeks to go beyond a lifetime or a generation as the furthest limit. What the far-seeing and astute Iyeyas thought to place beyond the reach of chance or change, has now come to pass, in the way he would least have desired. Not only the disturbing foreigner from the West has reappeared on the Japanese shores, with his restless and aggressive temper, his missionary spirit, and commercial enterprise, but the effort to resist the fate has mainly led to the downfall of the whole fabric of native rule and institutions, the foundations of which he laid so earnestly. Another parallel in modern history of an attempt to create a traditional policy by a legacy of behests from the ruler and founder of an empire, to be binding on all his descendants, suggests itself in the reputed will of Peter the Great of Russia. He has the credit of founding such a policy, and an empire designed to have Constantinople for its capital, from whence with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean on either hand, as two Russian lakes, to dominate alike an Eastern and a Western continent. How far this dream of conquest and empire has any real foundation in Russian policy and aspirations, is a question on which there is much difference
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of opinion. But assuming that it is so, we may doubt whether its pursuit is likely to promote the end desired, or, like the Legacy of Iyeyas, will only lead, by ways unseen, to the triumph of a cause the very opposite of the consummation so ardently desired.

Much of the novelty and importance attaching to the Japanese transmutations of their social and political condition arises from the almost incredible shortness of the period in which the work of ages was accomplished. It has been remarked that no other nation has 'ever before taken five centuries at a bound.' But with equal truth ten centuries might have been the term. For although we shall find some closer resemblances between the state of Europe and Japan in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries than at any earlier period, we must go back still further to find some of the most striking of these coincidences or similitudes—to the early Saxon and Norman periods in this country, and to the first or Merovingian era of kingly rule in France—from the fifth to the eighth centuries; the only difference being that Japan in the earlier period, while presenting the same features of feudal and monarchical organization, combined with them many of the later developments which only took place in Europe from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, and these the Eastern realm retained in full vigour to a much later date than the fourteenth century, when they all began to give place, in the West, to progressive changes.

In considering the problem presented by the arrested development and evolution of national life and forms of government in Japan during such a long series of centuries,—this 'sleep of a thousand years,' as one of the present Japanese ministers called it,—we look in vain for a satisfactory solution. Equally difficult is it to explain the transformation effected in one convulsive effort, by which the space intervening between the eighth and nineteenth centuries was at once bridged over. The Japanese, with a resuscitated sovereign at their head, stood in a moment on the same ground side by side with the more advanced of European nations. To understand or explain this we must take with us some definite conception of what constitutes progress. In material civilization they have neither been stationary, nor behind the rest of the world. No land has been better cultivated or made more productive. In the arts of life and skilled labour dedicated to decorative and artistic as well as utilitarian purposes, they had in some respects achieved a degree of perfection which at this day has not been surpassed in Europe. Their silks, embroidery, porcelain, bronzes, and artistic work in metals, are still the envy of the most advanced

workers in the same materials in the Western world. No nation was ever better governed on a theocratic system, and by a dominant class, or more orderly, industrious, and contented, than the Japanese during the two centuries and a half preceding the advent of foreigners in 1854. In this mould the Japanese, somewhat like the Chinese, from whom they borrowed much, had been, as it were, fossilized by Confucianism and Taouism for this world, and by Buddhism for the next, so far as they believed in any future world or state of existence. It was only when the even tenor of their way was broken into by foreign pretensions, requirements, and other disturbing influences, that they began to feel any necessity for change or movement.

A Japanese who has just written a book* tells us in his preface that his early intercourse with foreigners opened to him 'an entirely new world of thought and action.' So it may well have been with all his countrymen. The seeds which thought can vivify grow fast. The whole nation had been roused out of its long sleep of centuries, during which they had dreamed of no other life, and felt no need of change. They awoke to find a new world inviting their attention, and alarming their pride by an attitude which threatened dictation, if not conquest and a total loss of independence.

If we take up the story from the period when the Portuguese first landed (in the middle of the sixteenth century), and the foreign element of a mixed religious, political, and commercial character began to ferment, we find that the disturbed state of the country often called for a man of action, who could wield the sword and take the field against rebellious vassals and turbulent Daimios of all degrees. This want was supplied in the person of *Taiko Sama*, a soldier of fortune, who is said to have raised himself solely by his courage and talents from a menial state. The Mikado invented new titles for him, and invested him with civil and military powers. Among other titles he received, or took, was the title of *Kodo*, which Kaempfer translates 'lay or secular emperor,' without authority. From that time similar powers descended in hereditary succession with the title of Shogun, among the heirs of three families, descendants, not of *Taiko Sama*, but his successor *Iyeyas*, better known as *Gongen Sama*. *Taiko Sama* killed himself soon after, being defeated in a vain endeavour to succeed his father, and *Iyeyas*, who had been *Taiko Sama's* lieutenant, seized the power. It was under his rule that the Christians were exterminated, and all foreigners expelled from Japan. In

* 'Studies of Man,' by a Japanese. London, 1874.

this interval the power of the great feudal chiefs had been broken and their forces and territories so divided, that no serious rising seems to have taken place in all the intervening three centuries, until the advent of foreigners again, under the treaties of 1858, dislocated the whole machinery of government, weakened the prestige of the Tycoon, and brought old elements of antagonism and discontent into action. These combined causes led to a confederation of Daimios, which finally proved strong enough to defeat the forces sent against them by the Tycoon, and seize on the Mikado's person. Under his seal and authority deposition was decreed, and the ablest of the modern Shoguns retired, not to Tourunga, in the south-west province of Etzizen, as Mr. Mossman erroneously states (p. 326), but to Sumpu, in the province of Suruga, the headquarters of the fallen Tokugawa clan. There he still remains submissive to the fiat of the sovereign he had never ceased nominally at least to acknowledge.

As a founder of the institutions under which Japan has been peaceably governed during nearly three centuries, Iyeyas must be admitted to have been one of those men who, by their sagacity and firmness, can reduce to subjection and order the most turbulent elements. But the rule devised by him was of singular character and unexampled stringency. To the Daimios it was oppressive in the highest degree, and based on a feeling of distrust; a system of espionage the most minute and extensive, ramifying into all the relations of life, was its chief feature. Mutual distrust and bondage was the result. Hostages from all the Daimios were required, and the marvel is, how such a system could be so strongly knit as to bear the continuous strain there must have been upon it. No two Daimios, unless near relations, could visit each other, not even though members of the Tycoon's council: so at least the Ministers themselves assured the British representative, when protesting against the isolation in which he and his colleagues were kept. None of them could be absent more than six months from the capital, where they were bound to take up their residence with the bulk of their retainers, under the watchful eye of the Tycoon himself. During any absence of a Daimio his wife and male children had to be left behind as hostages. No Minister or official of any kind might transact any business unaccompanied by an Ometski, or spy, whose duty it was to report all that passed to his immediate superiors in office. Every office had in a certain sense, therefore, to be duplicated; and the Tycoon, in his triple-moated castle, situated on a commanding eminence in the heart of Yedo, was always girt round with feudatories
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of his own clan, or those created by his great ancestor, and a large following of men-at-arms. He very rarely emerged from the precincts of the palace, and led a life of almost as total seclusion as his suzerain, except when, in late years, for political reasons, he found it necessary to make journeys to Miaco, the place of residence of the Mikado, who was kept there in ward by the Tycoon's retainers.

The Japanese throughout their history have shown a strong feeling of nationality; and this sense of a national life to be preserved at any sacrifice in the face of a great danger from without, we believe to have been a principal determining motive of the complete revolution effected since the first treaty with a foreign Power was made. It is barely twenty years ago, and yet the great Daimios have in that short interval agreed to consolidate the Mikado's power by yielding up their feudal rights and revenues. They declared in a manifesto that the object of this sacrifice was 'to enable their country to take its place with the other countries of the world;' and this, no doubt, was one of their motives. Whether they are far enough advanced to recognise national life and independence as essential to power and prosperity, and on that account to be determined to maintain both in unity and vigour, is a more doubtful question, but in this direction lay the gratification of their patriotic sentiments and feeling of national pride. Among the causes, however, which have undoubtedly exercised considerable influence in determining the desire for change, the downfall of the Tycoon's monopoly of his trade at the Treaty Ports must not be underrated. A tendency to monopoly appears common to all ages, and shows itself among Eastern and Western races, with nearly equal force. Trades unions are but the modern developinents or reproductions of the ancient trade guilds and crafts. Free trade, the antagonistic element, has but a very partial and insecure footing even amongst the most advanced of Western nations at the present day.

The Daimios cherished a monopoly for the advantage of their virtual ruler the Tycoon, and to their own injury. They desired to participate in the profits of a foreign trade which was enriching their oppressor and impoverishing them. That they should seek to enjoy the fruits of monopoly when their own turn came, has therefore nothing very inconsistent in it. Their objection was not to the principle of privilege and trade, but to their exclusion from its benefit. Men do not change their nature by becoming members of a progressive and liberal government—not in Japan, at least. They still retain some prejudices and cling to what directly advances their own interests. We are not
much

much surprised, therefore, to hear loud complaints from our merchants in Japan, re-echoed by our Ministers, that, in spite of this most progressive era in that country, rulers and natives alike cling tenaciously to their guilds and rights of monopoly against all comers. But it is both curious and instructive to trace the similarity of views and identity of principle, as well as of outward form, in our own guilds in the days of the Plantagenets with the guilds of an unknown Eastern race a thousand years before they or we had any idea of each other's existence. The end and the means were strictly alike at the two opposite extremities of the globe, and in two races as different from each other in outward type and mental development as it is possible to conceive, and they are not very different now.

As regards the actual course followed by the Japanese, even in their most recent legislation on this subject, there is, no doubt, a system in force, practically tending, not only to exclude foreigners and their trade from all the inland markets, but by means of secret guilds to create a monopoly at the ports, to the still more serious injury of foreign trade. In the last Blue-book collection of Consular Reports from Japan, Sir Harry Parkes draws the attention of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the existence of these guilds in direct violation of express stipulations in all the treaties, and encloses an interesting article on the subject from the 'Japan Mail' of the 18th of May, 1873. The British Minister remarks, in referring to this enclosure:—

'I also beg to add to these papers an interesting account of the Japanese guilds (or Sho-sha), who exercise a very potent influence on the Foreign Commerce of Japan. The connection of these guilds, and especially the Corporation of Yokohama (which is prominently mentioned in this paper), with the Japanese Government, the power allowed to this corporation of issuing notes without furnishing any account either of its liabilities or assets, the privileged sale of Government rice, &c., were referred to in my despatch of the 23rd May, forwarding the Consular Returns of Trade for 1872. These circumstances show how disposed the present Japanese Government is to run all trade into the mould of monopoly, to restrict it according to the personal views of men who are in office for the moment, and to make commerce subservient to their own purposes. The eagerness which many Japanese officials exhibit to quit their posts—apparently as wealthy men—and to share in the profits of business thus conducted, is also a noteworthy feature in the present aspect of trade in Japan.'

The writer in the 'Japan Mail' states that—

'Owing to their organization, their number, as well as to the regulations

lations by which they are governed, and the vigour with which they carry out the decisions or decrees of their heads, these corporations have become an influence which increases from day to day, and a power which the foreign houses must necessarily take into consideration. The secrecy which surrounds the actions of these corporations is so complete and so well preserved that it is extremely difficult to obtain information of any value respecting them. It is known, however, that the United Corporations of Yokohama are in possession of a capital, which has been supplied partly by the Japanese and partly by a small number of foreign houses. It is notorious that they invoke credit largely as they issue, by Government authorization, paper, which is received from the Japanese in payment of the articles of import which they purchase. It may be stated with perfect truth that as the foreign banks have neither information as to nor check upon the action of the Japanese banks of issue, the paper of which we have spoken enjoys only a very limited confidence. Nevertheless, however short the period of its currency prior to presentation for payment may be, it has fulfilled its special object in furnishing a floating capital for the corporations.'

The italics are ours, for this sentence brings out a grave and important condition of our trade in all the Chinese and Japanese seas. The natives in both these countries, with their natural craft and clannishness, would always, and naturally, fall into combination to raise the price of their own produce against the foreigner, and to lower that of his goods; and with their perfectly organized guilds, combination is a necessary condition of their trade—as the want of it, under the form of competition, is the characteristic of all foreign trade. When *competition* is met by *combination*, it fares ill with the competitors. And this is the normal condition of all commerce in these regions. Chinese and Japanese alike, are well aware by this time that they have nothing to fear from any agreement among foreign merchants not to undersell or outbid each other, however ruinous the game.

The trade of Yokohama through the United Corporations has thus become a gigantic monopoly in the hands of the Japanese Government. This was one of the chief subjects of discontent on the part of the Daimios, who rebelled against the Tycoon's authority, and eventually overthrew him and his dynasty together. It is stated in one of the Minister's despatches, that the Tycoon's Ministers had been distinctly warned, in a confidential interview in 1865, that the continued monopoly of all the advantages of trade at the treaty ports, was a great source of danger to the Tycoon's government; and the British Representative had very earnestly urged the free participation of the Daimios in whatever advantages foreign commerce could bring.

bring. He even insisted upon it as essential to the security of the Tycoon and the tranquillity of the empire, then greatly disturbed by the coming revolution. But the advice was not taken, and the Tycoon has paid the penalty of his refusal to profit by it. Certain it is, that this was among the most influential of the causes of discontent among the Daimios, and provoked in a great degree the opposition and struggles which ended in the abolition of the Tycoon's office and power. He and his officers between them managed entirely to monopolize the whole of the foreign trade, and to share the profits, without admitting either the Daimios or their retainers to participate in any way. Now all the Daimios were of necessity traders, as were their principal officers, for the disposal of the produce of their lands. It is therefore a subject of much regret that the Mikado's advisers should follow a similarly pernicious and unjustifiable course; and it augurs as ill for the future stability of his rule as for the development of trade, if those about him can give no better advice, or are too eager personally to share in the advantages of a monopoly to do what is best in the general interest. If, under the Tycoon's rule, the position of the Daimios and those about them had been made less galling to their pride, and more favourable to their financial interests, it would seem things might have gone on for another cycle, with no more change than the supplanting of one dynasty of Shoguns for another, from time to time. But the secret, alike of the motive power with the more puissant of the Daimios and its special direction towards a restoration of the Mikado's sovereign rights and the downfall of the Tycoonat, lies mainly in the fact that the system of repression and jealous restriction—feudal and commercial—had been carried to such a pitch of oppression as to become altogether intolerable.

Nor was this felt alone by the chiefs of the several clans and their immediate feudatories, but by the ministers (or *Karos*, as those stewards of their revenues and secretaries were styled) and by all the armed retainers, on whom the increased cost of living pressed heavily. For these classes there was nothing left to care for. The Daimios were deprived of all social intercourse with their peers, lest they should conspire together: They had no amusements out of their own families and castles; and however precious these sources of enjoyment may be, they do not altogether suffice for man's contentment. They had no political part reserved to them in the government of the country, although compelled to spend six months of every year, with a large following of retainers, within sight of the Tycoon's palace, and at the seat of his government,

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at an enormous cost. They were little better than State prisoners. What had life left of savour to be worth living for in such a dull, monotonous round of emasculated existence? They had for the most part become the sapless and enervated class which all aristocracies have a tendency to be, when deprived of a fair field of exertion and activity by a too jealous and despotic government, as they have become in Spain and other countries of the West when placed under such conditions. But not so the more active spirits of their *Karos*, men who had to govern the local populations, and found in this field at least sufficient employment for their energies, to preserve them from absolute effeminacy and incapacity. The possibility of widening the scope for their chiefs and themselves, and lifting from the necks of both the yoke of absolute bondage and subjection, must often have presented themselves to their minds as a desirable if not a possible thing! But until the advent of foreigners and the general ferment of new ideas brought into their life a fresh motive for action, and under their observation men under conditions of freedom very different from their own state, it is probable that the feasibility of any change had not presented itself to their minds. Once conceived, it was, like the grain of mustard-seed, very rapid of growth and it soon spread over the whole land. The armed retainers, generally men of courage and energy, began, as we have said, to be pressed for the means of existence. The increased dearness of everything, and especially of food and raiment, in part caused by the sudden export of gold, and the demands of a foreign trade for silk, far beyond the supply which had previously been only calculated to meet the wants of the native population, were inconveniences and hardships laid to the charge of the foreigners. Smarting under these, every patriotic instinct helped to intensify the hatred which a proud and sensitive race naturally felt for the intruders that had insulted the dignity of their country by forcing treaties upon them, the only end of which appeared to them certain ruin, if not national subjugation.

What the feelings of this numerous and powerful class were had been sufficiently demonstrated by a long list of assassinations and attacks upon foreigners, especially those connected with the Foreign Legations. The first resident Ministers and their attachés during the early years of their residence lived under a perpetual menace of assassination. Twice there was an attack in the dead of night on the British Legation. The first time it was stormed by a large band of Ronins, or 'Masterless Men,' and for an interval of many minutes they held it, despite the fact that a Tycoon's guard of 150 men was quartered around. Before these were fairly roused to a sense of the extremity of the
danger,

danger, or struck a blow in the defence of the Minister, two of the officers—Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Morrison—were wounded, and several of the servants either killed or disabled. The Minister himself, standing at the entrance of the room, where his wounded secretary with the rest of the Legation had sought refuge, and expecting at each moment the decisive rush of the assailants, escaped death only by some unexplained hazard. The next morning saw a list of thirty-two killed and wounded among the attacking and defending force. On the body of one of the band, stained with his blood, was found the following declaration of the motives for the attack signed by fourteen of his companions. This is a common mode of proceeding among the Two-sworded Samourai, out of which class the Ronins are recruited. They make themselves outlaws, and thus free their feudal chief from responsibility for their acts:—

‘I, though I am a person of low degree, have not patience to stand by and see the Sacred Empire defiled by the foreigner. This time I have determined in my heart to follow out my master’s will. Though, being altogether humble myself, I cannot make the might of the country to shine in foreign nations, yet, with a little faith and a bold warrior’s power, I wish in my heart, though I am a person of low degree, to bestow upon my country one out of a great many benefits. If this thing from time to time may cause the foreigner to retire, and partly tranquillize both the minds of the Mikado and Shiogoon, I shall take to myself the highest praise. Regardless of my own life, I am determined to set out.

Had not these men been denied, by the jealous distrust of the Tycoon and the long pacification of the land, all legitimate outlet for their pent-up energies, as well as all hope of advancement or improved condition, there is little doubt that affairs might have gone on throughout this century as they had done for so many ages before. The Tycoon perished at last by the original vice of a system of excessive repression and the refusal to allow any scope for others. There would seem to be nothing so dangerous to the permanence of any institutions or form of government, as pent-up forces which have no legitimate outlet or safety-valve; and the stronger the repressive force, the greater is the violence of the explosion. To sum up, then, the history of this singular phase in the national life of the Japanese,—the proximate or immediate cause of the revolution was, undoubtedly, the advent of foreigners as permanent residents, and the discontent resulting from the treaty rights exacted from the Tycoons. It had cost the Tycoon who signed the first treaty and his two successors their lives, and the fourth his power and office. But under this, which was on the surface, there was
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a deep and heady current tending to the same end, partly occasioned by the defective origin of the Tycoon's power in respect to treaties and the Daimios' territories, and the still more influential and radical defects, both in the principle of his government and its administration. To govern by a system of espionage extending to every relation of life, sowing distrust and fear everywhere, and by an iron rule of repression, is, sooner or later, to make it intolerable to those who can resist, and to undermine by ever-increasing discontent the spirit of loyalty. We find we are quite borne out in this view by Mr. Adams, who says—

'During the long period of peace which thus succeeded the establishment of the Tokugawa dynasty of Shōguns, the intrigues against it on the part of jealous and ambitious Daimios (and such there doubtless were from time to time, especially in connection with the Court at Kiōto) entirely failed, and the Shōgun of the day, or his officials, ruled the empire from Yedo. But the advent of Tokugawa changed the complexion of affairs, and gave an additional impetus to the machinations of the Daimios, who chafed under the usurpation of the greatest among them, and of those members of the Court party who were their allies. Indeed, when the foreigners appeared on the scene, everything was already ripe for a revolution, in the old style, and for the substitution of a fresh dynasty for the worn-out Tokugawa dynasty. And it is now quite evident that the imperfect Government of the Shōgun was not adapted to the new order of things which succeeded the signing of treaties with foreign nations. It is essential for the reader to understand that, from the moment these treaties came into force, the fall of the Shōgunate became a mere question of time, and that nothing could have saved it. As far as the establishment of commercial and friendly relations of a permanent nature with Europe and the United States was concerned, the sooner it was abolished the better. It was not the *supreme* power, and yet in its dealings with other Powers and their representatives it affected to be so. Hence, as will be seen, perpetual subterfuges and a daily resort to small tricks for the purpose of keeping up the delusion, and of preventing foreigners from becoming aware of the important fact (which, however, could not long be concealed), that he, to whom the treaties and the diplomatic agents had awarded the title of "Majesty," had no right to be so styled, and was not the Emperor of Japan. Although the fact is now patent to every one, many foreigners clung with curious obstinacy, even up to a late date, to the false idea that the "Tycoon" was the *temporal* sovereign of the country, and that he would soon "return to power," as they were wont to express what they would have found difficult to explain or define.'

Such, then, is our explanation of the series of violent and startling changes which have within the last twenty years convulsed Japan, and profoundly affected the character of its institutions,

institutions, customs, and government, and, in a period of unparalleled briefness, transformed an isolated people and given to a feudal state the most advanced forms of modern civilization. By what instrumentality it was actually effected is more of a mystery. Whose were the heads that conceived and planned the coalition, that placed the Mikado at the disposal of the disaffected Daimios, and secured the fall of the Tycoon, the abolition of his office, and an entire change in the political organization of the empire? Looking back on the colourless and dwarfed life of the Daimios as we have described it, and the want of political experience and knowledge either in that class or their Ministers and retainers, we confess this part of the problem still remains with only a partial solution. Baron Hübner relates a conversation on the subject which he had with one of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Iwakura Tomomi, since badly wounded by a sudden attack from armed men, and whom some of our readers may remember to have seen as the chief ambassador two years ago. The Baron describes him as one of the great promoters of the reforms since carried out, and who, in the revolution of 1868, played a conspicuous part. He says that, although a man of rank by birth, he had before this crisis lived in obscurity. How and where, then, did he get the knowledge of men and affairs, and the influence over others, needful to a successful leader of a revolution that is to depose and set up kings and revolutionize all the institutions and organization of a State? This is what Iwakura says himself, and it may be taken as an exposition of his policy:—

“The Daimios,” said Iwakura, “were kept within bounds by the Shogun. Several of them were subject to his direct authority. On the abolition of the office of Shogun they everywhere acquired complete independence. This became intolerable. The restoration of the Mikado was imperative; that is the task that we have undertaken, and in three years it will be accomplished. The *Hans* [clans] have been recently suppressed. The former Daimios will not even be permitted to rule over their old estates. We shall compel them to come to live in Yedo with their families. Men of capacity, of whatever caste, will be appointed governors. By that claim only—namely, that they are capable men—may the Daimios hope to be reinstated in the high offices of State. The small clans will be forced to unite themselves to the large clans, and an army will be formed of soldiers hitherto in the pay and under the orders of the late Daimios.

“Our enemies maintain that we are hostile to the religion of the people. This is not so. We do not contemplate the destruction of Buddhism. We shall only purify those temples originally dedicated to Shinto. The Shoguns have consecrated them to Buddha in an irregular fashion, either by introducing his rites to the exclusion of
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all others, or by permitting Shintoism (which from all ages has been the official religion, namely, that of the Mikado) to be practised at the same time and place."

The last paragraph is certainly not correct, for many of the Buddhist temples, which were for the most part built up by the Siogoons, have been utterly destroyed; and as regards the policy crudely indicated in the first, we assume it must undergo great modifications before any attempt can be made to put it in practice. But it is perhaps hardly fair to judge the Minister by the mere report of a traveller as to what may have been said in a casual conversation, carried on through an interpreter.

But there is another and a greater mystery. We have seen the enervated and miserable life of forced idleness and seclusion passed by the Mikado, with concubines and Eastern courtiers for his companions. How has it been, possible for such a youth, even under strong guidance, to accept the rôle he is now playing with apparently so much *aplomb* and satisfaction to himself? How has he been able to lay down his divinity, and, clothing his person in European garments, go into the light of day, to be seen by all his subjects—to open railways, receive addresses, and talk about affairs of State, and docks, and ships, and other mundane matters, like any common mortal? We confess we have no explanation to offer, except that the recovery of liberty, and a free existence under the sun, may have been so full of charm, that his whole nature has been suddenly and rapidly developed beyond what might, by the light of common experience, have been deemed possible. It has been rightly suggested, we think, that what actually took place was this. The feudal retainers of the Daimios, including the military class of Samurai, revolted against the Mikado's lieutenant (the Tycoon) in favour of the Mikado;—and then made their masters, the Daimios, surrender their rights and privileges to a Government formed of their retainers, but ruling under the Mikado's name and authority. As to the revenues surrendered in exchange for a certain portion assigned as an income, they are probably personally richer than when they had to feed a large band of retainers. They are also, it may be safely assumed, much more their own masters. In that case the sacrifice was more apparent than real, and they have actually gained by the exchange.

As regards the Mikado and his future position, it is very well, perhaps, and right that, restored to the government of his kingdom, he should see and inform himself on all things; that he should attend reviews, receive foreign Ministers, and even drive in the streets with the Empress by his side in the sight of his people. But if he has any more great revolutionary changes in contemplation,

tion, such as has been reported—the substitution of a new religion, the introduction of a foreign language to take the place of Japanese, or anything of such scope and nature—it would seem necessary that he should lose no time about it. Of course for a god-man, ruling by divine descent, and with all the attributes of High Priest and King, he can decree anything he pleases; and so long as the divine and sacred character remains, no Japanese will dispute his authority. But these attributes and powers of a god cannot long be conjoined with everyday life. Seclusion and mystery are essential to their existence. There is no divinity compatible with patent-leather boots, lace-coats and trousers, or cocked-hats, even if it could for a time be reconciled with walks and drives and other familiar amusements and occupations. Therefore we say, the revolutions to be effected in Japan must be near the end, since the Mikado cannot much longer be regarded by his subjects as a divinity, to question whose decrees, however unpalatable, would be not only treason but sacrilege for the gods to punish.

Apart from this view of the subject, will the great and sudden changes already effected be permanent? Will this fusion of the old elements of a feudal, aristocratic, and theocratic form of government and national life into a new product so essentially different, be durable and lasting? That is a question which must present itself inevitably to all minds trained by the experiences of European history. It is much easier to pull down than to build up, to destroy than to create. France began the career upon which Japan has now entered, *de cœur léger*, some eighty years ago, and with one act decreed the abolition of the feudal system, and with it the aristocratic and monarchic principle of hereditary succession. All pretensions to rule by right divine fell with the rest; and they are yet seeking for some stable basis on which to build up a form of government that shall be accepted and obeyed by all; and are as remote from the solution of the problem, to all appearance, as in the year 1793. So far the example has not been encouraging. The passion for an impossible equality has only been tempered by one scarcely less vehement—a love of personal privileges and distinctions. The Americans have for a nearly equally lengthened period asserted the sovereignty of the people and, with little modification, the old Roman precept of '*vox populi vox Dei*,' without much better success. Of democracy there is enough and to spare in both countries; but it remains yet to be determined, in France at least, whether this is to lead to some ungovernable and impracticable theory of Socialism and Communism, with a levelling downwards, and an equal division of property, or a monarchic revival

revival based upon hereditary succession, and not upon the mobile and uncertain plebiscite of a whole people. Fortunately, as we believe, the Japanese have avoided one fatal error in their political programme, and in this, at least, have shown no small amount of political sagacity. They have retained hereditary succession and a monarchy as steadying powers, and there has been no specious forms of appeal to the 'will of a people,' wholly uneducated from a political point of view, and absolutely incapable of forming any sound judgment as to the best system of government.

Before concluding this review of some of the principal and most interesting chapters of recent Japanese history, we must endeavour to convey some information to our readers of the actual government established, and its adaptation to the present state of the country. We find this so well set forth in a recent article in the 'Japan Weekly Paper,' a journal evidently possessing means of obtaining authentic information, that we cannot do better than place a summary before them, with extracts as full as our space will admit. The writer premises that he proposes to give such a general sketch of the actual position in which the affairs of the country now stand as 'may serve to dispel some illusions respecting it as seen from a distance, and, at the same time, render justice to the Japanese Government, and afford some conception of the difficulties with which they have to contend.' As this is precisely what we desire also, we quote some of the leading passages without hesitation :—

'The Government was formed upon the basis of the time-honoured authority of the Mikado, but his Majesty at the same time solemnly engaged himself to rule in conformity with the wishes of his people. In the fulness of years some more precise method of ascertaining the will of the people may no doubt be arrived at; but, for the present, perhaps there could be no better means of consulting the wants of the people than by each of the chief provinces being represented by one of its most prominent men in the Council of State, in the deliberations of which the Mikado, his Prime Minister and Vice-Prime Minister, as well as the Heads of the several branches of the Government, take part, and whose edicts are the law of the realm. Each of the Departments, as of Finance, Foreign Affairs, &c., is presided over by a Minister, who is not, however, necessarily a Cabinet Minister—that is to say, a member of the Council of State; and each of these Departments is formed, as to its administration, on the Western basis, some of them, as that of Public Works, being subdivided into many branches, for railways, mining, lighthouses, telegraphs, &c. The deliberative council, which has sometimes been misnamed a parliament, is an advising body called together with the view of making the Government better acquainted with the wants and the wishes of the people, but it possesses no direct power in the State.

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'Such being the composition of the Government, and in view of the fact that it has not only incurred a very large expenditure on account of the construction of roads, piers, railways, telegraphs, lighthouses, and public buildings of all descriptions, but has likewise engaged at a large outlay the services of a very numerous staff of skilled foreign employes for years to come, we consider that we are justified in believing that, even were all foreigners engaged in trade in the country to leave Japan to-morrow, Western civilization has already taken too deep a hold of the ground to admit of the probability being entertained of its being readily rooted up. But for its permanent hold on the country it must mainly look to the rising generation.'

As to education, it is stated that—

'A law was proclaimed in the course of the year 1872 which provided for the establishment of 53,000 schools, or one for every 600 of the computed inhabitants of Japan, and we have been told on the best authority that the provisions of this law have even already been very largely complied with. What may be the precise number of young persons who are now under instruction, we cannot undertake to say, but we believe the Educational Department estimate it as exceeding 400,000. The instruction given to these pupils varies, of course, with their various circumstances, but it is in all cases conveyed upon the European or the American principle; the pupils in the upper schools, instead of squatting on mats, being required to sit on benches and to work at tables. In the various establishments connected with the Government at Yedo, the pupils eat food prepared in the European fashion, sit at table at meals, and make use of knives and forks. Those at the Naval College, as well as the marine cadets and the troops of all classes, wear an uniform similar to that worn by the like classes in Europe or America. These pupils are attended by foreign medical officers. For a long period it was the fashion to believe and assert that the Japanese mind was incapable of advancing beyond a certain point in the acquisition either of European language or of European science, but we think the time has arrived when this somewhat hastily formed inference may be exploded.'

'There being thus, as it seems to us, no reason whatsoever to doubt the capacity of the Japanese to receive instruction in like measure with most Western nations, we cannot but foresee that with so large a proportion of the rising generation under instruction, the effects on the development of Japan must be both general and permanent. It should not, at the same time, be forgotten, that, as would be supposed, there still exists a party attached to the old ways. There are still schools where Chinese literature is taught; but these form a quite inconsiderable proportion in the total aggregate of the educational establishments of the country.

'But whilst we seem clearly to see that the seeds have been sown of a broad educational system, and the basis laid of a complete governmental system founded on that adopted in Europe, there is another question to be asked in reviewing the condition of Japan

of to-day. Will the existing social and political structure endure until such time shall have elapsed as may suffice for the instruction of the rising generation, and for the development of the country under the light of the newly adopted civilization? This is a question in reply to which many persons would shake their heads doubtfully, whilst a few would answer it directly in the negative. But for our own part, whilst we frankly own that we see some rocks ahead—more especially connected with finance—we trust we may not be too sanguine in disagreeing with those who doubt the stability of the existing order of things in Japan.

'The present state of order which we see around us, and which has been so long undisturbed, seems to justify the calculations of those who undertook the task of governing the country at a time when a very opposite state of things existed. The Japanese statesmen who, in the midst of civil war, a thorough internal re-organization, and a struggle on the part of the privileged classes to expel foreigners from the country, could see their way towards the introduction of foreign civilization, and who have introduced it, may, we think, claim to be trusted as being capable of forming an opinion as to the present condition and future prospects of the country; and they do not seem to entertain any alarm under these heads. Their task for the past, they confess, has been an easier one than that which awaits them for the future seems likely to prove, inasmuch as this task for the past has been chiefly to destroy, whilst their labours for the future must be to construct. If the building up of the new edifice proceed as harmoniously as did the demolition of the old one, the Japanese and their rulers may have indeed cause to congratulate themselves.'

'In this changing age few changes are more striking than that between the former and the present attitude of the Japanese people towards foreigners. We need not be very old residents in the East to remember the day when the order for the expulsion of the barbarian was issued from the palace of Kioto. To-day, so far as the feeling of all classes is concerned, the foreign barbarian may traverse Japan in all directions with as complete safety from risk and injury as he would find in Germany or France, whilst he may count on everywhere meeting as cordial a welcome as would await him in America or England. But the jealousy of the foreigner has assumed a new phase. Whilst there is no longer the slightest repulsion to him personally, the pride of the Japanese, though it prompts him no longer to resist the foreigner in arms, makes him rebel against submitting quietly, farther than he need do, to the assertion of foreign superiority in civil and commercial pursuits. Hence the obstacles in the way of opening up the country. The Japanese wish to obtain the riches of their land for themselves. They are sufficiently conversant with the laws of political economy to know that for the development of the resources of their country both skilled management and labour and capital are necessary. They are deficient in these elements, and their object is to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of obtaining the requisite foreign capital and skill and still retaining the profits to be derived from the industrial development

development of the country for the benefit of the Japanese. One of their first schemes, conceived with a view towards effecting this object—namely, to develop the island of Yezo, under foreign supervision, for the benefit of the Government—has, up to the present time, proved a complete failure. It remains to be seen what will be the issue of the line of commercial policy which they are said at present to entertain, namely, to grant various concessions to Japanese companies who shall provide their own foreign managers and skilled labour, as well as their own capital.

‘In the meantime, obstacles are opposed to the free introduction of foreigners into Japan. Those obstacles, it will be seen at a glance, are merely of an ephemeral nature. The success of the first Japanese railway, between Yokohama and Yedo, has induced the Government, as well as several local associations, to take the preliminary measures for opening railway communication in other parts of the country, and it follows as a matter of course that wherever railways will be opened there foreigners will have free access.’

In conclusion, the writer thus sums up his impressions:—

‘A people amiable, clever, and very impulsive, but which has little or no hold either on any religion or on any philosophy—which suddenly rushes forth, as it has done once before, in pursuit of the acquisition of a foreign civilization—what is to be said of it? There is no problem in the world’s previous history which can help us to foresee the end. The case of Russia in the time of Peter the Great affords no fair comparison with that of Japan of to-day. The stolid, obedient Russians were moved by the commanding genius of one man; the Japanese have no commanding genius. We forbear to venture on prediction. We can only say that the Japanese have, up to the present time, shown a marvellous aptitude, as compared with other Oriental nations, for adapting themselves to European civilization; they may so far compare very favourably in this respect—due regard to their circumstances being shown—even with more than one people in Europe.’

In these views, which we have reason to believe represent the opinions of many best placed in the country to obtain accurate and trustworthy information, we entirely concur. All vaticination upon the data obtained must, from the nature of the circumstances, be hazardous in the extreme, for the reason, above all others, which the writer gives, that, notwithstanding history often repeats itself, and in the ordinary current of political changes we are generally enabled from what has been to form some opinion as to the course of events in the future, we are here entirely at sea, and out of sight of any landmarks to guide us in the outlook beyond; ‘there is no problem in the world’s previous history which can help us to foresee the end.’ We can only from certain general principles, and the influence

those constantly exercise in the development of national life, draw some equally general conclusions as to the probable results of what has taken place in Japan during the last twenty years. It is probable that much of the future stability of the Government and institutions will be determined by financial conditions. If those be satisfactory, and a good fiscal system can be established, all will go well; but as to the present financial state of Japan, it is difficult to arrive at exact data on which to form a safe conclusion. The Japanese, like their Chinese neighbours, have always, since their intercourse with foreign powers, shown a laudable desire to keep their monetary engagements with them, and in this may compare advantageously with many borrowers much nearer home. Whatever may be the amount of security offered by the Japanese Government for its loans, the ruling price of the Japanese stock on the Exchange is a sufficient evidence that they are regarded with great favour. Spain and Portugal, Egypt and Turkey, and even Italy, cannot boast of such credit with the capitalists of Europe. We have no pretension to write on such matters with the authority of the City article in the 'Times;' but upon a general survey of the political and financial state of the country it is possible that we may from a larger view, if not from fuller materials and trustworthy sources of information, enable our readers to form their own opinions on sufficiently solid grounds. Those, for instance, who have invested in the two loans which Japan has negotiated in Europe, the 9 per cent. and the 7 per cent., may be glad to know that the railway, which is the main security for the first, is supposed by the best informed on the spot to be doing well. That is, the receipts would lead to that conclusion, although nothing more definite can be said upon the point, for the singular reason that no one there knows what the cost of the railway construction has been—not excepting, we believe, the Japanese Government itself. Certainly the cost has never been made public, though the weekly receipts are regularly published.*

This points to one of the chief difficulties in arriving at any trustworthy conclusion on the financial prospects. Of the resources of the country we know a good deal—enough, perhaps, for practical purposes—but of the fiscal administration and collection of the revenue next to nothing; or rather something worse than nothing, since we do know very positively that the common vice

* The following is the statement of passenger and goods traffic by the Imperial Government Railways for the week ending Sunday, 25th January, 1874:—
 Passengers, 30,600, \$8,049.00. Goods, parcels, &c., \$538.61. Total, \$8,587.61.
 Average per mile per week, \$477.09. Corresponding week, 1873: Number of passengers, 24,321; amount, \$7,483.90.

of all Eastern countries, corruption, is as rampant and as hard to deal with in Japan as in many worse governed states of the Asiatic continent. Without some security for honest administration no fiscal system is of much worth. Where accounts can be falsified, receipts embezzled without check or accountability or any danger of detection, and therefore where all audit is more or less illusory, and merely consists in a nefarious adjustment of rival claims to share in the larcenies on the public purse, it is vain to look for a trustworthy balance-sheet of actual revenue and expenditure. And such has hitherto been the state of affairs in Japan. So long as the Mikado, in whom rested the potential sovereignty, remained in his seclusion at Miaco, and the Tycoon held rule, there was, so to speak, no national exchequer or revenue. Each Daimio and feudal chief raised his own revenue by taxes on land chiefly, the rice-crop being the main stay; and each Daimio's income was reckoned at so many kokoo of rice, a standard measure for grain. Custom, rather than law, determined the proportion of the produce of the soil that should be paid in kind as the rent or tax payable to the lord of the soil; and this was subject to considerable variation in different localities, varying, indeed, according to the best information obtainable, from one-half to two-thirds of the whole, but rarely enforced in bad seasons. The Tycoon had little or no part of this, and had to look to his own fief and lands mainly for revenue. Nor does it appear, although he had an official overseer and spy in most of the Daimios' territories, with functions of a very questionable and never very clearly defined character, that he could exercise any real control over the fiscal system of the several feudatories. We say in most of the Daimiates; for in some, such as Satsuma's, so obnoxious a character had little chance of life, once within the limits of the prince's territories. About the time of the first residence of foreigners in 1858-9, it had become so perilous a post that none, openly at least, could be found to assume the responsibilities. Those who did never returned, and many who went in disguise were not more fortunate. As in the Highland fastnesses of the chiefs of clans in the time of the Jameses, and subsequent even to the union with England, no writ of the sovereign could run, if the object was obnoxious, for no man's life was worth a day's purchase if the chief willed its forfeiture. Precisely the same state of things was found to prevail in Japan, and had existed for many centuries. Each Daimio was lord and master within his own territories, and all his tenants were subjects bound by feudal tenure to do military service, and whenever called upon to do his chief's behests, under penalty of death. The Mikado himself, although generally acknowledged

acknowledged as suzerain and the fountain of honour and authority, was reduced to such poor resources as his capital and a few surrounding lands could yield, with tribute offerings, like Peter's pence, from some of the wealthier temples. The stories of his treatment, and the straits to which his Court was often reduced, were sometimes whispered in the ear of a foreigner, and were calculated to raise a smile. It being held that something of divinity resided in his person, it was not permitted for any mere mortal to eat or drink from any plate or cup which he had used. But as the daily destruction of all these sacred utensils became very costly, the unfortunate object of all this adoration was supplied with common delf, to reduce expenditure; while the meanest of his subjects were habitually served in such porcelain as only Japan could produce in the same beauty and perfection. So with raiment and other necessary supplies. It must be admitted that divine honours in Japan had serious drawbacks.

Last year, about this time, a balance-sheet of revenue and expenditure was published in Japan under the authority of the Finance Minister. As this step was provoked, however, by two ex-finance secretaries publishing a very damaging statement of financial resources and liabilities, it may not be prudent to place too much confidence in the perfect accuracy of the authorized counter-statement. As the pivot on which so many things depend in European States is the same, and at least equally indispensable, in Japan, and turns very much upon a question of pounds, shillings, and pence—though the Japanese may call these *yen* or *boos*—it is important that something positive should be known on the subject. It is an encouraging sign of enlightenment, therefore, that the Vice-Minister of the Treasury, who was entrusted with the duty of presenting the Imperial Budget, distinctly recognises the principle, that 'upon the administration of the finances is dependent the safety of the empire;' and with more emphasis than dignity, perhaps, he adds that, 'if they be mismanaged, incalculable calamities may arise in the snapping of a finger.' This is sound logic and good political economy, and we must trust that, guided by such principles, the financial condition of the country will be satisfactorily established. All that we can say upon the present budget is a congratulation at the surplus shown in the balance-sheet. The chief source of revenue is the land-tax, not less than four-fifths of the whole. The war department presents the largest item of expenditure, and public works and reforms of the postal service come next, with education at little less. If we may judge by the sanguine tone of the Finance Minister's Report, large as the expenditure has necessarily been in the organization of so many new departments and great public works,

works, including railways, telegraphic lines, lighthouses, and many other costly improvements, we may congratulate the present administration on the prosperity and resources of the country.

An article appeared in 'Blackwood' a year or two ago, on Japanese finance, giving the whole revenue and expenditure in detail. Upon what authority such data rest we do not know; but on comparing it with the official statement above referred to, there is not any very great difference. The general budget makes the total income, taking the *yen* at 4s. 2d., 10,040,940*l.*; the expenditure 9,499,287*l.*, leaving a surplus of 541,653*l.* The amount charged for the interest on the foreign debt cannot be all included, however, for the amount of the 9 per cent. railroad loan being for 1,000,000*l.*, of which only 100,000*l.* has yet been redeemed, and the loan at 7 per cent. amounting to 2,400,000*l.*, it is quite clear that 370,000 *yen*, the amount carried into account of expenditure under that head, equal only to 77,035*l.* or thereabout, cannot include all. The whole public debt of Japan, native and foreign, is estimated not to exceed 27,000,000*l.*—not an excessive amount for such a country, with its great mineral and industrial resources and a population of over thirty millions. The official census of 1872, just published, fixes the entire population at 33,110,825. The males and females are about equal in numbers. There are 29 members of the Imperial family, 459 of the higher order of nobles, and about 700,000 of the lower order of gentry.

As to the influence on industrial progress of the knowledge so recently acquired, of European machinery and manufacturing processes, together with the facility of engaging European engineers and artisans to direct or assist in the working of such machinery, the results do not seem to have been of a very satisfactory nature, either for the natives or the foreigners mixed up with them. The latest advices show a growing and increasing indisposition on the part of the Japanese to enter into any joint concerns or joint account operations. Much of this is attributed, by some of the best informed on the spot, to their conceit, and the effect of the smattering of knowledge, of arts and sciences, which a few of the travelled Japanese have acquired, leading them to imagine that they can carry out all such schemes without foreign assistance. But in justice to them, and to the Japanese generally, it must also be attributed, in no small degree, to the fact that hitherto associations of Japanese with foreigners have turned out too disastrously for the natives to induce further investments in the same direction, or with partners of a similar kind. It is to be hoped that at no distant time it may be possible

possible to convince the Japanese that foreigners can be found, if due discrimination be exercised, who will be content to join them on a basis of equal and fair division of profits.

Mr. Mossman terminates his account by describing the aspect of Japan in 1873 as compared with what it was in 1853, and we will give it in his own words as a fitting conclusion to this article. If any of our readers are induced, from this imperfect sketch of the past and present of Japan, to desire more detailed information, rendered most accessible by its arrangement and the clear type employed, they cannot do better than read Mr. Mossman's book. In the 'History of Japan,' by Mr. Adams, there is more of research and accurate delineation at first-hand and from official sources. When the second volume appears, therefore, and completes the work, we have no doubt it will take higher rank as an authority, and become a standard work of reference on Japan. In the meantime Mr. Mossman tells in a single volume all that the general reader usually cares to know of so distant a country, notwithstanding sundry inaccuracies in matters of detail, to which we have already referred with a view to their correction.

'Now that these historical records of "New Japan" have passed the twentieth year from their commencement, it becomes an appropriate occasion to glance at the present aspect of the country, its inhabitants, institutions, and Government, as compared with its condition briefly described in the first chapter. At that time all was mystery, uncertainty, and error concerning these picturesque, fertile, and thickly populated islands in Eastern Asia. The veil of obscurity has since been uplifted, and we now see the rulers, with the light of Western civilization in hand, dispelling their ancient, Oriental, inscrutable darkness. The barriers of exclusiveness have been broken down, and many of the finest harbours on their iron-bound coasts are open to the ships of Foreign Powers; the legitimate monarch has thrown aside the Imperial purple of seclusion, and with his dynasty has entered the comity of nations; the feudal system and its sanguinary domineering oligarchy have been swept away, and constitutional Government on a foreign basis placed in its stead; the hated foreigners, their commerce and religion, are no longer debarred from the body politic, and many of them are in the employment of the State; the sea and land forces have attained a strength and perfection, after foreign models, that will render the nation stronger in warfare than any other in the Far East. Where formerly the shores bristled with dangers to navigation, these have been buoyed, and lighthouses of the first order warn the mariner of them by night; where twenty years ago the commerce with Europe was restricted to a Dutch trading company of a limited arbitrary character, under humiliating conditions, at one semi-prison factory, the merchants and ships of all friendly nations are allowed free pratique at sixty treaty ports; where

no foreign diplomatist could take up his residence in the country, the representatives of twelve Treaty Powers have their legations and consulates at the capital and foreign settlements; where the highway of Yedo was a way of death to the foreigner, he can now ride in a railway carriage in safety, with the whistle of the locomotive awakening up the echoes of the bay; and, finally, he can communicate by electric telegraph from port to port, until it reaches Europe, through the great eastern submarine cable system, in fifty hours.* Thus, in one short generation, the Japanese have achieved a position in the civilized world that the foremost nations of Europe took centuries to accomplish; and now their national cry in the peaceful path of progress is "Forward! Onward! NEW JAPAN; the Land of the Rising Sun!"

The only objection to this picture, we think, is the entire omission of any shadows or sombre hues. It is altogether *couleur de rose*, as was Mr. Oliphant's attractive narrative of Lord Elgin's first visit. But there is no lack of shadow as well as light in Japan at the present day. If there be much of promise, there are not wanting presages of danger and trouble, and plain evidence of stormy waters. There are clamours for war by the disbanded Samurai—against Corea—Formosa, and even now an armed expedition is on its way to the latter island. This is dangerous ground to tread. Then there have been insurrectionary risings in some of the provinces, accompanied by a general sense of uneasiness throughout the populations. The Government system of taxation and administration is very far from being settled in any satisfactory or permanent form. The great and rapid increase of expenditure, from the numerous reforms and improvements attempted all at once, in addition to the cost of the Revolution, must needs involve the Mikado and his Government in great difficulties. Railways, telegraphs, lighthouses, schools, dockyards, and steam-ships are very costly things, and all these have been undertaken at once. Then, as regards their foreign relations;—the tendency to monopoly, and jealousy of foreign competition in their own markets and industrial operations, are constant causes of remonstrance and complication. Foreign Representatives complain that, partly moved by these feelings and a desire to secure Japan for the Japanese, and partly impatience at the extraterritorial clauses of the treaties, the Japanese Government has taken action tending to curtail the privileges of foreigners. They have stopped all journeys inland, and otherwise betrayed a certain disposition to insist upon the cessation of all extraterritorial privileges, as the condition

* Often in 24 hours.

of any improved tariff, or revision of the treaties in a liberal sense. From within and without, therefore, many elements of discontent and trouble are at work, and serious difficulties loom in the future, both for the Japanese and for the Treaty Powers. Whether the sudden adoption of modern ideas and a borrowed civilization will prove a blessing or a curse, is not yet so absolutely determined as sanguine friends of the Japanese and of progress would fain assume. But this, at least, is abundantly clear, that such sweeping changes as have taken place during the last few years in Japan, at more than railway speed—and with a very imperfect knowledge of the goal to which they are tending—cannot be without serious dangers. We must be content for the present to hope that the aptitude the Japanese have shown for sudden changes will not be incompatible with a gradual consolidation of all the new elements they have introduced, and their absorption into the body politic in a manner to contribute to the establishment of a Government suited to the tastes, the habits, and the wants of the nation, without which little can be hoped in the way of permanence.

ART. VIII.—*Memorie Aneddotiche sulla Corte di Sardegna del Conte di Blondel, Ministro di Francia a Torino sotto I Re Vittorio Amedeo II. e Carlo Emanuele III.* Edite da Vincenzo Promis. Torino: Stamperia Reale. 1873. (Anecdotal Memoirs on the Court of Sardinia. By the Count de Blondel, Minister of France at Turin under King Victor Amadeus II. and Charles Emanuel III. Edited by Vincenzo Promis. Turin: Royal Printing Press.)

THE domestic tragedies of royal and princely houses seem commonly endowed with an irresistible attraction for the historian. The summary execution of Don Carlos by paternal decree, the condemnation and punishment of Queen Caroline Matilda and her paramour, the last fatal meeting of the Princess Sophia Dorothea with the doomed Königsmark, the appalling catastrophe of the Kirk of Field, the 'many a foul and midnight murder' traditionally associated with our own fortress-prison,—these have been one and all exhaustively discussed; and no false delicacy, no misapplied tenderness for the reputation of the living or the dead, has been permitted to suppress or mystify the motives or the facts. It is, therefore, the more remarkable that incidents of the strangest, most startling, and suspicious character

character should have taken place in one of the most ancient and illustrious of the sovereign houses of Europe, without provoking investigation or protest: that events like the abdication, imprisonment, and death of Victor Amadeus II., occurring within the short space of two years (1730-1732), should have been tamely recorded almost as things of course, with haply a passing comment on the fickleness of fortune: that the statesman, warrior, and legislator who had baffled and humbled the Grand Monarque, won a kingdom, led armies to victory, framed codes and systems of finance that endure still,—who was the grandfather of one powerful monarch and the father-in-law of another,—that such a personage should be suddenly removed from the stage on which he had played so conspicuous a part, like a Sultan deposed by a Grand Vizier, or a *roi fainéant* set aside by a mayor of the palace in the Middle Ages. But the interest and importance of the historical episode to which we invite attention, will best appear from a brief outline of his career.

Victor Amadeus, born May 1666, assumed the government of his hereditary duchy, reluctantly surrendered to him by the regent-mother, in September 1684. The position of his dominions on the French side of the Alps placed him entirely at the mercy of his powerful neighbour, and Louis le Grand treated him as a vassal not entitled to a will or even an opinion of his own. Sorely against the grain he obeyed a peremptory mandate to co-operate in the religious persecution which followed on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Putting himself at the head of an armed force, he made a clean sweep of all the Huguenots and Waldenses within his territory; but his lukewarmness in the cause was obvious, his secret communications with the Protestants got wind, and Louis took the decisive step of sending Marshal Catinat, at the head of a French army, to bring matters to a point. The proffered terms were nothing short of unconditional submission. The castle of Verrue and the citadel of Turin were to be delivered up, and the whole Savoyard army was to be merged in the French. Driven to extremities, the Duke at length resolved on a measure he had long meditated. He joined (June 1690) the famous League of Augsburg, thereby putting an end to the peaceful if humiliating relations which had bound Savoy to France for sixty years, and boldly challenging a prolonged contest, which, ominous and threatening at the commencement, left him the victorious monarch of an independent nation at the end.

The announcement of the breach with France, which he made in person to his assembled nobles and justified in a manifesto,

manifesto, was received with enthusiasm by his subjects of all classes ; and with the aid of volunteers the principal towns were supplied with sufficient garrisons, and an army more numerous than that of Catinat was got together for the defence of the capital. But the allies on whom the Duke mainly counted lost heart after the battle of Stafarda, and remained inactive whilst one after the other of his strong places was taken and his country overrun. The first campaign of 1690 was disastrous ; and that of 1691 was rendered still more so by the explosion of a powder-magazine at Nice, which so weakened the defences that a capitulation became inevitable. This opened the mountain passages it commanded to the French, and after blowing up the fortifications of Aveillane, for which military reasons might have been alleged, Catinat wantonly set fire to the Duke's favourite Villa at Rivoli ; who, watching from the heights of Turin the progress of the flames, exclaimed, ' Ah, would to God that all my palaces were thus reduced to cinders, and that the enemy would spare the cabins of my peasantry ! ' Like Turenne in the Palatinate and (we regret to say) like Victor Amadeus when his turn came, Catinat burnt and destroyed whatever fell in his way ; and on one occasion some peasants, flying before him, threw themselves at the feet of the Duke to implore his help. After emptying his purse amongst them with the warmest expressions of sympathy, he tore off the collar of the Order round his neck, broke it into pieces, and flung them the bits. Traits of this kind abound. His brilliant courage enhanced the popular fondness and admiration ; and he was hardly guilty of exaggeration, when he told M. de Chamery, a secret French agent, who warned him in 1692 that, if the war went on much longer, he would be entirely denuded of troops : '*Monsieur, je frapperai du pied le sol de mon pays, et il en sortira des soldats.*'

Although he was beaten again by Catinat at Marsaglia, and underwent a variety of reverses, he inspired so much respect in his opponents, that it was deemed of the highest importance to detach him from the League, and such tempting offers were made to him, that, in August 1696, he signed a separate treaty with France, stipulating that all the territory taken from him should be restored, that the Duke of Burgundy (grandson of Louis) should marry his eldest daughter, that his ambassadors should be received on the same footing as those of kings at Versailles, and that France and Savoy should join in compelling the recognition of Italian neutrality by Austria and Spain ; in which case it was to be equally recognised by the French. As this grand object was eventually effected, his reputation and consideration on the

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the south of the Alps were materially enhanced, although it was literally true (as stated by Voltaire) that he was generalissimo for the Emperor and generalissimo for Louis Quatorze within the month. His defection proved catching, and led to consequences which, without reference to the motives or precise quality of his acts, have been set down as redounding to his credit by his biographers. Each of the allies hastened to open a separate negotiation: all the principal belligerents were parties to the Treaty (or Treaties) of Ryswick in 1697; and after the Treaty of Carlowitz in January 1699, it was recorded as an extraordinary phenomenon for that age—it would be no less extraordinary in ours—that the whole of the civilized world was actually at peace for nearly two years.*

This halcyon period was abruptly terminated by the war of the Spanish Succession in 1701, and Italy again became the battle-field, in open defiance of the boasted recognition of neutrality. Victor Amadeus, with the Savoy contingent, formed part of the army (French and Spanish) which was defeated by the Imperialists at Chiari, where he had a horse killed under him whilst covering the retreat, and is allowed on all hands to have displayed the most chivalrous bravery and given signal proofs of his good faith. But this merely excited the jealousy of Villeroy, who had superseded Catinat, and fought the battle contrary to the best military opinions, including the Duke's. 'This Marshal,' says Voltaire, 'entered Italy to give orders to Marshal de Catinat and umbrage to the Duke of Savoy. He made no secret of his absolute conviction that a favourite of Louis XIV., at the head of a powerful army, was far above a prince: he called him nothing but *Monsieur de Savoie*; he treated him as a general in the pay of France, and not as a sovereign, master of the barriers that Nature has placed between France and Italy.' The effects of French arrogance were aggravated by the absurdity of Spanish etiquette. In pursuance of the policy to which French statesmen of the old school are still firmly wedded, of having weak states on their frontier, Louis had made up his mind to prevent, at any price, the aggrandizement of Savoy; but as a cheap mode of conciliating the Duke at a critical moment, the young King of Spain had been married to his second daughter. Within a few months of this event, the father-in-law and son-in-law met, by appointment, a short way from Alexandria—Philip in a chariot

* 'Il fut glorieux pour un duc de Savoie d'être la cause première de cette pacification générale. Son cabinet acquit un très-grand crédit, et sa personne une très-haute considération.'—*Mémoires Historiques sur la Maison Royale de Savoie*, &c. &c. Par M. Marquis Costa de Beauregard, Quartier-maitre-général de l'Armée. Turin, 1816. Vol. iii. p. 55.

or *calèche*, and Victor Amadeus on horseback. The obvious course was for Victor to dismount and take the vacant seat in the chariot; but here the Marquis de Lonville, the grand master of ceremonies, interposed, declaring that this seat was exclusively reserved for kings. He similarly decided that the Duke could not be allowed an arm-chair in the apartment of the King; and Victor, wounded to the quick, soon afterwards left Alexandria in a pet.

At the battle of Luzara, in the ensuing campaign, the conduct of the Piedmontese troops was highly commended by King Philip, who presented a gold-hilted sword and a Spanish horse to their commander, the Comte des Hayes; but the absence of the Duke from his usual post at their head was the subject of invidious comment, and it speedily became known that a German envoy had been in frequent communication with his ministers. Louis acted with characteristic haughtiness and promptitude. After sending orders for the disarmament of the Piedmontese troops and the seizure of the Duke's person, he wrote to him :

'MONSIEUR,—Since religion, honour, and your own signature are of no account between us, I send my cousin, the Duc de Vendôme, to explain my will to you. He will give you twenty-four hours to decide.'

Victor Amadeus replied in the same number of lines :

'SIRE,—Threats do not frighten me : I shall take the measures that may suit me best relative to the unworthy proceedings that have been adopted towards my troops. I have nothing further to explain, and I decline listening to any propositions whatever.'

His people were as sensible of the slight put upon him as he could be. The gallant little nation seconded him with such spirit and goodwill, that in an incredibly short space of time he was in a condition to make the haughty despot feel the weight a Duke of Savoy could throw into either scale when European supremacy was wavering in the balance. The President Henault, writing from the French point of view, distinctly states that his defection was the principal cause of all the misfortunes of the war. The art of changing sides, the policy of tergiversation, was certainly carried to perfection by this Prince; but it is far from clear that on this particular occasion he stood in need of the rather compromising apology made for him by Voltaire : 'If the Duke of Savoy was slow to consult the law of nature, or the law of nations, this is a question of morality, which has little to do with the conduct of sovereigns.' The date of the Act of Confederation between him and the Emperor, January 5, 1703, proves that they had come to no definite arrangement for

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more than three months after the forcible disarmament of the Piedmontese troops by the French.

The ensuing campaigns of 1703, 1704, 1705, were an almost unbroken series of disasters for the Duke. There was a time when his situation closely resembled that of Frederick the Great in 1757; when Macaulay describes him as riding about with pills of corrosive sublimate in one pocket and a quire of bad verses in another: *i.e.*, with the exception of the verses, for Victor Amadeus was never guilty of rhyme. But he resembled Frederick in intrepidity, in constancy of purpose, and in the capacity for bearing up against the strongest tide of bad fortune till it turned. In May 1705 he was fairly driven to bay in his capital, which was invested with an overwhelming force by the French. Its fall was confidently anticipated, and Louis gave out that he would be present in person to witness the crowning humiliation of the most hated and formidable although (in respect of dominion) most insignificant of his foes. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon the siege as on a duel of life and death between two redoubtable combatants; for if the immediate issue looked less threatening for one, the result proved that it was equally a turning-point for both.* It commenced like an affair of honour in the days of chivalry. Before opening fire on the town, a French officer came with a flag of truce to offer passports for the Sardinian Princesses, if they wished to withdraw to a place of safety, and to request on the part of M. de la Feuillade, the French Commander-in-chief, that the Duke would be pleased to specify the locality he had selected for his own head-quarters, a special order having been given by the King that it should be spared. The Duke replied, that, till the siege was raised, his quarters would be everywhere where his presence might be useful, and that, as for passports, he most humbly thanked his Majesty for this most courteous proceeding, but as he remained master of one of the gates of the city, the Princesses could leave it whenever they thought fit.

The fortifications, including the outworks, covered too large an extent of ground to admit of complete investment, and hardly a day passed without a sally by the Duke at the head of a chosen body of infantry and dragoons, to cover convoys, or distract the attention and intercept the communications of the besiegers. Hoping to bring the war to a rapid conclusion by a *coup de main*, the French general suspended the operations of the siege to give chase, and on one occasion Victor was overtaken

* 'Turin rendu, dit un écrivain politique de nos jours, le Piémont est fini. Louis XIV. pour l'avoir manqué perdit avec lui l'Italie.'—*Beauregard*, vol. iii. p. 405, note.

and surrounded by a superior force. The Prince Emanuel de Soissons, his cousin, and the Count de Saint-Géorges, the captain of his guards, were wounded at his side; and he himself was unhorsed and thrown down under the horses' feet. But he managed to extricate himself, and re-entered Turin the same day on which M. de Feuilleade returned to his lines after a bootless pursuit of three weeks.

The enthusiasm of the inhabitants rose in proportion to the calamity made upon them. It extended to both sexes and all ages; and many a prototype for the Maid of Saragossa might have been found amongst the damsels of Turin. Women to the number of three hundred (writes an eye-witness) were seen carrying earth-bags on their shoulders for the repair of the breaches on the most exposed part of the defences, unmoved, or at least unappalled, by the sight of the bleeding bodies of their companions who were struck down; whilst children of tender years, employed in carrying messages or provisions under fire, met danger with a laugh. One act of heroism, inspired by this exalted spirit of loyalty and patriotism, has never been surpassed in any age, ancient or modern. Pietri Micca, a private of artillery, with another (name unknown), had charge of a mine under a gallery which led direct into the heart of the citadel. The enemy, by a night surprise, had reached the gallery door facing the counterscarp, and were thundering at it with their axes before the alarm was given. There was no time to lay a train, and Pietro, seizing his comrade by the arm, told him to get away as fast as he could; then, after the pause of a few seconds, he applied a match to the mine, which exploded, blowing himself with three companies of French grenadiers into the air.*

A general assault was repulsed with great slaughter; but provisions began to fail, and the issue of the siege was still doubtful, when Prince Eugene, at the head of the relieving army of Imperialists, forty thousand strong, arrived under the walls, and had an interview with the Duke, at which it was agreed to turn the lines of the besiegers and give battle. In the French council of war, a party headed by the Duke of Orleans was for anticipating this movement by an attack. "If the battle is gained," they urged, "the place will fall of itself. If the battle is lost, there will be no alternative but to draw off." Marsin, the military governor or dry-nurse of the Prince, overruled this opinion, and it was decided to await the enemy in the lines, which, being fifteen miles in extent, necessarily abounded in

* *Storia del Regno di Vittorio Amedeo II.*, scritta da Domenico Carutti, Torino, 1856. P. 268. It is added, to enhance the self-sacrificing character of the act, that he was a husband and a father.

weak points. The allied infantry broke through after being twice driven back in disorder: the Piedmontese cavalry following under the Duke put the French cavalry to flight; and the garrison opportunely sallying forth, turned the defeat into a rout. Never was victory more complete. That same evening the two Princes made their triumphant entry into Turin to the sound of bells ringing and cannon firing, and amid the acclamations of a people drunk with joy. The battle of Turin delivered Italy, as the battle of Blenheim had delivered Germany, from the French. The Duke, besides recovering all he had lost, was strong enough to carry the war into the enemy's country by invading Provence and Dauphiné; but the reception he encountered was such as to elicit the remark that, easy as it might be to enter France, it was not so easy to get out of it.

His position at the conclusion of the war was such as must have exceeded his most sanguine expectations when he engaged in it. Under the treaties of Utrecht and Radstadt (1713-1714), besides a liberal increase of boundary for his Alpine provinces, he acquired Sicily with the title of King and a formal recognition of the right of succession to the Spanish throne after the Bourbons, as devised to him by the will of Charles II. of Spain. Sicily was wrested from him within four years, but by the treaty of London, 1718, he was indemnified by being made King of Sardinia, a title which his successors maintained without dispute till it was merged in the prouder title of King of Italy.

He was now at leisure to indulge his genius for administration, and he is allowed on all hands to have introduced the most beneficial reforms in every department of the State, civil and military. By dint of good management, he more than doubled his revenue without unduly reducing his establishments or oppressing his subjects. 'Savoy and Piedmont in his time,' states an unimpeachable authority, 'presented the spectacle of a monarchy as well regulated as a republic could have been. They formed, so to speak, a State *tiré au cordeau*. Everything was provided for: the great monarchies, to repair the effects of the indolence which their greatness entails on them, might learn useful lessons, applicable to each of their provinces, in these.'* It is further recorded to the honour of Victor Amadeus, and in evidence of his force of character, that he was the first Christian Prince who deprived the Jesuits of the control of his conscience and the guidance of public education in his States. His distrust of them (he told M. Blondel) arose from a death-bed communication made to him by his own confessor, a Jesuit:

* Le Comte d'Argenson, 'Intérêts de la France avec ses Voisins.'

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'Deeply

'Deeply sensible of your many favours, I can only show in gratitude by a final piece of advice, but of such importance that perhaps it may suffice to discharge my debt. *Never have a Jesuit for confessor.* Do not ask me the grounds of this advice. I should not be at liberty to tell them to you.'

Economical reformers are rarely popular, and he had alienated the nobles by the resumption of grants and the sale of titles. But this sagacious and enlightened monarch was at the height of his influence and prosperity at home and abroad, when he suddenly announced an intention of abdicating in favour of his youngest and only surviving son. Ingenuity was taxed to account for this proceeding. One theory was that he had entered into contradictory engagements with the Imperialists and the French in contemplation of a threatened renewal of the war. Another, that being denied absolution so long as a marriage recently contracted with his mistress was kept secret, and fearing to declare it as a king, he reduced himself to the condition of a subject to comply with the joint requisition of the lady and the priests.* Neither of these solutions will hold water; and the probabilities are that, having recently suffered from domestic affliction and severe illness, he abdicated because he was oppressed by the cares and responsibilities and sick of the gilded trappings of a throne.

On the 3rd September, 1730, he caused to be convoked at the Château of Rivoli the knights of the Order of the Annunziato, the ministers, the presidents of the supreme courts, and all the *grandeas*, without communicating the object of the meeting to any one, except the Prince of Piémont and the Marquis del Borgo. The assembly being formed, the King imposed silence, and the Marquis del Borgo read aloud the Act by which his Majesty renounced the throne and transferred the sovereign authority to Charles Emanuel. This document was conceived in the same terms as the act of abdication of Charles V. It alleged the same motives—advancing age, illness, and the desire to place an interval between the anxieties of the throne and death. But the circumstances were as widely different as the results. Victor Amadeus acted from impulse: Charles V. from long self-examination and reflection. We learn from Sir William Stirling Maxwell that, 'although it is not possible to determine the precise time when the Emperor formed his celebrated resolution, it is certain that this resolution was formed many years before it was carried into effect. With his Empress Isabella, who died

* Both these motives are suggested by Count Litta in his '*Famiglie Celebr. Italiane*;' in which an entire volume is devoted to the House of Savoy.

in 1538, he had agreed that as soon as State affairs and the ages of their children should permit, they were to retire for the remainder of their lives—he into a convent of friars, and she into a nunnery. In 1542 he confided his design to the Duke of Gandia; and in 1546 it had been whispered, and was mentioned by Bernardo Navagiero, the sharp-eared envoy of Venice, in a report to the Doge.* The same well-informed writer almost contemptuously refutes the oft-repeated assertion that the Emperor's life at Yuste was a long repentance for his resignation of power, and that Philip was constantly tormented in England and in Flanders by the fear that his father might one day return to the throne. The son, he maintains, seems to have been as free from jealousy as the father was free from repentance. 'In truth, Philip's filial affection and reverence shine like a grain of fine gold in the base metal of his character; his father was the one wise and strong man who crossed his path, whom he never suspected, undervalued, or used ill. But the repose of Charles cannot have been troubled with regrets for his resigned power, seeing that, in truth, he never resigned it at all, but wielded it at Yuste as firmly as he had wielded it at Augsburg or Toledo.'*

It is difficult to conceive a more marked contrast than was presented by the situation and position of the royal performers in what was meant to be the corresponding drama at Turin. The son had been brought up in slavish awe of the father, and the father till within a short time of the resignation made no secret of the low estimate he had formed of the capacity of the son. As if distrustful of himself, the ex-king started for his chosen place of retreat, Chambéry, the day after the ceremony, at seven in the morning. In the farewell interview, Charles Emanuel having reiterated the wish that the abdication should not be deemed absolute, received for answer: 'My son, the supreme authority will not endure sharing. I might disapprove what you might do, and this would do harm. It is better not to think any more of it.' Yet he stipulated that a weekly bulletin or report should be sent to him of the progress and conduct of affairs, and the cessation of this report first provoked the language and demeanour which were construed into proofs of a conspiracy to resume possession of the throne by force.

A year and three weeks after the abdication (September 26, 1731) a council was held under the presidency of King Charles Emanuel, which was attended by three of the great nobles, the

* 'The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.' A valuable and interesting contribution to history, made eminently attractive by the style.

generalissimo of the forces and the Archbishop of Turin in addition to the ordinary members, and it was unanimously resolved, on the motion of the Marquis d'Ormea, the Prime Minister, that Victor Amadeus should be placed under arrest. The young King melted into tears, and was unable to sign the order without the aid of the Marquis, who guided his hand or (as others say) forced him to trace the letters of his name by the same rude means which Ruthven employed with Queen Mary at Lochleven. The order once obtained, D'Ormea lost not an hour in acting on it, and took in person the direction of the troops, by whom it was executed in the harshest, most humiliating, and most insulting manner. This illustrious Prince, then in his sixty-sixth year and suffering from a recent attack of apoplexy, was pulled out of bed in the dead of night, thrust half-dressed into a carriage, and hurried off to a place of confinement; where, exemplifying the familiar maxim touching the brief interval between the prisons and the graves of princes, he died on the 31st October, 1732.

The amount of sensation excited by these events, with the general manner of regarding them, may be collected from Voltaire :

'Four sovereigns in this age renounced the crown: Christine, Casimir, Philip V., and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. only resumed the government against his will: Casimir never thought of it: Christine was tempted to it for some time through an affront she received at Rome; Amadeus alone *wished to reascend by force* the throne that his restlessness had induced him to abandon. The result of this attempt is well known. His son, Charles Emanuel, would have acquired a glory above crowns, in remitting to his father what he held from him, if his father alone had demanded it, and if the conjuncture of the times had permitted it; but it was, it was said, an ambitious mistress who wished to reign, and the whole Council was forced to prevent the fatal consequences, and to have him who had been their sovereign put under arrest. He died in prison in 1732. It is utterly false that the Court of France meditated sending 20,000 men to defend the father against the son, as was stated in the memoirs of that time. Neither the abdication of this king, nor his attempt to resume the sceptre, nor his prison, nor his death, caused the slightest movement amongst the neighbouring nations.'

Muratori, after mentioning the fears entertained that King Victor would be guilty of some fresh extravagance, proceeds :

'Thus the King, his son, saw exposed to injury and degradation not only his royal dignity, but his own honour and the good of the State; and, after vainly trying every expedient to calm the mind of his father, and bring him back to a more becoming tone of thought,

* *Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.*, chap. iii.

Called together the wisest of his councillors, civil and military, and, after laying before them the state of things, with a protest of his readiness to make any personal sacrifice consistent with his public duty, demanded their advice. Giving every consideration its weight, they were of one mind in believing that a remedial measure was necessary, and it was unanimously resolved that the person of Victor Amadeus should be secured. Accordingly, on the night of the 28th September, the castle of Moncalieri was surrounded by various bodies of troops, and Amadeus was suddenly required to enter a carriage prepared for him. He thought fit to yield, and he was conducted to the vast and delightful palace of Rivoli.*

All succeeding historians and biographers concur in assuming that the father did conspire to resume the throne by force; that the son was actuated by an imperious sense of duty to prevent a still greater scandal or a civil war, and that the Premier was amply justified in looking solely to the safety of his master, the welfare of the State, and the dignity of the Crown. The utmost the most recent and professedly best informed historian will admit is that the treatment of the aged and invalid ex-sovereign was unnecessarily harsh.†

How the whole affair was treated by diplomatists may be learnt from the language of a Venetian ambassador at Turin, who reports in substance that, whatever may have been the reasons that induced King Charles to resort to such extreme measures, 'the details of this tragical event are too voluminous to find place in a simple ambassadorial report, and the affair is so delicate that it is better to be silent about it altogether until it can be thoroughly discussed without restraint.‡ Silence, or rather a studied mysterious reticence, was accordingly observed on all sides to the complete falsification of history until the appearance in 1873 of the *Memorie Aneddotiche*' § of the Comte de Blondel, who was

* *Annali d'Italia*, 8vo. edition, vol. xvi. p. 231.

† *L'arresto di Vittorio Amedeo II. fu necessità di Stato: la sua detenzione, le molestie, le cautele, i modi furono opera iniqua.* *Storia del Regno di Vittorio Amedeo II. scritta da Domenico Carutti.* Torino, 1856, p. 513. M. Carutti was during many years Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and must be supposed to have had free access to official documents; on which, however, as will presently appear, very little reliance is to be placed.

‡ *Relazione di Marco Foscarini, Cavaliere e Procuratore Veneto, Ambasciadore Straordinario Ritornato dalla Corte di Torino, data li 2 Marzo, 1743.* This curious Relation has never been printed. The manuscript to which we refer is in the possession of the Marquis d'Azeglio, during many years the able and popular representative of the Sardinian (now Italian) Government at the British Court. We are likewise indebted to him for our copy of M. de Blondel's *Anecdotal Memoirs*.

§ The editor, in his prefatory Notice or Advertisement, speaks of these Memoirs as *'sinore inedite e da pochi scrittori conosciute.'* They were evidently known (at least part of them) to M. de Beauregard, and apparently to M. Carutti; but their real interest and importance seem to have struck no one till they appeared in print.

French Minister at Turin during the whole of the transactions in dispute: knew everybody mixed up with them: was in constant communication with both kings, ex- and actual, before and after the abdication; supports his printed statements by documentary evidence, and maintains without equivocation or reserve that Victor Amadeus was the victim of a plot: that Charles Emanuel was guilty of the most inexcusable weakness at the best, and that the sole apology that can be made for him is that he was the tool of an unscrupulous minister, who sought to remove a bar to his own grasping ambition or to consolidate his ill-gotten power.

The editor, librarian to the King of Italy, states that the manuscript copy from which he prints passed some years since from the library of Count Prospero Balbo to the royal library. The book is already out of print, only a limited number of copies having been issued; and there is no publisher's name on the title-page. We shall, therefore, be more copious in our extracts than when dealing with an easily accessible publication.

The value of M. de Blondel's reminiscences does not consist merely in the rectification of the facts. His portraits and sketches of character are eminently useful in enabling us to appreciate motives and weigh probabilities. For example, the manner in which the Marquis minister is brought upon the stage, with the account of his origin and rise, go far to explain his subsequent conduct. It was as a clerk in the Department of Finance, named Ferrero, that this man first attracted the attention of Victor Amadeus. Having occasion to transact business with him during the illness of the Finance Minister, the King found him so quick-witted, so full of resources and expedients, that the notion occurred of sending him to Rome to settle the pending differences with the Pope, which had come to such a pitch that the benefices in Piedmont had not been filled for thirty years, and there was only one bishop left in the dominions of his Sardinian Majesty. Acting with his wonted promptitude, he named Ferrero Marquis d'Ormea, General of Finance, and Roman Ambassador, in rapid succession or at once; and the improvised diplomatist started for the Holy See, provided with a present of six massive silver candlesticks and a richly-worked cross, valued at 100,000 crowns, to conciliate the Pope, and *carte blanche* in the way of letters of credit to secure the Cardinal Coscia, who governed the successor of St. Peter and was notoriously open to a bribe.

The Marquis is described as tall, good-looking, ready and eloquent in speech, and very insinuating by an air of frankness

ness which he affected and did not possess. After assailing the position on one weak side, he made adroit and indirect advances in an opposite direction. Having ascertained that his Holiness commonly attended mass at five in the morning in St. Peter's, the ambassador made a point of being found there on his knees at half-past four, as in ecstasy, holding a chaplet with beads as big as pigeon's eggs to attract attention. This gave occasion for his ally, the Cardinal, to enlarge upon the austerity, probity, regularity, and piety of the Sardinian minister, who was cut to the heart to think of the ecclesiastical condition of his country and the growing irreligion of his countrymen. D'Ormea did not think it necessary to keep his royal master accurately informed of the precise means by which he proposed to attain the desired end; and instead of accepting the co-operation of the French ambassador, the Cardinal de Polignac, an ecclesiastic in high esteem, he managed to persuade the King that it was not offered in good faith and was more likely to impede than accelerate a settlement. When all was ripe, Coscia formed (or packed) a congregation of the least scrupulous cardinals, in which a Concordat was prepared, glossing over the more delicate matters so as to throw dust in the eyes of the cardinals who might be expected to oppose it in the Consistory.

The Consistory was fixed for a time when these cardinals could not attend, for reasons of health or country residence; and the Concordat was passed, comprising many privileges that are commonly not granted by the Court of Rome till after the solicitations of years and considerations of merit and good service to the Holy See. Then came the crowning feat of trickery and audacity. When the Concordat had been duly considered by the Pope and the time arrived for affixing the papal seal and signature, Coscia surreptitiously withdrew it and substituted another, in which all the pretensions and desires of the King of Sardinia were recognised and gratified, got it regularly executed, and handed it over to the Marquis, who hurried with it to his master and was forthwith rewarded by the appointment of First Minister. It is in this iniquitous and simoniacal fashion (says M. de Blondel) that the King of Sardinia extorted, by the roguery of his representative, the Concordat for the ecclesiastical administration of his States.

Victor Amadeus was unfortunate in his domestic relations. One of his daughters, the Dauphiness, died in 1713; the other, the Queen of Spain, in 1714; and his eldest son, the Prince of Piémont, a young man of extraordinary promise, the Marcellus of Savoy, in 1715. His death was a terrible
blow

blow to the father, who gave way to such extravagance of grief, that fears were entertained for his reason. After wandering up and down his stables with an air of distraction, he ran his sword through the body of a favourite horse. Gradually he calmed down, and by a strong effort threw all his hopes on his remaining son, Charles Emanuel, aged 14, whom he had hitherto treated with the most marked neglect and dislike, because (according to M. de Blondel) he was very ugly, of dwarfish stature, hump-backed, afflicted with a goitre, and of so weakly a constitution as to threaten a failure of successors to the dynasty. He stood in such awe of his father that he hardly ever answered him except by monosyllables. There is a curious anecdote handed down by tradition, that when the prince, whose head hardly rose above the dinner-table, was asked by the father what he would have to eat: '*Cosa vuoi-tu, Carlin?*' he again and again in his terror stammered out '*Buje*' (boiled beef, or *bouilli*, still a standing dish at Piedmontese tables), which commonly provoked the reply: '*It as già avune, coyon*' (thou hast had some already, blockhead). However, the King saw no help for it but to make the best of a bad matter, and resolutely set about forming the mind and improving the body of 'Carlin,' with a view to his now inevitable succession to the throne. To give a practical turn to his education, he was sent to study fortification in fortified places with engineer officers, and made to pass regiment after regiment in review, noting down the most minute details of the arms and equipment of each branch of the service, with their cost. Then came tours of inspection to civil and commercial establishments, especially the silk and woollen manufactories; after each of which he had to undergo a searching examination, to test his diligence and capacity.

He was married, in 1722, to a Princess of Neubourg, a woman of sense and spirit, who would have emancipated him from the paternal thrall and placed things on a more becoming and improving footing, had she lived. But she died in child-birth the year following, after being delivered of a son still-born; and he was remarried in 1724 to a Princess of Hesse, who, with many personal attractions, was unluckily not endowed with sufficient strength of character to encounter the stern volition of the father, or inspire a sense of personal dignity and independence in the son. Under pretence that the uxorious habits of the Prince, after his second marriage, led to idleness and frivolity, he was restricted in connubial intercourse, being only permitted to pass one day a week with his wife. M. de Blondel was present when the King, after censuring the similar habits

habits of the young King of France, Louis XV., turned to the Prince and said: '*C'est également pour toi, Carlin, ce que je dis sur mon petit fils.*' The Prince, with the most respectful air, replied that at twenty-seven a man must surely know how to conduct himself with his wife: '*Voilà comme vous êtes, jeunes présomptueux. Vous n'êtes qu'un sot, qui ne savez ni vous conduire ni vous modérer.*'

It was not until 1727 that, beginning to feel the advance of age, the King determined to initiate the Prince in the personal arts of government, which, as practised by his Majesty, it was no easy matter to teach. He had no council, and his method was to work separately with each minister on the affairs of the department, and to give orders and decisions according to justice, or (as not unfrequently happened) according to expediency. Moreover his system was never to bring his ministers into conference together, but to foster a sufficient degree of misunderstanding between them to put each upon his guard and facilitate the discovery of any misfeasance, error, or deceit. 'In my familiar conversations with him,' says M. de Blondel, 'he has repeatedly told me that, if I did not want to ruin myself, I should always keep up a misunderstanding between my steward and my cook, as he did between his ministers; which he had found answer capitally since the commencement of his reign.'

Coming next to the second wife of the King, who plays a most important part whether she was the main mover in the approaching catastrophe or not, we learn that she was born Comtesse de Cumiana, of an illustrious house, and endowed with great personal attractions. Her first husband was the Comte de St. Sebastian, whose name she bore (having been some years a widow) till she was made Marquise de Spigno. M. de Blondel denies the current story that she had been the King's mistress, and states that the proposal of marriage was elicited by her indignantly drawing back on his familiarly placing his hand on her shoulder, telling him that she would never use the private staircase again. She was Mistress of the Robes to the Princess, and in attendance when this incident occurred. The King satisfied her at once by declaring that he regarded her as his future wife; citing the example of Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon, to show that a private marriage with a Sovereign might place the honour of a subject beyond reproach.

His love of mystery was betrayed in the whole management of this affair. A dispensation was obtained through the Marquis d'Ormea, then at Rome, for a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Maurice, a widower, to marry a widow, which

is contrary to the rules of that order. On the 12th of August, 1730, his affianced bride being in waiting, he sent the Princess a permission to dine with her husband, whilst the Marquise, on her part, prayed for leave of absence on the plea of a headache, and hurried to the King's cabinet, where the marriage took place in the presence of two witnesses. They then separated, and the lady returned to prepare her apartments for the reception of her spouse. After ordering a chicken for supper, and giving directions to be not at home to any one but one female friend (the Comtesse de Passeran, from whom M. de Blondel had the details), she told her maid to open a coffer containing sheets of the finest Holland, and pillows adorned with rose-coloured ribbons, which she professed to have procured for a niece. Then, remarking that her niece was of the same height and her bed of the same size, she said they might as well see how the sheets and pillows looked, and had her own bed made with them accordingly; into which she got, after supping on the chicken, and putting on a cap trimmed with lace. Her maid thought her mad, until informed of the grand secret, and was not perfectly reassured until the arrival of the King, about ten, attended by a single valet.

Early next morning, the bridegroom, to avert suspicion, left for his hunting seat, and the bride continued to discharge her duties about the Princess until the day before the abdication, when the King nominated the Comtesse Salasque in her stead. She then heard, for the first time, that she was to be disappointed in her cherished expectation of a throne, although the King had spent his whole time since the marriage in preparing for the abdication, and, so to speak, setting his house in order. In this interval he named the Baron de Rhèbinder First Marshal and Generalissimo of all his troops, and drew up a recommendation to his son to give all his confidence to the Marquis of St. Thomas, who could boast forty years of integrity, fidelity, and discretion, but for action and execution to employ the Marquis d'Ormea, who, he said, would never be found wanting in adroitness, suppleness, boldness, readiness, necessary dissimulation, enterprise combined with judgment, and capacity for great ideas, as well in the project as for the execution. The soundness of this appreciation was speedily verified to his cost.

M. de Blondel's account of the formal abdication comprises details which have escaped the chroniclers. After the reading of the Act, the King, taking his son by the hand, made the round of the circle, reminded his son of the services of each, and spoke to each with a firmness, an heroic courage, and a tenderness, which drew tears from all.

The Verdict of History reversed.

'Almost all the members of this Assembly were creations of E Victor by titles, dignities, and places; nevertheless most of them in with the conspiracy of the Marquis d'Ormea, whether thro seduction or imbecility, through hope or through fear. I there look upon the tears of the Piedmontese as tears shed at a trag Before the curtain has well fallen, they are dried up, and the h remains where it was.'

In the course of a private interview the same evening, K Victor told M. de Blondel: 'I start to-morrow morning at se for Chambéry, whither I retire without any mark of royalty, si I am no more than a private individual. I have neither gen men nor guards in my suite. I retain but one carriage; Horses, four footmen, one valet-de-chambre, two cooks, 150,000 livres of revenue. This is enough for a country g tleman.' Then turning to his son, he said: 'Carlin, altho I no longer wish to have any influence in affairs, I flatter my t hat you will have the goodness, to amuse me in my retreat send me every week a bulletin of all the business you have tr acted, so as to keep me *au fil* of the history of the events Europe more clearly than they will be detailed in the Gazet This the young King promised to execute with the utr exactness.

Victor Amadeus was remarkable for the simplicity, amount to homeliness, of his dress and mode of life. The taste of successor was the reverse: one of his first exercises of roy being to furnish his palaces in the most magnificent style, arrange a pleasure trip to the fair of Alexandria with the utr splendour and costliness of equipage and dress. Hearing t the female aristocracy of Milan, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Florence were in the habit of repairing there for the display their finery and their charms, as the English ladies repair Ascot, he named six of the most beautiful women of his co to attend on the Queen, and, in conformity with the Ital custom, attached a *cicisbeo* or cavalier servente to each. de Blondel was attached to the Comtesse de Frossaque, and she was young (only eighteen) and very handsome, he l apparently no reason to complain of his lot; but the duties the appointment proved somewhat wearisome, and his desc tion of them may help to dissipate the popular misconception their quality and tendency, for which Lord Byron is mai answerable:

'An English lady asked of an Italian

What were the actual and official duties

Of the strange thing some women set a value on,

Which hovers oft about some married beauties,

Ca

Called "cavalier servente," a Pygmalion
 Whose statues warm—I fear, too true 'tis—
 Beneath his art. The dame, pressed to disclose them,
 Said: "Lady, I beseech you to *suppose* them."

Honi soit qui mal y pense. There is no occasion for sup-
 posing; nothing at which morality, delicacy, or prudery can
 take offence.

'This party of pleasure and pain passed thus. The day of departure I had to hand Madame into her coach, and follow her in mine exactly to the half-way station, where I had ordered a grand dinner, to which she invited all the persons of her acquaintance who were on the road to Alexandria. After the dinner, and after having handed her into her coach, I went on before to make the necessary arrangements in the rooms engaged for her, and order the supper. The next day I was obliged to be at the Court by eight, to learn the pleasures of the day, report them to Madame, and return to the Court at ten to accompany the King to mass. After taking leave of the King, I had to go for Madame, and escort her to the fair. The first time I was obliged to buy her a fan, at a cost of ten or twelve louis. She gave me a sword-knot in exchange. At half-past one, I accompanied her wherever she was invited; and, after presenting her with a basin of water and a napkin, I took my place at her side; for the cicisbeo is always understood to be invited with his lady, and I had to help her to everything, both food and wine. Towards five, I escorted her to the opera; where I was obliged to remain in her box so long as she was alone, but as soon as any gentleman arrived, I was bound to go out and remain in the pit till he went away, and then resume my place in it.

'On leaving the opera, I presented her her gloves, her fan, her cloak, and took her to the royal apartments, where she supped at the King's table, and I at the Grand Master's, for men do not eat with the Queen. On rising from table, I took her to the theatre, which, after the performance, had been converted into a ball-room. Whenever Madame wished to dance, I was obliged to dance with her, if no one else asked her. The ball never finished before five: I had then to escort my lady to her apartments, and as a reward in full for my trouble, she gave me her hand to kiss, and I went home. This routine lasted eight days, and I was very glad when it was over, and Madame had given me my discharge, which was not till our return to Turin, and after I had given her another dinner at the half-way station.'

He adds that the aristocracy of Alexandria had preserved most of the manners and customs of the Spaniards.

'That which struck me most in their repasts was, that at their table of forty covers, there were only four dishes of roast, in pyramids at the four corners, of such enormous size that two servants could hardly carry one of them. The first layer was of sucking pigs, the second of turkey poults, the third of pheasants, the fourth of chicken, the fifth of partridges, the sixth of quails, the seventh of thrushes crowned by seven or eight silver skewers of ortolans.'

All went on smoothly enough for the best part of a year, during which Charles Emanuel took no step of importance without consulting his father, and paid the most respectful attention to his representations and advice. This by no means suited the plans of the Marquis d'Ormea, who was intriguing to get the uncontrolled administration of affairs into his own hands, whilst amusing the young king with a succession of fêtes. He was really a superior man, of political genius and capacity as well as grasping ambition, a kind of Italian Alberoni, and he speedily gained an ascendancy over the mind of the young king, which required nothing but the cessation of the weekly reports to become paramount. His preparatory tactics for getting rid of them were to tell all who applied to him that he could do nothing without a reference to Chambéry: 'We have the representation at Turin, but the organ that puts the puppets in motion is in Savoy.' This was repeated so often that it sank into the public mind, and at length reached Charles Emanuel, who underwent the mortification of hearing that his subjects had no confidence in him, that they looked elsewhere for favour or preferment, and that he was universally supposed to have had a mere phantom of royalty transferred to him. Most opportunely for the Marquis, the ex-king had an attack of apoplexy at the beginning of 1731, on hearing of which a royal fête, which had been planned on a scale of extraordinary magnificence, was put off, and the King was on the point of starting for Chambéry, when a letter dictated by King Victor was received, saying that he was already better and insisting that the journey across the mountains at such a season should be given up. It was consequently delayed, and the King did not arrive at Chambéry till the 29th of March. He stayed with his father till the 14th of April, and during the whole time the best possible understanding prevailed; which M. de Blondel adduces in disproof of the assumption that Victor had taken offence at the delay of the visit, and that the Marquise had availed herself of the circumstance to irritate him against his son.

Dating from the 9th of February, when the news of the illness reached Turin, the Marquis d'Ormea had suppressed the weekly bulletins; and on the King's asking, a month after the visit to Chambéry, whether they had been regularly despatched, he was told that they had been discontinued altogether. To have sent them, it was urged, during the ex-king's illness would have been to expose secrets of State to the curious eyes and ears of doctors and nurses; and to resume them after his recovery would necessitate the composition of
volumes

volumes to connect the present with the past. 'King Charles was weak enough to be swayed by this bad reasoning, which was the unhappy source of the monstrous events which followed, for King Victor did not think it consistent with his dignity, after the sacrifice he had made to his son, to demand an account of his administration, and each day added to his causes of irritation, which, it appears, the Marquise de Spigno did not soften down.' King Victor, however, so dissembled his mortification and resentment, that it only began to be observed at the end of July 1731, when King Charles was obliged to take Chambéry in his way to the baths of Evian. Although M. de Blondel saw the ex-king soon after this meeting, and conversed with him in the usual tone of confidence and familiarity on all subjects, his first notion (he states) of the misunderstanding between the two princes was given him at a Chambéry ball the same evening by a lady, who told him 'that King Victor was not satisfied either with his son or his minister, and that there had been ill feeling and a much shorter stay than had been intended.'

He was in France when he heard that a downright breach had occurred at the return meeting at Chambéry, which King Charles, after announcing a visit of fifteen days, had abruptly quitted on the second day at eleven at night, on horseback, accompanied only by an equerry, a page, and a footman, through the mountain passes of the Tarantaise, where the roads were abominable. The authentic explanation, subsequently acquired and confirmed, was that King Victor, while receiving the Queen, his daughter-in-law, with the customary marks of affection, threw the most marked air of coldness and offended dignity into his reception of his son: that his manner remained unaltered the next day, when, on the Marquis d'Ormea and the Marquis del Borgo presenting themselves to pay their respects, he overwhelmed them with reproaches, saying that he repented having given such bad ministers to his son, whose confidence they abused. They forthwith carried an exaggerated version of what had passed to King Charles, who, bred up in panic awe of his father, was led to believe that his life was no longer safe at Chambéry, and that there was no violence of which the old man was not capable in his present mood, to the extent even of drawing his sword upon his son. The upshot was that they left secretly by one route, whilst King Charles started off by another: they taking the best and most frequented, under the pretence of putting King Victor upon a false scent; as if a pursuit were possible in his state of health and with the means at his disposal, had he really entertained so
absurd

absurd a notion. They clearly overacted their parts, except so far as the immediate object of frightening and fatally committing their young sovereign was attained.

The morning after their departure King Victor sent to inquire if his son was awake, and, on being informed that he had started for Turin the night before, hurried immediately to the Queen, who told him that King Charles, having received a courier from Turin, had been forced to repair thither with his ministers; her directions and intentions being to follow as soon as the carriages and relays could be got ready. He highly commended her resolution of following her husband, and during the remaining two days of her visit treated her with the greatest kindness and attention. As soon as she was gone, he ordered preparations (which took six days) to be made for his own return to Piedmont, with the alleged object of bringing back his son to his old habits of deference and of controlling the baneful influence of the ministers. But that, at this time, he had avowed an intention of resuming the throne, is negatived by the fact that, on reaching Mont Cenis, he dispatched a courier to announce his having left Chambéry because the air was absolutely injurious to his health, requesting the King to indicate the province and town that might be deemed preferable for his residence, adding that he should sleep the next night at Rivoli, where he hoped to receive the decision of his Majesty. He further requested the payment of his next quarter's revenue in advance, to defray the expenses of his journey.

King Charles replied that he might choose any place he thought best for his health, and made a point of being at Rivoli to receive him; but the coldness continued, and all sorts of stories were got up by D'Ormea to widen the breach and excite the apprehensions of the young King. The garrison was largely reinforced, as if in anticipation of a *coup de main*; and numerous promotions were made, as if to secure the wavering fidelity of the army. It was simultaneously given out that the Marquis de Fonsberi had come to an understanding through the Marquis de Rivard to deliver up the city of Turin to his old master, and that the court physician and apothecary had been engaged to poison King Charles; who between fright and some lingering remains of filial piety would, it was said, have readily surrendered the throne had he not been repelled and disgusted at the thought of allowing his Queen to be superseded by her former mistress of the robes, by whom (he was assured) the whole intrigue and conspiracy had been set on foot. 'The recent example of Philip V., of Spain,' observes M. de Beauregard, 'whose first care on reascending the throne had been to sacrifice the ministers of his son,

son, was not calculated to tranquillize the ministers of King Charles.*

But it was not enough for them to overrule this wavering resolution of their young sovereign, if he really entertained any notion of resigning. Their fate now hung on his complete emancipation from the influence of King Victor, who was only to be conciliated by the dismissal of D'Ormea from the court and councils of his son. The struggle was rapidly becoming one of life and death, and D'Ormea was not the man to resort to half-measures in an emergency. The bill of indictment he drew up against his old master and laid before the memorable council of the 28th of September, was so overwhelming, that without asking for evidence or looking to the internal improbabilities of the charges, the councillors were unanimous in pressing the King to sign the order of arrest. He was still hesitating, when a knock was heard at the door. It was an officer with a billet from the governor, announcing an attempt of the old King to introduce himself into the place, and all hesitation ceased. Now, in the document purporting to be a faithful relation, afterwards circulated by the Marquis, we find—

'He (King Victor) hoped to gain entrance into the citadel by a feint, which failed. He drove round this fortress in his carriage, and when he was near the *porte de secours* he pretended to have the colic, to which he was much subject, and sent for the Baron de Saint Remy,† the governor, to allow him to enter and repose. The governor came out to speak to him, and said he had not the key which was in the possession of King Charles. King Victor hoped that, being master of the citadel, he should raise the inhabitants of Turin in the fear of seeing it bombarded, and arrest King Charles with the aid of persons gained by the commandant. On the failure of this attempt, he reproached his son, saying that he was unfit to reign, and that he (King Victor) would resume the government; otherwise he would kindle the flames of war in the four corners and in the middle of his states, and that he would procure foreign troops to second him.'

The attempt to enter the citadel, therefore, must have been perfectly well known to the Council; but, in point of fact, there was no such attempt. The story is a pure fiction; and so is the allegation of a conspiracy or plot. None of the person

* 'Mémoires Historiques,' vol. iii. p. 149. Philip abdicated in favour of his son Louis, January 4, 1724, and resumed the throne on his son's death in the August following.

† Count Litta says that the alleged attempt to enter the citadel was proved by a letter from Pallavicino, the governor.

to whom King Victor's strong language was reported to have been addressed were misled by it: not a single friend or former servant acted with him; and the five or six persons arrested on pretended suspicion, for form's sake, were set at liberty at the end of a few days, not a vestige of complicity being proved against them. As one of the first acts of the Marquis d'Ormea, on arriving at Montcalier with the order of arrest, was to break open the writing-boxes and seize the papers of the ex-king, it may be taken for granted that, if any evidence of a conspiracy had existed, it would have been produced. The circumstantial details of the arrest will be read with mingled indignation and surprise.

The brigadier, Comte de Perouse, accompanied by four colonels and the officers of a company of grenadiers, presented himself an hour after midnight at the door of the ex-king's bedroom, and, having tried false keys, had it broken open with hatchets. The Marquise de Spigno was the first to take the alarm. Springing out of bed she rushed to the door, and seeing grenadiers with bayonets fixed and flambeaux, she rushed back and woke the King, exclaiming: '*Ah, mon Roi, nous sommes perdus!*' The King, sitting up in bed and inquiring what was meant by such an outrage at such an hour, the brigadier, having first secured his sword, expressed a hope that he would spare them the pain of having recourse to violence by submitting to the execution of their orders; on which the King, after a vain appeal to their loyalty and the sacredness of his person, sank back on his bed, flung his arms round the Marquise, and remained motionless for a quarter of an hour, during which the brigadier was silent, regarding it as a last adieu. At length, seeing no other way of ending the scene, he three times summoned the King to yield, and receiving no answer, ordered the Chevalier de Birage, major of grenadiers, who was charged to arrest the Marquise, to do his duty whilst he (the brigadier) did his.

It was as much as both, aided by the four colonels, could do to separate the King and his wife, who clung together with legs and arms intertwined; the bedclothes being scattered all over the floor in the struggle. The room was lined with armed grenadiers, forming a circle, in the centre of which stood the twelve officers with their swords drawn. The Marquise was finally torn from her husband with her night-dress in tatters, dragged on her back from the bed to her dressing-room, and exposed to the rude gaze of the soldiers whilst she was still struggling in this dishevelled condition to rejoin the King, who kept making the most passionate and touching appeals to the grenadiers;

reminding them that he had mingled his blood with theirs a hundred times in defence of their country, and demanding if they had the heart to treat as a prisoner him to whom they had sworn allegiance as their King. The officers threatened death to anyone who should raise a finger in his behalf; and refusing to put on his clothes, and vowing that he would endure the utmost extent of ignominy rather than tamely submit to such treatment, he was half-led half-carried to the carriage in waiting. One of the colonels, a soldier of fortune, was about to get in with him, when the ex-king repelled him by a blow, crying out: 'Wretch, learn the respect which is my due, and know that people of thy degree should never enter the carriage of their king.' On being shown the written order, he tore it to pieces, vowing that no such order could have emanated from his son, and that the indignities heaped upon him were all owing to the 'vile ministers.'

The road from Montcalier to Rivoli was cleared by a detachment of dragoons, who caused all the doors and windows in the villages to be closed under pain of death. On arriving, the royal victim was so broken by fury and fatigue, that his tongue, covered with foam, hung two inches from his mouth, and his eyes glared more wildly at the sight of the blacksmiths securing the windows of the apartment destined for him with iron bars. A marble slab which he broke by a blow of his fist, used to be shown as one of the curiosities of the chateau. The orders of the officers were to watch him night and day; to report everything he said or did; and to make no reply to him, even by Yes or No, but simply by a bow. One officer slept on a mattress inside his chamber across the door, and another outside. As for his wife, the Marquise, after being compelled to dress, she was placed in a coach with the major, her *femme-de-chambre* in another with a private soldier, and they were thus conveyed under an escort of fifty dragoons to the fort of Ceva, a reformatory prison or penitentiary, in which women of bad character (*mauvaise vie*) were ordinarily confined.

M. de Blondel states that soon after these details had been supplied to him on good authority, he met the Archbishop of Turin and Marshal de Rhëbinder, who each separately confirmed the strict accuracy of his informants. The Marshal, referring to the first council after the arrest, at which the Marquis d'Ormea was driven to confess that no evidence of the alleged plot was forthcoming, used these words:—

'At this first Council of State I was seized with horror at the enormous crime that had been committed, reflecting on the small means of King Victor for resuming the crown, seeing no intelligence with

with the foreigner, and knowing the little love his subjects and the nobility had on account of his former arbitrary proceedings; but what aggravated my regret was the report made at another Council of the innocence of all the prisoners that had been arrested. I then felt that the imprisonment of those gentlemen had been an excess of scoundrelism on the part of the Marquis d'Ormea to embolden the King to so frightful a step.'

M. de Blondel sent regular reports of all he heard or saw to his own Court; and a despatch from M. le Garde des Sceaux, dated October 30th, 1731, begins:—

'I have received your letter of the 20th of this month. The Cardinal de Fleury and myself are perfectly satisfied with the details you have given us of the event of the 29th September, as likewise with all you said in the audience which the King of Sardinia granted you when you appeared for the first time at La Venerie. Even had we not reason to believe you as well informed as you are, all you report to us would not fail to appear true; the rather that nothing has reached the King (of France) of a nature to clear up and justify the causes and motives of so singular an event.'

His subsequent instructions were to be extremely guarded in his language, and not to be thought to condemn what had been done. 'You would thus become the object of grave suspicion on the part of the Marquis d'Ormea; and this minister, thinking himself blamed by France, would have no other resource than to make common cause with the Emperor.'

The most plausible justification, that King Victor was insane, was hardly attempted; indeed, it was utterly incapable of proof, for, except in his by no means unnatural fits of passion, his language was calm and reasonable, persistently asserting that his son could never be such a monster of ingratitude, and that the 'vile ministers' were exclusively responsible.

According to M. Carutti, who adopts what may be taken as the Marquis d'Ormea's version throughout, the Marquis had no less than five interviews with King Victor subsequently to his return from Chambéry. The angry scene which caused the precipitate and unceremonious departure of King Charles and his Ministers, would thus appear to have made no change in their relations to King Victor, who, on his son's saying that the Marquis was always at his orders, is made to reply: 'Well, let him come to-morrow; but this kind of people ought to come without being sent for.' He did come to-morrow (September 16), and on his own personal unattested report of what took place, 'Charles Emanuel understood, the Ministry understood, that the catastrophe of the drama was drawing near.'* No authority whatever is adduced

* Carutti, p. 495.

for these interviews, which are highly improbable. There are two conflicting stories of the manner in which the alleged intention to revoke the Act of Abdication, or treat it as null and void, became known. M. de Beauregard's is, that a young priest, concealed behind a curtain, overheard a conversation between King Victor and the Marquise, in which they talked over their plans. M. Carutti says that it was the Abbé Boggio di Sangano, the ex-king's former confessor, who, having been peremptorily required by him to take a formal minute of the revocation on the 26th, carried the information to the Secretary of the Cabinet. Certain it is that, when the Cabinet met, little or nothing but hearsay evidence of the most suspicious character was forthcoming.

Although M. de Blondel could not venture to remonstrate openly or directly, he found means to convey his own impression of the whole affair, as well as that of the French Court, to the Marquis, who could hardly have been ignorant of the light in which it was also viewed in Spain, where the King had made one abdication and was meditating another. On the 4th October, 1731, the Comte de Rottembourg, French Ambassador at Madrid, writes to M. de Blondel :—

'The King of Spain thinks the action of King Charles very cruel, inhuman, and infinitely blameable. The Queen dwells strongly on the ingratitude of children, on what is to be expected from them, and that commonly one nourishes a viper in one's bosom. People here speculate much on the results of this event. They presume that it will divide Europe; that France, with some other power, will take the part of one of the two kings; that the Emperor, who regards himself as the master of Italy, will protect the other. France, with the view of opening Italy to herself, and the Emperor with the view of securing this passage which is the only gap he has to keep, whilst leagued with the maritime powers he has nothing to fear from a war of transport (*sic*). Such are the current reasonings on this subject. The Queen has got such complete hold of the King's mind on the subject of the detention of King Victor, that you cannot imagine to what extent this prince is animated. He told me with fury that all Europe ought to arm against such a monster: that the reign of Nero supplied nothing so inhuman.'

Although considerations of policy prevented the interference of foreign powers, it was not deemed safe to defy European opinion to the extent of detaining the ex-king in solitary confinement and continuing the harsh treatment which was known to be telling fatally on his health. Accordingly he was transferred to the Château de Montcalier, where he was allowed the range of a terrace and a small wood, fenced round by palisades, and carefully

fully guarded. The Marquise, his wife, had been allowed to rejoin him on the 10th December, 1731, upon very hard conditions. She was forbidden, under penalty of decapitation, to tell King Victor that she had been a prisoner in the Castle of Ceva, and ordered to say that she had been during the whole time of separation at the convent of Pignerol. They were both conveyed to the Château de Montcalier on the 12th April, 1732, at twelve at night—each in a litter, escorted by a detachment of dragoons and thirty-six body guards, where they remained without communication with anyone whatever till the death of King Victor on the 31st October, 1732.

‘This unhappy prince (says M. de Blondel) never ceased praying King Charles to come to see him ; causing him to be assured that he should be exposed to no reproaches, that his (the father’s) sole wish was to embrace and give his parting benediction to the son. Fifteen days before his death, he reiterated his most earnest entreaties, saying, that if this last consolation was granted him, he should die content. But the Marquis d’Ormea had such empire over his master, that he dissuaded him from complying, urging that the interview might so agitate King Victor as to shorten his days, and would certainly bring on a second attack of apoplexy, which would be badly interpreted in Europe.’

During the reign of Charles Emanuel, which lasted forty-three years, ‘the threatening spectre of the Castle of Miolans closed the mouths’ of the good people of Turin. But it was not deemed enough to silence contemporaries. Effective means were taken to poison or trouble history at its source. First came the document preserved by M. de Blondel, as one of his *Pièces Justificatives*, under the title of ‘Copy of a Letter fabricated by the Marquis d’Ormea, and spread amongst the Public as a Faithful Relation of the Event of 28th September, 1731.’ Then, partly based upon it, what purported to be a full and faithful Account of the Abdication, Arrest, and Death of King Victor, by Count Radicati, an exile who hoped to make his peace with the Sardinian Court and procure his recall by popularising their version of the facts. He succeeded to the extent of being implicitly accepted as an authority by succeeding annalists, with the exception of Muratori, who, in January 1749, wrote thus from Modena to the Count Bogino, then principal Minister of Charles Emanuel :—

‘EXCELLENCE,—Since the peace, so delayed by difficulties, is about to be completed, and I am on the point of concluding my “Annals,” with a view to publication,—in speaking of the last years of King Victor Amadeus, I should wish to say nothing that could displease the most gracious reigning sovereign, his son, from whom I have
received

received so many favours. Therefore, I send your Excellence the paragraphs touching the resolutions taken by him, with the request, if thought right, to submit them to his Majesty, in order that they may undergo correction or addition, as may seem meet to his superior prudence.'

The accompanying sheets of the Annals, with the marginal notes of Bogino, have been preserved in the royal archives. One of the notes expressly negatives the statement that Victor Amadeus, during his sojourn at Chambéry, gave any sign of repentance in the abdication. Another note is in these words: 'The threat of cutting off the head of one of the principal Ministers, application to the Marquis del Borgo for the Act of Abdication, the billet to the governor of the citadel, are facts current at the time, but without foundation.' Adhering (as we have seen) to the essential statement, Muratori gave up the fanciful accessories, or 'fables' as M. Carutti terms them, whilst admitting numerous statements which bear the same marks of fiction and bad faith.

We further learn from M. Carutti that, four years before Muratori's application, the Abbé Palazzi had been officially retained to compose an authentic Narrative, founded on official communications with King Charles and documents in the royal archives, most of which, strange to say, have subsequently disappeared. As this Narrative has been studiously kept back, there is no want of charity in assuming that it would not bear the broad light of day; and, as the case stands at present, the inevitable conclusion is that the received judgment of history, within a hundred and forty years' prescriptive authority in its favour, must be reversed.

ART. IX.—1. *Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, for the years 1870-1874.*

2. *The Church and her Curates.* Edited by the Rev. J. Halcombe, M.A., Rector of Balsham, Cambs.

3. *Report of the Church Congress held at Bath in 1873.* Paper on Clergy Supply.

TO a man who can keep a cool head, all the present stir about Church matters cannot fail to be intensely interesting. Not that the conflict about the Primate's Bill is one to write an epic on or to excite enthusiasm in the beholder. That some reform in the constitution and procedure of our Ecclesiastical Courts must some day be made, has long been obvious. That

Bill like this should excite the keenest controversy was only natural. It is not the Bill itself, or the incidents of the strife about its details, which rouse the interest of the thoughtful ecclesiastic or the genuine statesman. These things such men pass by. It is otherwise when you inquire into the circumstances which have rendered such an excitement about such a matter possible : how it is that a measure of the kind has come to the front at all ; how it has grown naturally out of the long sequence of events in the history of our Church and Realm ; and how it is likely to act when in its turn it has become a fresh point of departure from which new events will issue. We are not using stilted language, or falling into the error of magnifying contemporary events, when we say that, looked at thus, the action now going forward claims our best attention, because it is of the last importance. It is a turning-point in the fortunes of the Church *in* England ; it is a turning-point in the history of the Church *of* England,—that Church which has maintained relations with the realm of England through every change of dynasty and fortune, and been faithful to the realm through all. It is a turning-point in the history of a Church whose sees are older than the Monarchy ; whose charters were confirmed by Knut the Dane ; thousands of whose parishes are still as they were settled under the Norman kings ; and whose fabrics are the handiwork of more than twenty generations of Englishmen. It is a turning-point, too, in the history of a Church whose bishops have been an integral part of the national legislature, and whose courts and convocations have formed part of the national constitution through all the changes and revolutions of which our history has to tell. To a man who can look before and after, who can see in a given crisis the many forces of which it is the single resultant, and who can also forecast the diverse issues which must follow according as it is wisely dealt with or the reverse, the situation is full of the deepest interest. These are strong words to use about what some may regard as a mere ephemeral phenomenon, but they are true. In the few pages at our disposal we shall hope in some measure, however cursorily, to justify them. Let us begin with something in which all will agree.

Everybody admits, everybody is ready to assert, the marvellous revival of the Church of England during the present century. Men point to it alike in the character of her clergy and the zeal of her laity. It is a revival which has shown itself in every department of practical Church work, in the extension of the means of grace and the furtherance of all matters of practical philanthropy, in the spread of education, in the revival of architecture, in all subjects of sacred literature and sacred art,
in

in unbounded zeal in the study of that Liturgy which, next to the sacred Scriptures, is our closest link with the far-off ages of primitive Christianity. Thus much everybody sees. The point to which we have attained is known to all. But there are three things which are not so well known to all; and these three things are: (1) the state of prostration from which the Church had to recover herself; (2) the steps by which her recovery thus far has been effected; and (3) the partial and one-sided nature of her recovery, so far as it has yet advanced. All of these have to be taken into account before we can quite understand the state of *tension*—to borrow a word from the diplomatists—which at present exists in the relations between Church and State. The State has no wish to quarrel with the Church; quite the reverse. The Church is thoroughly loyal to the State; a few fervid utterances of excited individuals notwithstanding. And yet a Bill which, looked at simply in its naked essence, is only for a reform in our courts, and which does not so much as touch the law which those courts administer, sets us all in a flame.* It sounds like a paradox. But let us go back to history, and we shall see that the underlying cause is only a necessary incident in the course of that long, slow, continuous revival of usefulness on the part of the Church, of which the commencement dates back more than half a century. A danger understood is robbed of half its mischief; we shall therefore make no apology to our readers for devoting the major part of our space to a sketch of this 'revival of usefulness' which has marked the Church history of the past sixty years; a revival more complex in its procedure than most people are aware of, owing to the peculiar legal relations of that complex institution, the 'Established Church of England.'

I. To begin then. In the early part of the present century, the Church as by law established was not in a position to discharge its duties to the nation. Everybody can speak of the long period of inactivity which had gone by. But it is not every one who remembers that when the first stirrings of renewed activity began, it was not only that lee-way had to be made up, but that the England of (say) 1800–1820 was a

* Lord Selborne is strictly accurate in what he writes in his letter of June 13th, published in the 'Times' of a day or two after. We extract the following paragraph:—'How any part of the substance of Church discipline or of the rights of the clergy can be affected by the proposed legislation is not to me apparent, unless indeed it is contended that the clergy have a vested interest in the continuance of technical and formal impediments to the execution of the laws of the Church.' But on behalf of the clergy, it should be said that not one of them knows what those laws may be declared to be, and that thus far the law courts have not much helped them.

different England from that of a hundred years before. Our manufacturing system had grown up; our great towns had come into existence. If the Church was to be useful, *here* lay her work. We, in this year of grace 1874, are so in the habit of looking at the prodigious further increase of our urban populations of the last forty years, that we have forgotten the fact, that *relatively* the change from what England was in the days of Queen Anne to what she had become in the later years of George III. was greater still. So, then, when the Church began to wake after her long slumber, she woke to what was very largely a new sphere of duty. It was not merely the old usefulness that she must wake to. It was very largely a new usefulness to which she must adapt herself. Further: when the Church began to wake, she did not wake up as a Church *pur et simple*. She was a Church, but she was an Established Church as well; fenced round by a legal system, serviceable no doubt for the old usefulness of a hundred years before, but for that very reason a hindrance to the new usefulness wanted now. The secular laws about the Church must be adapted to the altered state of the nation, or the restoration of usefulness was impossible. Each movement of renewed vitality on the part of the Church must have some corresponding action on the part of the secular legislature; (1) to remove some old restriction; (2) to afford a wholesome channel of activity, and this in whatever department new activity was needed. From that time to this these processes have been going on, now in one department of Church work, now in another. It is to the fact that, on the whole, the Church and the Legislature have managed to get on with a very fair amount of reciprocity, that the existing revival of usefulness is due.

Looking at things from the secular side, the Establishment may be described as the constitutional vehicle or channel for the religious zeal and energy of the Church. Hence it becomes the interest, and therefore also the duty, of the State—its duty we mean to its own members and constituents—so to legislate as to foster that zeal and energy for the sake of the benefits they confer upon the community. You cannot create religious zeal by Acts of Parliament. Yet religious zeal will render services to the community of its own mere motion, if you will only let it, which money cannot buy and which temporal honours will not induce men to perform. Hence it becomes the interest of the State, and therefore also its duty to its members, to make terms with religious zeal, so far as is not inconsistent with public policy. In all this we are looking at things from a purely secular point of view, but it is a point of view which cannot be omitted from our regard. For in tracing the steps by which the present revival

revival of Church usefulness has been attained, we are not tracing the action of a Church *pur et simple*, but of an Established Church which has to seek modifications of those secular laws whenever it needs to modify its action. And we are anxious to show, that whatever the State has done in facilitating Church work has resulted in a development of energy which has far more than justified the steps so taken, and which will also justify the State in giving favourable consideration to those further adjustments which intelligent Church opinion concurs in requiring. At the beginning of the present century, then, as we said above, the Church of England was in no condition to do her duty by the nation. The number of her parochial clergy (about 10,300) was positively smaller than that (about 10,600) of the parishes to be served: more than half (5555) of her benefices were under 50*l.* in annual value: large numbers were still as low as 30*l.*, and not half of them were provided with parsonage-houses. Even this was an improvement, for Queen Anne's Bounty had been augmenting the poorest livings since 1714, but so great was the number of the poorest livings to be augmented, that for three-quarters of a century a living of 50*l.* was not poor enough to be entitled to assistance. In such a state of things pluralities were of course a necessity, and the clergy were divided into pluralist incumbents and stipendiary curates, of whom a certain proportion became incumbents in their turn, but at least an equal proportion remained curates to the end of their days. As to the status of the clergy, the incumbents, and those curates who had prospects of preferment, were for the most part graduates. Of the rest, Sydney Smith, writing a little later, 1808, says:—

‘With regard to those who take curacies as a means of subsistence, and with the prospect of remaining permanently in that situation, it is certain that by far the greater part of them are persons born in a very humble rank in society, and accustomed to no greater opulence than that of an ordinary curate.’

What that ‘opulence’ usually was may be inferred, when the same writer* shortly afterwards recommends that if a rector with 500*l.* a year is to be, by this law, compelled to give his curate the enormous stipend of 100*l.* a year, it would be desirable to add the further condition of such curate being a ‘Master of Arts of one of the Universities,’ on the ground that such a stipend would make it ‘worth the while of such men to take curacies.’ The distribution of the clergy was a still worse feature than their fewness, or their poverty. For while, so far as mere numbers

* Letter on Mr. Spencer Perceval's Curates' Salary Bill: ‘Edinburgh Review,’ 1808.

went, there may have been nearly clergy enough for the rural districts, the great towns had now grown up into importance, and literally *nothing* had been done for their spiritual supervision. Yet it would be most unjust to lay all the blame of this upon the apathy of Christian men during the previous period. There were thousands who felt it and deplored it; but what could they do? The Church of England was established by law; the laws by which the State had fenced her parochial system a hundred and fifty years before were still in force. You simply *could* not subdivide a parish without a special Act of Parliament, a process expensive, tedious, and uncertain. These things had been perhaps the necessary safeguards of the parochial system a few generations before. Now they were the fetters which would not suffer her to move in the direction of her work. In mediæval story we often read of the dismounted knight prostrate beneath the weight of his equipment, and at last dying suffocated by the armour which had made him invulnerable while on horseback. So the Church lay prostrate, helpless under the pressure of the laws of her establishment,* and she was very nearly suffocated indeed. Observe the full bearing of this, and how it not only prevented the Church from doing its duty by the nation, but by thus excluding (for it was no less) the clergy from the places where they were most wanted, it also prevented them from enlisting the zeal and sympathy of the laity in the extension of her work, and that too in the very places where the most energetic

* The whole number of churches consecrated throughout England and Wales during the first seven years of this century was only twenty-four. We have been unable to ascertain how many of these were new churches altogether, and how many were old churches rebuilt. Well might Sydney Smith, who certainly was anxious enough for the efficiency of the Church, desire to 'raise the English clergy to the privileges of the Dissenters.' Such passages as the following were only too true a description:—'In any parish of England, any layman, or clergyman, by paying sixpence, can open a place of worship, provided it be not the worship of the Church of England. If he wishes to attack the doctrines of the bishop or the incumbent, he is not compelled to ask the consent of any person; but if by any evil chance he should be persuaded of the truth of those doctrines, and build a chapel or mount a pulpit to support them, he is instantly put in the Spiritual Court, for the regular incumbent, who has a legal monopoly of this doctrine, does not choose to suffer any interloper; and without his consent it is illegal to preach the doctrines of the Church within his precincts. Now this appears to us a disadvantage against the Established Church which very few Establishments could bear.'

† It might be supposed that the general interests of the Church would outweigh the particular interests of the rector. The fact, however, is directly the reverse. The parishes of St. George, of St. James, of Marylebone, and of St. Anne's, in London, may, in the parish churches, chapels of ease, and mercenary chapels, contain, perhaps, one hundredth part of their Episcopalian inhabitants. Let the rectors, lay and clerical, give notice that any clergyman of the Church of England, approved by the bishop, may preach there, and we will venture to say that places of worship, capable of containing 20,000 persons, would be built within ten years.—*Edinburgh Review*, 1811.

portions

portions of the community were to be found. Dissent was at its lowest ebb at the end of the eighteenth and in the early years of the present century. Its growth dates from the time of which we speak: its vitality—its religious vitality we mean—arose from its drawing to itself whatever religious feeling there was in our denser populations and which had neither church nor clergyman round which to crystallize. By the time that George IV. was king, Dissent, and not the Church, was in possession of the religious allegiance of the great towns. By the time that William IV. succeeded him, Dissent was a power in the State.

II. It is time that we should turn next to the steps by which the recovery, so far as there has been recovery, has been effected. It is the custom to speak, and to speak strongly, of the improved character and tone of the clergy, of their devotion as contrasted with past secularity, of their industry as contrasted with former indolence. In Lady Holland's *'Life of Sydney Smith,'* whom we have already had to quote, she introduces her father as remarking that of all the changes he had lived to see, there was none to be compared to the change in the tone and character of the clergy of the English Church. The passage is well known, and we need only to allude to it in passing. But surely it is only half the truth. Were the witty and observant speaker to come among us again, would he not have to add that at least an equal change has now to be observed in the *laity* of the English Church? We do not mean in the whole mass of the laity of the English nation, though, perhaps, there is more to be said even on this head than some might imagine. Our remark is intended to apply to what is capable of absolute demonstration and statistical evidence—namely, the revival of zeal, the uprising of a liberality in Church work on the part of such laymen as have entered into it at all, to which we do not believe that any age of Christendom in any country—let alone England—can provide a parallel. It is easy to speak of the present age as one of an unbounded and most dangerous luxury, of scepticism, and of licence at once in opinion and in morals. It is only too easy to speak so, for it is too true. But then the other side of the picture is true as well. The fact stares us in the face. The large and varied usefulness which the Church can now exhibit, could not have been attained without it. Viewed as an institution possessing property, she simply never had the money to do it with. The endowments, about which so much is said, do not, probably, go more than one-third of the way towards the maintenance of her clergy, to say nothing of the works which have been carried out. It is lay money which has had to do what we behold. It may be said that the laymen who
have

have thus offered their work and their wealth to the Church's service are but a small section of the nation as a whole. Be it so. But for all that, there they are; they are a body; they are an increasing body; and fifty years ago the Church had no such mass of lay zeal to look to. We say no such *mass* of lay zeal, for at the worst of times she had individual laymen of the most conspicuous worth. But now it is no longer a question of individuals. And we assert unhesitatingly that whatever may be said of the improvement of the clergy must be said with equal emphasis of that portion of the laity which realizes its Church-membership, or rather that the two have grown and increased *pari passu*. Further on we shall ask our readers to pause over some details on this head. For the present we must keep to our point, which is to trace the steps by which the change we speak of has been wrought;—to trace the steps by which the recovery has been accomplished from a state of things in which you had town parishes of 40,000 and a solitary clergyman, and no one cared; churches dreary and neglected, open only on the Sunday,* and then with services which were a weariness to the spirit even more than to the flesh; communions reduced to a minimum, and scarcely any communicants then; confirmations so rare and so conducted—or rather misconducted—that a bishop has been known to confirm 8000 in one day, and the occasion used to be one of as much peril as a fair to the morals of the young people;—Church education conspicuous only by its absence, and pastoral visitation a thing to be read of perhaps in Burnet's 'Pastoral Care,' but otherwise unthought of;—the recovery, we say, from all this, to a state of things in which, if we are yet far from having reached our standard, still a standard is set up and an ideal recognised, and hearty efforts made to reach it.

And our contention is this, that the recovery of usefulness has been effected, not by striking out new paths so much as by the steady removal of the old shackles of antiquated legislation—shackles which in their origin were very likely no shackles at all, but which had become so through change of time and circumstances—not by novel expedients, but by the joint recurrence of the State and of the Church to their old principles of mutual

* There is nothing like personal recollection. The writer well remembers the first occasion on which the idea of 'going to church' on a week-day was brought before him as a boy. His first idea was that it was something like desecration of a church to use it on a week-day! As to the prevailing ugliness of churches and dreariness of services he remembers a debate between some schoolboys, in which one of them maintained that there *must* be something inherently evil in things beautiful, or why were churches always so ugly? The argument went home to every one's experience, and was held to be unanswerable!

inter-action : not setting the Church free *from* the State, but by setting her free from artificial hindrances, and trusting her to work in the old grooves cleared out afresh : not subsidising her with State grants of cash, and so teaching her the enfeebling lesson of dependence, but opening the door of work, and knowing that with the work would come the men to do it, and the means to maintain it.

Such, at all events as we read it, has been the lesson of the last sixty years of our Church history. Where these principles have been observed, there Church usefulness has been recovered. Where they have been departed from, there we have seen comparative failure. And now the question is—What was the first great step? The first and primary function of a living Church is the pastoral care: so long as this function is discharged and goes on healthily, she will be able to bear great derangements in her other organs before they kill. Impede this function, and it is like stopping the action of the skin in the human system—nothing can go on right. It must be restored, or fever and death ensue. Happily in the physical constitution, so long as there is vitality at all, the suffering calls attention to the danger, and those organs are most susceptible of pain which are at once the most wanted for constant use and most essential to the well-being of the whole. So it was with the Church of England. It was not her parochial system only, but her whole system, which was choked with the accumulations of worn-out materials, so as to be a hindrance not a help to spiritual usefulness; but the pain was felt first where constant use was wanted most—*i. e.*, in the department of the pastoral care. Happily, the Church had vitality enough to feel the *malaise*. Happily, the State had the willingness to co-operate in the needful re-adjustment. Most happily of all, there was no disposition in either to strike out in new directions; but simply to clear away obstructions and to facilitate the extension of the ancient methods.

Thus it was, then, that the reform of our Church system began, so to speak, not from the centre, but from the circumference. It was in the region of where the lack of fitness of means to ends would first be felt and would produce the most immediate inconvenience—that, namely, of parochial work—that reform commenced. We have already stated that to build a church and form a new parish was a thing almost impossible. It cost one thousand pounds to obtain powers for building a new church in Derby. At last, in 1818, the first steps were taken concurrently by the Church and by the State. By the Church the Incorporated Church Building Society was founded. By the State the first Church Building Act (58 Geo. III.), without which

which the Society would have been in vain, was passed, and the Church Building Commission commenced. In the absence of any central body, board, or committee representing the Church at large, the only way in which general Church action could be approximated to was (and in great measure it is so still) the formation of a voluntary society accredited by the most responsible and supported by the most active of the Church's members. It is, of course, a clumsy arrangement, but it has been the only one available. It was this action of the year 1818 which has determined the whole course of the revival of Church usefulness in the present century. By it that revival has been kept strictly within the old lines, and *parochialism*, as distinguished from the congregationalism of the Dissenting system, has been made the law of our Church extension. As to the importance of this remark, we need only point to the case of those towns, happily but few, where circumstances have led to the building of a mass of proprietary chapels, leaving the old parochial church the sole representative of the genuine Church system.* At the same time it must be confessed that this adherence to sound principle rendered Church extension unquestionably costly; it made it necessarily a work of time and patience, and, but for other adjustments following in course of time, it might have remained largely unfruitful. The great point is that a beginning was made, the legal obstructions were removed, that the beginning was made on sound principles, and that Church and State were going together. The relief to commerce consequent upon Sir R. Peel's policy is not more clearly shown by the changed returns of the Board of Trade than the effect of this first measure of Church relief by the change in the returns of church consecrations. It would take a couple of years at the very least before the change could tell at all; we will, therefore, contrast the number of churches consecrated in the ten years ending 1820—two years after the Act of 1818—with those of the succeeding decades. They stand as under:—

1811—1820	.. .. 96	1841—1850	.. .. 929
1821—1830	.. .. 308	1851—1860	.. .. 820
1831—1840	.. .. 600	1861—1870	.. .. 1110

These figures themselves are striking enough, but the following additional memoranda will show that this sudden expansion of our Church system was going on in the right places. Thus 200 churches were consecrated by Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Sumner in the diocese of Chester during his episcopate, 1828—1848. Bishop Blomfield, 1828—1856, consecrated

* Brighton may be instanced, now happily returning to a better state of things.
considerably

considerably more than 200 in his diocese of London. Bishop Lee, of Manchester, 1847-1869, consecrated 122. In the diocese of Ripon upwards of 250 churches have been consecrated since 1836 up to the present time. Between 1827 and 1870, the diocese of Winchester could show 218 new churches—43 were the gifts of individuals—50 school-chapels, and 112 rebuilt churches. And in the diocese of Lincoln, in the sixteen years between 1851 and 1867, not less than 284 churches were either built, rebuilt, or enlarged, at a cost of about a million sterling. Now, when we bear in mind that all this was accomplished by voluntary contributions, with the single exception of the parliamentary grant of one million at the outset, what does it show, but that, even if the mode of Church extension, by adhering strictly to the old parochial system, were somewhat slow and costly, the zeal and liberality of Churchmen were equal to the occasion, provided only the channels were opened for their liberality to flow in?

But just as Sir R. Peel's first steps in setting commerce free to follow its natural lines soon needed further steps to complete the work, so also with the external system of the Church. Reviving activity brought increasing perception that other details also wanted amendment besides those touched by the Act of 1818, details which could only be adjusted by the secular legislature. The Reform agitation was rising. The Church Establishment was attacked. There was no time to lose. In 1831 a Church Enquiry Commission was issued, and then, indeed, was revealed what a mass of details there were to be set right before efficiency could be expected. First and foremost were the poverty of livings, the lack of parsonage-houses, and the consequent pluralities; and then, going further into the administrative staff of the Church—we mean its episcopate—the poverty of many of its most important dioceses and the extreme inequality of their territorial extent. We only touch on a few salient points. But it would be well, indeed, if some of our more impatient friends were to be acquainted with the enormous mass of hindrances removed and facilities afforded, as regards Church usefulness, through the co-operation of Church and State in the legislation of the time of which we speak. Taking the number of benefices at 10,700, there were 4800 without a habitable parsonage. *Now*, there are upwards of 11,000 habitable parsonage-houses. *Then*, out of 5230 assistant curates, no fewer than 4224 were employed by non-resident incumbents. In the neighbourhood of Norwich three brothers held fifteen livings. Thus much as to the circumstances of the parochial clergy. Next, as to the episcopate. A popular impression prevails that in 'old times' the bishops were

were absurdly wealthy. The fact, with certain exceptions, is the other way.* No fewer than fourteen had to be raised in income, and in several instances houses also had to be provided,† if the bishop was to reside in his diocese. The Act of 1836, which settled episcopal incomes, was second only, if second, in importance to that of 1818 to facilitate parochial extension. Prior to 1836, the poorer bishops eked out their incomes‡ by other preferments, deaneries, canonries, or livings, which took them away from their dioceses. Or the bishop of a poor see would be expecting translation to a richer, instead of feeling that he was most probably fixed for life. The new Act prohibited alike removals to new sees (excepting to those of Canterbury, York, London, Durham, and Winchester) and the holding of other preferments. Altogether it must be asserted that the Act of 1836, if it cannot be said to have caused, has yet most materially conduced to that revival of episcopal efficiency which is, at least, as marked a feature in our time as the revival of parochial work. The matter of episcopal re-settlement was comparatively easy. That of parochial reform was a very different affair, and to this the Ecclesiastical Commission addressed itself in earnest. The bold step was taken of abolishing pluralities by Act of Parliament, so as henceforward to secure a resident incumbent for every parish.

* The following table shows the Episcopal incomes as ascertained by the Enquiry of 1831, and as since arranged by the Act of Parliament of 1836:—

	£	to	£		£	to	£
Canterbury, reduced from	10,000	to	15,000	Carlisle, raised from	2200	to	4500
Durham	19,000	to	8,000	Chester	3200	to	4500
London	13,500	to	10,000	St. David's	1900	to	4500
York	12,600	to	10,000	Exeter	2700	to	5000
Winchester	11,100	to	8,000	Gloucester	2300	to	5000
Worcester	11,100	to	5,500	Bristol	2300	to	5000
Worcester	6,500	to	5,000	Hereford	2500	to	4200
St. Asaph	6,300	to	4,200	Lichfield	3900	to	4500
Bath	5,900	to	5,000	Lincoln	4600	to	5000
Worcester	5,400	to	4,500	Llandaff	500	to	4200
Worcester	4,400	to	4,200	Oxford	2600	to	5000
Man	2,500	to	2,000	Peterborough	3100	to	4500
				Rochester	1400	to	5000
				Salisbury	3900	to	5000

Chichester, 4200*l.*, remains unaltered. Ripon, 4500*l.*, and Manchester, 4200*l.*, have been founded since. Thus only six sees suffered serious diminution, while not less than nine were under 3000*l.* a year in value (exclusive of Man).

† Gloucester and Bristol, Lincoln, Llandaff, Rochester, Ripon, and Manchester may be mentioned.

‡ These things are beginning to be forgotten by the public, so that it may be as well to recall how the poorer bishops eked out their incomes by other Crown preferments. The Bishops of Llandaff, Oxford, and Rochester, were respectively Deans of St. Paul's, Canterbury, and Worcester. The Bishops of Bristol, Chester, and Exeter, all held stalls at Durham. The Bishops of Gloucester and Lichfield held stalls at Westminster. The Bishop of Carlisle was a prebendary of St. Paul's. The Bishop of St. David's was Dean of Durham, and Dean of Brecon as well; besides other examples. We may refer our readers to a useful account of the Ecclesiastical Commissions Work 'up to 1864, by the Rev. G. H. Sumner, M.A. London, 1864. All this was swept away.

But the question still remained how to secure incomes: (1) for the new parishes growing up in the populous districts; (2) for the enormous number of the older parishes which used to be held in plurality with the richer. Here, again, the Church has to acknowledge services, without which it is difficult to imagine how she could ever have recovered her usefulness at all. The Ecclesiastical Commission may have made its mistakes, and it may have had to pay for them, too, at the cost of the Church's revenues; but it is only the barest justice to say that, without it, the Church Establishment must have perished through conspicuous incapacity for its work. But where was the money to come from? It could not, at least until their proceeds were considerably improved, be taken from episcopal property, since that, as has been already shown, was barely adequate to furnish forth a decent income for the whole episcopate. The only resource was to lay hands on the incomes of all sinecure benefices of whatever kind, to reduce the number of canonries in some nineteen of the cathedral and collegiate churches, and to apply the funds thus accruing to parochial purposes. Besides these, they also reduced the incomes of certain of the canonries, and suppressed the endowments of all the non-residentiary prebendaries; and it was expected that the sums thus realized would amount to 130,000*l.* a year. Practically this has been far more than trebled, partly owing to increased value of property, largely also through the abolition of the old wasteful system of leasing on lives. What an improvement is owing to this last cause may be inferred when, so long ago as 1864, an additional income of 60,000*l.* had been realized through it alone.* No doubt it would have been still better if, instead of suffering mere reduction† for the benefit of the parochial system, the cathedral system had been also reanimated by judicious legislation as to the principles on which its preferments were to be bestowed and the duties to be performed by its canons. But five-and-thirty years ago the uses of cathedrals were comparatively little thought of, and the whole current of Church reform set in the direction of episcopal and parochial rearrangement. The Act in question was passed in 1840, and the Ecclesiastical Commission largely increased and reinforced by additional members. We cannot here stop to give the history of the Commission, of its work, and of the battles which it has

* See p. 22 of 'The Ecclesiastical Commission: its Rise and Progress.' Rivington, 1864.

† Still, even then, mere reduction was not all. Llandaff Cathedral received, for the first time after the lapse of centuries, an endowment for its chapter, and facilities were given for raising the incomes of archdeaconries, new ones being also founded, to 200*l.* a year.

The State of the Church.

had to fight, at one time almost for its existence. It is the ultimate fruits that it must be judged, and in the case of the Commission it was the longer before its *direct* advantage was perceived, owing to the anticipation of its savings by Sir Robert Peel's Act, which constituted those numerous new districts commonly known as Peel parishes. In order to carry out the endowments, the Commission had to borrow 600,000 from Queen Anne's Bounty, which for a long time stopped for other distribution of its funds. This distribution has been made in the following ways:—

(1.) In augmenting existing benefices and in endowments, in public patronage, either on the score of large population or on that of property held by the Commissioners within the limits of such benefice.

(2.) In making grants towards endowments to meet other benefactions from private sources.

(3.) In temporary grants for curates' stipends in the parishes, and other temporary aids.

By November 1, 1862, the number of benefices augmented and endowed, new benefices included, was 1438. By November 1, 1872, this number had reached 3650. The pecuniary standing is as below:—

	£
(1.) Augmentations and Endowments from Church Property in the hands of the Commissioners, an annual sum of ..	436,345
(2.) Temporary Grants to Curates, &c., as above	20,000
	456,345
(3.) Cash value of Benefactions received by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from private sources as new Endowments 1,363,916 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> , producing annually	57,149
Gross results in Annual Increase to Parochial Endowments	513,495

Besides private gifts of land, tithes, &c., of which the Commission cannot be stated.

The result, then, on the whole has been that, by a harmonious and conjoint action of the Church and of the State, means have been readjusted to ends, impediments to her natural development—so far as her parochial system is concerned—have been removed, and the Church has been put, so far, more and more in a position to bring her zeal and energy to bear for the

benefit. The question now comes, how has the Church used her opportunity? How far has she expanded her action now that impediments have been removed? Vast as have been the services of the Ecclesiastical Commission, it could no more stretch the ancient endowments to cover modern needs than it could make a village church serve the needs of our modern towns. All it could do, and that modern legislation has done admirably, has been to *facilitate* the voluntary operations of the Church herself—meaning by the Church that portion of the nation which is in earnest about Church work.

Let us, then, now strive to give some slight survey of the way in which the Church has striven, and is striving, to use her recovered opportunities of expansion and of usefulness. We say 'and is striving,' for in the course of our review it will become apparent that, *all along the line*, the last few years are showing a most striking advance upon previous years, in every single department. The forms and varieties of work, the liberality, the money offered, the men coming forward for ordination or for missionary duty, all show an increase. The voluntary zeal of past years, so far from having proved exhausting, has been gaining strength with action, and, unless our forecast is strangely wrong, we are standing on the verge of a fresh period of startling advance.

The combined action, then, of the Church and of the State has given us back a really parochial clergy and a genuinely diocesan episcopate. It has also untied her hands, so far as *parochial* extension goes. We shall say nothing of the labours of that clergy or of that episcopate. Our point is to show how the laity have supported their clergy since these reforms have come into action, to show how all this has given vent to an amount of lay zeal and lay support in all Church work and Church expansion, which far surpasses what could have been expected, and infinitely surpasses what is generally imagined. On a former page we showed that as soon as the Church of England was set free to divide her parishes and to build new churches, that moment she began to do it. It is now time that we should begin to go into details; and though it is impossible at present to give full particulars of all the sums thus spent,* we can make some approximation, thus:—

Up to the end of 1872 the total number of new churches built in the century was 3204, of churches entirely *re-built* 925; in all 4129, without counting restorations and enlargements: *i.e.*

* But we rejoice to see that Lord Hampton has moved for a return of all churches built or restored at a cost of over 500*l.* since 1840, and the total cost.

very nearly one-third of all the churches in the kingdom have been built this century. The restorations and enlargements are still more numerous, but we have not exact figures. Thus much for the numbers; next as to the cost. Of these 3204 entirely new churches, 1596, or nearly half, were aided by the Church Building Society; half were independent of it. Supposing, then, that the same rule holds regarding restorations, &c., then the whole church-building work, whether building or restoring, &c., will be just double what the Society has aided. Now, the total cost of all work aided by the Society is 9,000,000*l*. That is, the church building, &c., of the century has cost at least 18,000,000*l*. Observe, next, that 1150, or more than a quarter of these 4129 new or totally rebuilt churches, have been built in the single decade ending 1872, as against 96 in the *twenty* years ending 1820, which does not look as if the zeal were dying out. Then, again, this takes no account of *Mission Churches*, of which the Society has aided 168, without returning the total cost.

Next, let us take the work of parochial subdivision, scarcely less important than church-building. The existing number of parishes and parochial districts at the present moment is as nearly as possible 13,200. The Parliamentary Enquiry of 1831 returned it then as about 10,000.* Hence, for every *three* parishes of forty years ago we now have *four*. Neither does this give quite the full measure of the increase: for a union of small parishes has been going on alongside of the division of the large ones, and the reduction thus made has had to be filled up by the new ones. The number of new parishes formed under the Church Building and Ecclesiastical Commissions down to October 31, 1868, is returned as no fewer than 2216.† The successive Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners show a number of 375 more new parishes during the five years from October 31, 1868, to November 1, 1873, thus bringing up the total to 2591. Now, taking into account the large numbers of subdivisions otherwise effected, but of which information is less exact,‡ the increase

* We have already stated that in the early part of the century the number was given as about 10,700. The discrepancy is probably due to the earlier number having included all manner of chapels, chapels of ease, school, college, and guild chapels, reckoning every place where service had to be performed as if it were a parish. The return of 1831 is unquestionable.

† Parliamentary Return ordered to be printed August 9 and 10, 1870.

‡ The Parliamentary Return above quoted gives also a large number of *Accessan Returns* of new parishes formed irrespective of the 2216. But four dioceses, Canterbury, London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, made no return. The *Accessan Returns* of union of benefices returned in the remaining dioceses were 123.

above stated is certainly not exaggerated. Certainly the addition to our parishes must be considered over 3000. And every additional parish involves voluntary outlay for church, and schools, and parsonage, and all the numberless *et ceteras* of daily parochial expenditure.

It is less easy to state with anything like completeness the amount of private liberality which has come into play for the endowment of all these new livings. What has come from the re-arrangement and better husbanding of Church property has been already stated. But it may not be amiss to repeat that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners acknowledge the receipt of no less a capital sum than 1,653,446*l.* from private benefactions for endowment up to October 31, 1873, of which not less than 360,000*l.* was contributed in the last three years. *In this one form alone*, therefore, the facilities for church extension are now eliciting new endowments at the rate of 120,000*l.* a year. And we have already stated that the number of parsonages is now 11,000, against 5900 forty years ago; so that, to say nothing of rebuilt parsonages, we have a clear addition of 5100 new ones. But, after all, the cost of church-building, house-building, and maintenance of clergy, is but an item in the vast mass of voluntary effort which has been going on and is going on increasingly among us. It gets talked of most, and written about most, as all first steps do in the inception of a new enterprise. But we must also remember that every new parish and every newly-settled incumbent, becomes a new centre of work and a new channel opened through which the ever-ready zeal of the active portion of our Church laity begins to act as soon as you give it scope. Take what department you please, and you find the same continually-increasing outlay. If you look to education, the National Society alone has dispensed a *million* in the last sixty years, involving an outlay of at least twelve times as much in actual capital from other sources. The schools in union with it number 14,000. Through, or in connection with it, the Church has founded *six-and-twenty* Training Colleges for Teachers; St. Mark's College alone has cost from 60,000*l.* to 70,000*l.*; that at Culham, in the diocese of Oxford, nearly 20,000*l.*, and others in proportion. In one year alone, the year 1872, the amount subscribed to build Church of England schools was 367,227*l.*, as contrasted with 22,000*l.* from Dissenting sources. The following figures are taken from the Education Report of the Privy Council for 1873, and will at once show to whom the country is indebted for the means of elementary education during the last thirty years:—

FROM

FROM 1839 TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1872.

ENGLAND AND WALES.	Subscribed.	Parliamentary Grant.
For building Church of England Schools	£3,585,164	£1,356,487
British and Foreign Schools	220,033	106,120
Wesleyan Schools	151,942	81,317
Roman Catholic Schools	99,650	42,167

But here, again, huge as this capital of three and a half millions of voluntary subscriptions sunk in school buildings may seem, the annual voluntary subscriptions for their maintenance are to the full as striking. Quoting again from the same Report, the annual subscriptions of Churchmen reach the amount of 389,769*l.*, against Dissenting subscriptions of 84,771*l.* It would take a capital of more than eleven millions at 3½ per cent. to produce this—be it observed—*increasing* income. Perhaps nothing has done more to satisfy the public mind of the patriotism, the freedom from mere sectarian feeling and party spirit on the part of Churchmen, than their course with regard to the now famous Education Bill of Mr. Forster. This Act has not merely interfered with their freedom in managing their own schools, but has imposed two considerable items of expense upon their voluntary zeal. First, they have had to organize a costly system of inspection and examination of all parish schools and Church training colleges as regards their religious teaching. Next, the lavish salaries offered to teachers by the School Boards, who have other people's money to draw on, has raised, and will raise, the cost of teaching. Yet the Church has been at the trouble and expense of training the teachers. Twenty-five Church inspectors are now maintained for the religious inspection* of elementary schools (besides many voluntary helpers) at various stipends, mostly we think from 300*l.* to 400*l.* a year. The following statement of the National Society's income (exclusive of legacies and dividends) for the last three years, will be some measure of the still increasing cost of education to the liberality of Churchmen:—

1871	£10,856
1872	14,173
1873	17,835

* The Christian Knowledge Society has aided in the school building of the two last years, in the work of religious examination in training colleges, and in aiding the colleges to train additional teachers by grants of more than 11,000*l.* It also aids largely in Missionary and Colonial work. We observe with regret that its income remains more nearly stationary than that of any other society.

The

The importance of the subject of education has led us a little aside from our main line, in pursuance of which we ought at once to have passed from the increase of churches and parishes to the increase of clergy, to which we now return.

In 1801 we find the number of clergy stated at 10,307. We have no means of verifying this estimate. But in 1841 we begin with accurate official returns. In that year we find the number to have been 14,613. In 1871 it had grown to 20,694, an increase of over 6000, and therefore nearly doubling the additional number of parishes. Of these, 19,043 are engaged in parochial work. In round numbers, 13,000 are incumbents* and 600 are assistant curates. Forty years ago the number of assistant curates was 5230,† but of these no fewer than 4224 were employed by non-resident incumbents, holding other preferment. Deduct this from the then number of parishes—about 10,000—and 5776 becomes the very outside of the number of incumbents throughout the country only thirty years ago. We doubt if it could be more than 5500, for many an incumbent would hold two livings without a curate. Thus, then, the course of recent re-arrangement has more than doubled the number of incumbents and slightly increased that of the curates. This exactly illustrates our statement that the work of re-adjustment has been to restore and extend a genuine parochial clergy. Our figures then stand thus:—

	1841.	1871.
Incumbents	5,776	13,043
Curates	5,230	6,000
<hr/>		
Total Parochial Clergy	11,006	19,043
Add Clergy unattached ..	3,607	1,651
<hr/>		
Total numbers of Clergy	14,613	20,694

We see, then, two considerable changes effected,—*first*, a reduction in the numbers of ‘clergy unattached’ from 3607‡ to 1651, so that the effective increase in the ‘working’ parochial clergy

* Slightly under the number of parishes. A few pluralities survive, chiefly in country towns with many small parishes and smaller endowments. Chichester, Exeter, Gloucester, Norwich, furnish examples.

† Parliamentary Returns.

‡ May not this large proportion of clergymen at ease do something to account for the cry about the working as against the non-working clergy, which we all remember? For all these, being clergy, would popularly be supposed to be in the receipt of ecclesiastical incomes. The present number of clergy unattached is no more than will allow for school and college clergy and those disabled by sickness, age, &c. The cathedral clergy are comparatively few: 31 deans and 127 canons, of whom many are included in the ranks of effective parochial clergy as well.

is 8000, though the gross increase is only 6000:—*next*, that the old endowments have been stretched to carry 7224 more incumbents, and nearly 800 more curates, than forty years ago. The question is, how can the old endowments carry them? The answer is, that *they unquestionably don't*. On a former page we showed that the whole additions out of Church property made to the incomes of the parochial clergy have amounted to no more than the, in itself large, sum of 436,345*l.* But this is spread over 3650 benefices; not 120*l.* a year a-piece. And we have 8000 more parochial clergy for it—not 55*l.* a year a-piece. The fact is that after all the 'augmentations' we have still 5573 livings not exceeding 200*l.* a year in value, and no fewer than 8752 not exceeding 300*l.* a year. The question, therefore, arises—how do all these clergy get supported? The answer is threefold:

(1.) The increased number of livings opened to the clergy by the creation of new livings (say 3000) and by the abolition of pluralities (say 4000) has induced vastly more laymen of some private means to seek Holy Orders than otherwise would have done so. This is practically a supplementary endowment. To hear some people talk you would imagine they thought clergymen were born ready ordained, whereas each clergyman was a layman to start with. Such an organization of Church matters as leads laymen of some private means to enter Holy Orders is perhaps the readiest, as it is unquestionably the largest, form of obtaining supplementary endowments from the laity.* The course of church adjustment and extension of the last forty years has worked enormously in this direction.

(2.) New endowments have been given by the laity since there has been scope for this form of liberality, but its extent could only be fully ascertained through a Parliamentary Return. It is to be hoped that as Lord Hampton has moved for a return of church-building gifts, so some one else will move for this. We have already stated that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have received cash-benefactions which produce 57,149*l.* per annum, besides much more in land and tithes, and that they have had to refuse large offers for want of more funds to meet them with.

(3.) The assistance rendered to the parochial incumbents by the

* This is a remark of very wide application indeed. It touches not only such matters of organization as we speak of, but the general administration of the Church, and even the personal administration of the heads of the Church. A really painstaking and genial bishop is not only the best recruiting-sergeant for the Church militant, but he adds to its sinews of war in attracting clergy who bring with them such 'supplementary endowments' as we speak of.

laity in paying curates' stipends. While the number of assistant curates has risen slowly, we observe that their stipends have risen largely. In 1836 the Parliamentary Return from which we quote so often shows the average stipend of the 5230 assistant curates of that day to have been 81*l.* 4*s.* An examination of the advertisements * in the 'Ecclesiastical Gazette' shows the change during the last forty years to have been as follows:—

			£	s.	d.
Average stipend in 1843 was	..	..	82	2	10
"	1853	..	79	0	0
"	1863	..	97	10	0
"	1873	..	129	5	8

Now where does this money come from? The amount is serious. Fix the average somewhat lower—say 125*l.*—for probably the worst paid curacies do not get advertised: take the number of curates at 5800—again below the mark—and yet you have 725,000*l.* as the gross curate income. It *could* not all come out of the benefices, unless every incumbent was a man of considerable means: neither does it. About 400,000*l.* is believed to be paid by incumbents, and the rest, 375,000*l.*, is the least which can be taken as coming from lay sources. So that here we have another form of genuine supplementary endowment resulting from the restoration of the parochial system by abolishing pluralities. Prior to 1836 this had no existence. The present number of incumbents alone is more by 2000 than the whole staff of parochial clergy, incumbents and curates together, of forty years ago; and thus, with more work doing and more men to do it, there comes in voluntary help to pay for it. And it is a *growing* form of help as well; growing, as all these forms of lay supplements to our endowments are. That excellent institution, the Additional Curates' Society,† raises annually (not counting dividends or legacies) over 50,000*l.*; and last year, 1873, the amount reached 55,280*l.*, an increase of 5,079*l.* over 1872, itself an increase over 1871. The Pastoral Aid Society last year raised 58,955*l.*, including an increase of

* See 'The Church and her Curates,' p. 96.

† The accounts of this society illustrate so strikingly our view of the growing nature of all these forms of volunteer help which our system now calls in to play that we make the following abstract. The society was established in 1837, just when pluralities were abolished; and the amounts expended through its agency alone, in employing additional curates, have been as under:—

From 1837 to 1857, 20 years	..	£369,868	annual average	£18,493
" 1857 to 1867, 10 years	..	506,698	"	25,349
" 1867 to 1873, 6 years	..	327,266	"	54,544
Total	..	£1,203,832		

8240*l.* in its legacies, and a donation of 4000*l.* as a memorial of a deceased benefactor.

But here a still more vital question arises as to whether the increase in our clergy can be maintained, and, if so, of the same calibre as before. Upon a question like this, facts alone can be trusted. Personal opinion, unless you are well assured of the knowledge and sound judgment of the person, goes for little. It has been the fashion to speak despondingly on these heads: to speak (1) as if the clergy supply were drying up; (2) as if the calibre of the men were falling off. As to the first, we subjoin the following figures from the Report* of Canon Gregory's Committee of Convocation on Clergy Supply. He gives the average annual number of deacons ordained during the following periods as under:—

1834—1843	..	..	..	..	..	..	535
1844—1853	..	..	..	..	..	..	665
1854—1863	..	..	..	..	..	..	600
1863—1872	..	..	..	..	..	..	595

Somewhat discouraging, perhaps, at first sight. But a year has gone by since this Report was presented, and with it a year's ordinations. We have gone carefully through the returns in the 'Ecclesiastical Gazette,' and find that for 1873 the number of newly ordained deacons was 630; so that at all events we have a number exceeding the average of the last twenty years, if not equal to that of the now somewhat distant decade of 1844—1853. But that was the time when the *abolition of pluralities* was creating the demand for clergy most urgently. Since then there has only been such additional demand for clergy as the normal expansion of our system under present circumstances leads to, and at the existing moment demand and supply appear to be increasing. Again, there is a great cry about the number of Literates admitted to Holy Orders; but it is enormously exaggerated. We have not the full statistics of past years on this point, but in 1873 the number of Literates was only 26 out of the 630. The whole number stood as under:—

Graduates of the ancient Universities	..	..	..	..	457
King's College, London; Theological Colleges, &c.	..	..	..	..	147
Literates	..	..	..	..	26

630

Now during the nine years last passed, 1864—1872, the average number of graduates, according to Canon Gregory's

* Preliminary Report presented to both Convocations, May 5, 1873.

figures, was 434, or 23 per annum less than in 1873; while the ten preceding years, 1854-63, it was but three more, 460.* Hence our last year's returns of graduates ordained higher than the average of the previous nineteen years. Certainly present statistics are not discouraging, although a year or two back some uneasiness was felt. But the fact is, that things now stand, clergy supply is very much a question of—we will not say demand, but of *openings*. Open spheres for work, and such is the existing condition of the Church, that men will be found to come forward for it, unless, indeed, there is some exceptional discouragement affecting the neighbourhood. Some of the dreariest parts of East London can get curates easily enough. So could Leeds, under Dr. Hook and his successors. If there were such a thing in the Church of England as a central body, like the Wesleyan Conference, to take counsel for the future, and to look ahead with the forethought which a business firm has to use in adapting its operations to changing circumstances, then it would be fully seen that what wants most looking to is the wisest way of devising openings† for work, making these openings abundantly known, and heartily encouraging the workers. The experience of the last thirty years shows plainly enough that men and money will pour in where scope and encouragement are given.

But the Church of England is not limited to the dioceses of England and Wales; and in writing of its existing 'state' it would be unpardonable not to take some notice, however brief, of the contemporaneous expansion of its work beyond the seas. It was in 1840—just when the great *start* was beginning here at home—that Bishop Blomfield's memorable letter led to the establishment of the Colonial Bishops' Council.‡ There were then ten Colonial bishoprics, five wholly, others partially, dependent on State funds. There are now *sixty*, of which ten are strictly missionary, and of which no less than *seven* have been added within the last few months. It has been truly said that their roll is in itself a geographical lesson, and we wonder

* The variety in previous training which these figures show with regard to the newly ordained is far from a disadvantage to the work of the Church. On this head we would specially recommend to our readers' notice Canon Ashwell's paper on 'Clergy Supply,' read at the Bath Church Congress, 1873.

† Something of this may be seen in the experience of the Bishop of London's Fund, which has already raised an amount of £94,391.

‡ This Council has raised funds for the support of Colonial bishops ever since 1840. It has now *invested* as endowments—

In England	£142,732
In the Colonies	112,110
Total	£250,842

how

how many of our readers could indicate the whereabouts of Algoma and Moosonee, Athabasca and Saskatchewan. Advertising to the growth of this Colonial and Missionary Church, we should state that the ten bishoprics of 1840 had grown to thirty-five by 1864, an addition of *five-and-twenty*, averaging one per annum; but that the last ten years have added as many as the whole five-and-twenty years preceding, while seven (as above stated) have been founded the last few months. So also with the income of the old and valued Propagation Society; *that*, too, has shared the general expansion of the last few years.* Twenty years ago, *i.e.* in 1854, its subscription income (exclusive of dividends, legacies, and special funds) was 43,675*l.* In 1871 it was 64,793*l.*; in 1872, 73,394*l.*; last year, 75,067*l.* Under the head of *Special Funds* we have two anonymous annual subscriptions, one of 1000*l.* a year, the other of 500*l.* a year, devoted to China and Japan. These two subscriptions commenced in 1873. This society alone maintains, in whole or in part, 484 clergy, of whom 45 are native Indians, and 822 catechists and lay teachers, mostly natives. In almost all the Colonial dioceses theological colleges are established. A few are of old standing, but most of them date within the last thirty years.† Some are aided from home by the S. P. G. or the C. M. S. Others go alone. Indeed, it is to be noted how much the Colonial Church has during the last few years been passing into independence, and itself becoming the starting-point of new expansion. The Melanesian Mission, presided over by the lamented Bishop Patteson, was supported largely by Australia and New Zealand. The Canadian Church provides for the extension of its own episcopate, and has founded the sees of Huron, Ontario, and Algoma; while the West Indian island of Trinidad at once provided for a bishop to itself as soon as disestablishment befel Barbados and left the Church free to arrange its affairs according to its needs. But perhaps the most striking testimony we could quote is that in the Indian Blue-

* The Church Missionary Society also has just held its annual meeting, and we observe that it returns its subscription income as 133,652*l.* Its legacies reach the large sum of 33,509*l.* and benefactions that of 29,364*l.* Altogether its year's income reaches 196,525*l.*, being 36,855*l.* more than in 1872.

† A list here—we believe fairly complete—may be interesting. Codrington College, Barbados; Bishop's College, Calcutta; Windsor, in Nova Scotia, are of old standing. Recent colleges are, Lennoxville, in Quebec; the College at Fredericton; Trinity College, Toronto; Huron; Bishop Ashton Oxenden's New College at Montreal; St. John's, Newfoundland; a theological college in Rupert's Land, of which the new Bishop of Saskatchewan was Warden; Moore College, Sydney; the Kaffir College at Capetown; another at Grahamstown, for training native clergy and catechists, which is very successful.

book of last year, which has been reprinted by the S. P. G., and may be had for 3d. There the native Church has 381 native clergy, besides 600 missionaries of various Christian bodies, and the Indian Government bears the most emphatic testimony to the *political* importance of the 'loyalty' and 'solid principle' of the Christian portion of the population, as 'greatly influencing the communities of which they form a part,' so that

'The Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by these 600 Missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell.'

Brief as it is, the foregoing must suffice to illustrate how the facilities for freer expansion have been met by the general Church public acting on the large scale and through the public organizations specified. But around these more general movements there has been what we may call a *fringe* of separate and more individual undertakings, many of them so remarkable, valuable in their action, and at the same time so distinctly connected with the general spirit of endeavour which has been stimulated, that some few specimens—merely as specimens—may be given.

We have seen that as soon as the Church's parochial system began to revive, the missionary spirit began to revive as well, and that in 1840 the Colonial Bishops' Fund commenced. This was followed in 1848 by the magnificent foundation—mainly due to the liberality of Mr. Beresford Hope, now M.P. for Cambridge University, and to the exertions of Mr. Edward Coleridge, now Fellow of Eton—of St. Augustine's College for the training of missionary clergy. Probably few of our readers are unacquainted with the place or with its history, but we refer to it not merely as an act of conspicuous munificence and usefulness, guided by a taste and feeling as rare as the generosity, but in its historic connection with the course of Church expansion of which we treat. And round this central point there has grown up a whole system of further endowments, as well as of local associations for finding and aiding fitting students, together with a college at Warminster for their earlier education.*

Another

* The growth of St. Augustine's is worth noticing, and the more because it has gone on so quietly, with little or nothing said. The site and ancient buildings having

Another enterprise, almost personal in its origin, but which has now grown into nearly national importance, was at this time just in the bud. We mean Mr. (now Canon) Woodard's gigantic—we can use no smaller word—system of schools for extending to the lower middle classes that form of education which, under the appellation of 'public school education,' has done so much to form the character of the higher classes of Englishmen. Most travellers by the railway line between Brighton and Worthing know the vast pile of buildings which crown the brow of the low hills looking down on the broad shallow river which the line crosses near Shoreham. This is the Lancing School, unfinished, for it is planned on a scale which must yet take years to complete; but it has been long at work; it has already cost 80,000*l.*, of which the great hall has taken more than 10,000*l.*, though unfinished still. St. John's, Hurstpierpoint; with its hundreds of boys and chapel of almost cathedral dimensions though simple form, has cost as much. Ardingly, a school to hold a thousand boys, the only one of all of which the public has been asked to contribute, has already cost near 50,000*l.* On the new school now rising at Denstone for the Midland counties some 50,000*l.* worth of work has been already done; and, including the outlay on two allied schools for girls, the mere cost of buildings has reached nearly if not quite 100,000*l.*, while something like endowment is accumulating in the shape of from 450 to 500 acres of land, besides some 3000*l.* in the funds. Surely a grand specimen of what zeal and perseverance can effect.

Neither should the local exertions for the restoration of our cathedrals, in some cases, as at Bristol, almost depending on one or two individuals, be forgotten. We are not compiling a Blue-book. We are only giving such examples as our own personal acquaintance furnishes of the recent and now more than ever-breeding spirit of self-extension and, practically, self-endow-

ing been a separate gift, and its buildings having cost 30,000*l.*, its endowments in 1872 stood at 23,000*l.* 3 per Cents., or 2600 per annum.

By 1874 they have grown to 31,400 <i>l.</i> 3 per Cents. ..	942	"
Land to the value of	250	"
Another investment	100	"
Ditto for Oriental Reader	100	"

In all £1392

Further, in 1852 its endowments for exhibitions stood at 5340*l.* 3 per Cents., or 5340*l.* 3 per annum. Since then further endowments for the like purposes have been made to the amount of 6080*l.* 3 per Cents., or 182*l.* more; besides an income derived from the local associations of 600*l.* a year for St. Augustine's, and of 100*l.* a year for the College at Warminster, and a few miscellaneous items amounting to about 1500*l.*, besides 2800*l.* for extension of buildings. The number of clergy and catechists sent out has been over 200.

ment,

ment, which marks the Church of England of to-day. If, therefore, any of our own readers should complain of omissions, let us say once for all that we do not pretend to completeness. It was but the other day that Worcester was re-opened after restoration at a cost of over 100,000*l.* Llandaff, which had lain in ruins, we may say for centuries, has risen again, at a cost of 30,000*l.*, of which all but 5000*l.* was voluntary subscription. Salisbury is spending 40,000*l.* in addition to 10,000*l.* from the Ecclesiastical Commission. Bristol is spending 55,000*l.* on the building of its nave and two western steeples, which, because unsafe, were simply pulled down and carted away some three hundred years ago; so that for three centuries there have been no nave or western towers at all. Here *all* is voluntary subscription. Chichester spire has been rebuilt, and the cathedral generally restored, at a cost of over 50,000*l.* At Chester the county has given 45,000*l.*, aided by the Commissioners' 15,000*l.*, where it is worth notice that it has been owing to the previous restoration of the cathedral to practical usefulness, that funds for its architectural restoration were forthcoming. Rochester, small but extremely interesting, and one of the earliest three of our English cathedrals, has spent 13,000*l.*, and about 17,000*l.* more is now being raised without the Commissioners' help. And in the farthest West, the most unique of all, far-off St. David's, is once more beginning to show its quaint and singular beauty. But it is far off and little known, otherwise the zealous efforts of those concerned would ere now have completed their undertaking.* As it is, about 15,000*l.* has been raised in the district and 10,000*l.* given by Commissioners. Ely, the glory of the rich fen country, has spent at least 70,000*l.* from its own and its neighbourhood's resources; while Exeter will have spent at least 50,000*l.* before the works now in progress are completed. The restoration of Hereford has cost over 40,000*l.* unaided by the Commission. Without going farther, the specimens we have quoted run up to a total of not far short of 400,000*l.* of voluntary gifts, either already spent or now being spent upon the fabrics, with only very small further help from the Commission.

Lastly, to turn to the last feature we shall dwell upon—the revived use of the Offertory. A few years ago, we doubt if any article on Church progress was likely to have included the offertory as one of the forms of supplementary endowment to which the expansion of our Church system might look for

* At St. David's the work of restoring the fabric presented peculiar difficulties as well. Sir Gilbert Scott's Reports (Harrison, St. Martin's Lane, London) read almost like a romance.

serious support. Even now we doubt if its importance or its magnitude is at all adequately appreciated.* It is not everywhere that it can be depended upon equally. Nowhere would it be safe to depend upon it exclusively. But in many places it works so successfully in aid of endowments, that when we are reckoning up the various forms of help to be counted upon in the extension of the Church and opening up new spheres of work, it ought not to be lost sight of. To say the least, viewed as an illustration of how the rising zeal of the laity has met the growing industry of the clergy, the increase of offertory-income of the last few years is most remarkable. It has only been within a few days of printing this Article that it has been suggested to us to touch on this department of lay aid to Church endowments. We have had, therefore, but small time to gather facts. In many cases answers have been delayed. But it is something to find that from *twelve* churches in large towns, the aggregate offertory of 1873 amounted to a little more than 40,000*l.*, whereas the aggregate endowment of the benefices was only 1850*l.* Six of the twelve are London churches, three in distinctively wealthy localities, the other three in neighbourhoods of ordinary suburban means. The other six are in well-to-do provincial towns. As specimens of a different class, we have taken one of the Shoreditch churches, and that in the very poorest part of that most miserably indigent neighbourhood, and it returns its offertory (we quote from printed returns in all cases) at 522*l.*; a church among the working men at Bradford, the traditional headquarters of Dissent, which stands at 776*l.*; and St. Hilda's, South Shields, which has grown from 240*l.* in 1864 to 509*l.* in 1873-4:—specimen cases each of these, which could be multiplied indefinitely from every quarter of the kingdom.

Now, what we say is,—contrast all this, we will not say with *sixty* years ago, when Sydney Smith was denouncing the hide-bound condition of the Church, which crushed its expansion exactly where most needed;—we will not say *forty* years ago, when parochial subdivision was not yet taken in hand in earnest;—but twenty, or even ten, years back, when there had scarcely been time for the restored means of expansion to begin to tell. And remember that we are only now beginning to see the results of bringing the work and the workers together; and

* Here, again, as in nearly every department of Church work, we suffer for want of a duly authorised central body, acting with constitutional powers, authorised to gather information, to ascertain the strong and the weak points of our work, and to advise, or act, accordingly.

that these are only examples of the way in which, when the Church *does* begin to occupy new ground, and to try to do her duty, new means for supporting her efforts are sure to flow in as well.

Surely, then, it must be clear from this slight survey that, in all the great departments of practical pastoral work, there has not merely been a vast revival of clerical energy, but of most effectual support from that portion of the laity which is brought in contact with the energies of the clergy. Forty years ago there was but little work doing, and the clergy were decidedly unpopular. Things are changed now, and all that is gone. And yet Church matters are uneasy. But what we have to notice is that the *malaise* affects a different region of Church work altogether. It is not so much the work as the administration of the work which needs adjustment now: the administration of the system which has developed so much life. There is every bit as much uneasiness about Church administration now as there was about Church stagnation when Sydney Smith was declaring it to be the fate of Establishments to die of dignity. A survey of the 'state of the Church' would be incomplete and misleading which should fail to take some account of the extraordinary ferment in the midst of which we write.

To any one who will look coolly at it, and not turn giddy at the whirlpool of opinion spins around him, the situation is full of interest. It is not without its elements of risk; but it is a crisis which, in one shape or another, we must have come to in the natural course of Church expansion; and we must say that, to our minds, it presents more elements of hope than of fear. Resolve it into its elements, and the present clamour, after all, comes down to this—to a demand for further organisation and for real administration; to a demand for a central organisation and administration on the part of the Law and of the Bishops, as real and as personal as the revived activities we see; to a demand also for an adjustment of the laws by which the Church is (or should be) governed, to the new state of things under which the Church is working. Sixty years ago the Church was hide-bound everywhere. The demand arose that she should be set free, to go where she was wanted, and occupy the waste places of the land. Those restrictions were removed, Church and State happily working together; and though the work is as yet not one quarter done, we begin to see the fruits.*

But

* The Diocese of Peterborough has just made a remarkable return of the voluntary contributions for Endowments, Church Building, and Schools during the last thirty years. Large as the amount is, the most noticeable fact is that the contribu-

tion

But the reviving energies which have risen to the occasion, spent as they have been upon *one* department of the Church's work, have of necessity produced a recovery which is as yet but partial and one-sided. Hence the very recovery which they have wrought has brought out other needs into view which were not visible before. Clear away the surroundings of party cries and ephemeral excitements, and it is plain that, sooner or later, such a demand as we speak of was simply inevitable. In the vast development of energy, lay as well as clerical, new forms of work have been struck out, new agencies brought into play, services have been indefinitely multiplied, and therefore inevitably varied. And this has been done, not in consequence of any plan from an ecclesiastical Moltke, not in pursuance of orders from headquarters, but sporadically and *pro re natá*, by methods varying both with the locality, and with what was thought suited to the people, whether it was amid the refinements of Belgravia, the slums of Shoreditch, the workmen of a railway town, or the men of business of a London suburb. It has been as if each regiment in an extended battle had developed its own strategy and tactics in face of the enemy as best it could, depending for unity of design upon the general knowledge each had of the art of war, rather than upon direct and central orders. Of course, such a state of things could not go on for ever. The central administration must be brought into a condition of corresponding efficacy, or the Church becomes a congeries of atoms, and not an organised body at all.

Then in the case of the Church of England you have this further complication that, when you try to put in motion her ancient rules, you find them as antiquated and as hard to use as her parochial system was sixty years ago. The Great Frederick's rules of war would not have hampered the Prussians more if they had been tied to them in 1870. This is no unfair statement. Our Rubrics are at least two centuries old, much of them far older, to say nothing of our antiquated modes of legal procedure. Yet we are compelled to treat these rubrics as nearly our whole Statute Law for the present day. Now every lawyer knows that however carefully drawn Statute Law may be, it is dangerous to interpret and apply it without regard to the Common Law. But in the case before us these rubrics, which

of the last ten years are more than those of all the twenty years preceding. The figures are:—

1844-54 . . .	£238,722	}	£526,110.
1854-64 . . .	287,388		
1864-74 . . .	£ 543,172.		

we have to treat as Statute Law never pretended, when drawn up, to anything like the measure of self-completeness which ordinary Statute Law aims at. People forget that our rubric system (if you can call it a system) initiated nothing, but simply modified what went before. This is why it is so fragmentary. Had our rubrics been initiating anything, they would have been fully descriptive and self-explanatory. Being what they were at their formation, their application as Statute Law now requires an altogether uncommon acquaintance with the corresponding Common Law. But the 'Common Law' in this case means customs and observances present to the minds of those who drew up the rubrics—the observances familiar to the practice of those who first were to obey them—*i. e.*, men who, for the most part, were in priest's orders when Wolsey was Archbishop! Nothing more can be wanted to explain our present dead-lock. No doubt the antiquarian part of the subject has received a good deal of attention lately, though not enough, as it would seem to have saved our highest courts from incompatible decisions. It was not until the Church was all but stifled for want of means for parochial expansion that the needed facilities were given. In like manner it is not until the Church is all but shattered by Ritual disturbance that the subjects of her law and its administration receive serious and practical attention. But the excitements of the present will be borne if they, in their turn, lead to our rubrical system and our legal procedure being rendered simple, intelligible, and workable. For it is not merely the simplification of procedure that is wanted. The controversy which has risen about the Archbishop's Bill must, we should imagine, have settled the question in the minds of all men capable of looking beyond the moment. We are distinctly of opinion that, had the law been clear, the existing troubles need never have arisen. 'Quarterly Review' is not a clerical organ, and it is not its business to write a nineteenth century version of Peco's 'Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy.' But, seeing how much the clergy have been saying for themselves the last two months, we have been astonished above measure that none of them has had the wit to lay the blame where we believe it truly lies—*i. e.* on the real ambiguities which exist. We suppose that each section of them is so satisfied with the correctness of its own interpretation that, in its eagerness, this point is obvious enough to a looker-on—has been overlooked. It is, no doubt, which has often made bishops unwilling to interfere with clergy of whose *bona fides* they were assured and who were popular with their laity, even though they

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bishops) might doubt their ritual accuracy. But what next? The door of winked-at diversity thus opened, where were you to stop? Men whose *bona fides* was less unquestionable had their views also how much the rubrics might be stretched to cover. Others who loved novelty for its own sake, or who found sensation 'draw,' took advantage of the situation; and though we are assured by good authorities that their actual number is comparatively small, still there have been instances enough of thoroughly fantastic and unauthorised ceremonial to call for remedial measures. Then when the measures are wanted, the administration of the law is as unworkable as the rubrics are ambiguous, and the Archbishops come to Parliament to mend it. We do not propose to examine their Bill, or the very different measure which, with their concurrence, has now left the Lords and come before the Commons. Whatever its fate for this particular Session may be, it will certainly have rendered thus much service to the Church—it will have drawn public attention in the most effectual manner to the need there is of a thorough readjustment of the whole Church system in the particulars now touched on. The Archbishop has opened up wider questions than that of mere procedure, and more questions, too, than we have yet touched on. Asking, as he had good right to do, for simpler measures of enforcement, he has forced it on people's consciousness that the law is in no condition to be enforced; and the question next arises, by whom is it to be adjusted? The two Houses of Parliament are certainly not made up of experts in this branch of legislation, and they are thoroughly indisposed to add it to their already unmanageable mass of work. And so we are forced back upon what has lain at the root of all the mischief,—namely, that alone of all the great institutions of the country the Church of England has had no continuously acting organ by which to adjust herself to the needs which changing times must bring upon every living and working society of men. That such 'organ' should be exclusively clerical we do not think that any one would assert. That it should be composed exclusively of laymen would not seem more reasonable. A combination of the two is the sole remaining method. But in whatever form, or by whatever organisation, the means of evoking a continuously acting Council—call it Convocation, Conference, or what you please—upon Church matters must now become the question of the day. The House of Lords' debates have already pointed in this direction, both in what was said by the Archbishop and Lord Cairns about issuing letters of business to Convocation and in the Bill which was introduced by the
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Bishop of London and read a first time at once. But Convocation itself will want reforming to be a genuine representation of the parochial clergy, whose importance has altogether overgrown the number of seats at present assigned to them. And then there must be also some device whereby the laity may be organically able to hold communications with the representatives of the clergy. There is work enough cut out here for the wisest heads and the most patriotic minds, both of laity and clergy, for some time to come. We have little doubt but that, with that practical instinct which belongs to Englishmen, they will do it well.

And here we might well pause, but that we wish to enforce once more, even at the risk of seeming tedious, what we conceive to be the true aspect of the existing state of things. There are climacterics in the lifetimes of all living institutions as well as in those of living bodies. Our own civil history has been full of them. The present century has seen more than one, and that in each of the two chief departments of modern English energy—the political and the commercial. In each case the uneasiness all but reached the breaking point before relief was given. Before the first Reform Bill we had the ‘Times’ discussing at what point a people would become justified in armed resistance to authority. It was only the Irish famine which finally broke down the ancient Corn Laws. It is our distinct belief the present is a corresponding climacteric in the history of the revived Church of England as those were in England’s commercial and political development. It is our distinct belief that without some development of her central organisation, that career of usefulness on which we have seen her enter will be comparatively stunted and cut short. Her present *malaise* is but the symptom calling attention to the underlying need. Look for one moment at the mass of things which require the best experience alike of our best laity and clergy to advise upon them.

First of all there is the grave and startling fact that, in spite of all that has yet been done, and no one can say that we underrate it, our Church extension is but a beginning of what it ought to be where it is most wanted. Again we must revert to figures, and urge them upon the notice of all statesmen of whatever politics. There is no statesman, be his party politics what they may, who will underrate the value of an Established clergy as a moral police. Certainly the behaviour of the Lancashire workmen during the cotton famine, as contrasted with the troubles of 1843, bore witness to the effects of the improved education and increased Church work of the interval. Now, as things stand at present,

present, our urban population, counting only what the Registrar-General calls *large* towns, is about 15,500,000 against 7,500,000 in small towns and the rural districts. Yet for these fifteen millions we have at present only 3000 parishes, while there are more than 10,000 parishes for the seven millions of the rural population. The result is that for 15,500,000 townsfolk you have 5800 clergy, counting incumbents and curates, with endowments reaching only 750,000*l.*, while for the 7,500,000 of country-folk you have over 13,200 incumbents and curates, with 2,700,000*l.* of endowment. Will it do to leave Church extension to hap-hazard any longer? The Ecclesiastical Commission cannot go on for ever with its augmentations from improved values of property, of which there is not much more to fall into its hands. With a central board—a sort of cabinet for the preparation of measures—composed of laymen and of representatives of Convocation, often meeting for consultation, these things would not be read merely as bits of dry statistics and then forgotten as being some one else's business. They would be translated into their living meaning, would be recognised as of national concern, and steps would be proposed against the evil day when the masses may need some other power than force for their control. There is zeal enough in England to fill any gap if only the need is pointed out by duly constituted authority. And selected representatives of a reformed Convocation acting with, say a Committee of Privy Council for ecclesiastical purposes, would have this weight. We say *representatives* of Convocation advisedly, for Convocation will need a kind of standing committee to prepare its work.

Again, look at another aspect of the unsatisfactory distribution of the clergy. In the pleasant Southern dioceses, with which our educated gentry are best acquainted, there is no lack of clergy. In the nine Southern dioceses specified below* we have under six millions and a half of population to a little over seven thousand clergy. In the six Northern dioceses specified below there are considerably over eight millions of population to about four thousand three hundred clergy. One clergyman to every 917 in the former; one to every 1900† in the latter case. Yet it is the

* The nine dioceses of Canterbury, Chichester, Rochester, Winchester, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Gloucester and Bristol, Oxford, and Exeter, have 7088 clergy to 6,471,700 of population.

The six dioceses of Durham, Chester, Lichfield, Manchester, York, and Ripon, have 4317 clergy to 8,197,624 of population.

† It must be borne in mind that this is an average, and that the number of parishes with very small populations in such counties as Northumberland, York, Derby, parts of Durham, and Lancashire is very considerable.

North, with its teeming populations, which is more and more influencing the nation as a whole. Such a matter as this, and the closely connected subjects of our clergy supply, patronage, and the due regulation of the sale of advowsons, should surely come under the joint consideration of a central body of laity and clergy duly authorised, giving the subject continuous attention, responsible to the nation and the Church at large, and taking wider views than we have ever yet seen taken either by bishop or by layman. A narrow parochialism is still the vice of the Church of England. The revival of diocesan activity has somewhat mended it; but we want more than that; we need the strengthening in every department of our central action; and we know of nothing better to suggest than such a combination of clerical deputies from a reformed Convocation,* with a Committee of Council on the part of the State.

And then, lastly, this would react on the dioceses and compel the extension of the system so happily commenced in Ely by the present Bishop of Winchester, and in Salisbury by Bishop Moberly, of Diocesan Conferences on Church matters, in which laity and clergy can confer together. It would not only lead to their extension, it would also give them point and object. And while so doing it would tend to check what is at present the least satisfactory side of the revived activity of the clergy themselves, we mean the increase among the best of them of mere clericalness. Specialisation is the vice of the age among men who really work. And the more faithfully that a clergyman devotes himself to his duties the more he abridges, of necessity, his points of contact with laymen of his own standard of education and of his own standing in society. To numbers this is an enormous self-denial. All honour to them for the motive which leads them to put up with it; but it does its mischief both to them and to the laity, and yet the increasing division of labour of modern life tends to increase it more and more. We do not see how to mend it better than by bringing the educated laity more into their place in matters of Church policy and progress. The encroachments of clerical duty on the part of those clergy who really work are not likely to diminish, and the laity themselves would be as much benefited as the clergy by having their recognised spheres in their mutual work and duties. Of all things the most dangerous to the English Church would be for its clergy to subside into a caste.

* One point here must not be forgotten. Most of the members of our existing Convocations are rural clergy, able men in their own way; but what we want is the town clergy as well; clergy from the places where the Church needs extending.

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But we must be drawing to a close, otherwise we should have liked to say something on the need of some provision beginning to be made for gradual diocesan extension, and the increase of bishops answering to that which set in forty years ago in the department of parochial subdivision and the increase of our parochial clergy. The two only cases we have had of genuinely new dioceses are of most happy augury. In our April number we endeavoured to sketch out the work of Bishop Wilberforce in organising the then recently consolidated diocese of Oxford. Two histories, not indeed so brilliant, but we believe of not inferior value, might be written of the rise and progress of the two northern dioceses of Ripon and of Manchester. As yet *carent vate sacro*. It is a pity. For those who know the North know that the tale is worth the telling; not merely in justice to those who did the work, but for the sake of those who have yet their work to do in the extended usefulness of England's Church and England's Episcopate. The time is propitious for enterprises such as we have indicated. For the moment, if we have *malaise* within the Church, we have at least freedom from external aggression. We have a House of Commons, returned in a moment of reaction against Nonconformist exclusiveness and unfairness, disposed to give fair play to any honest and reasonable plans for the better self-action and self-extension of the Church. We have a Government heartily disposed to distinguish itself by a wise and enduring Church policy. We have a Prime Minister little likely to fall into petty grooves of law-making, and, both by temperament and mental constitution, qualified as well as disposed to lay large foundations, not indeed of novel structures, but of the legitimate development of ancient institutions and ancient principles. Of these ancient principles the co-operation of Church and State is one of the most ancient. Sometimes better, sometimes worse, the two have managed to work together for twelve hundred years; and the better they have worked together, the better for the nation. The time is certainly arrived when the *modus* of their co-operation needs adaptation, adjustment, and invigoration. Add to this that Church Extension is the only sure means of Church Defence; * and that unless

* We have had before us a large packet of the publications of 'The Church Defence Institution,' 25, Parliament Street; and it has been to our great regret that we have been unable in our limited space to call attention to it more prominently. This at least it makes perfectly clear, that the attack upon the Church will be renewed with a vehemence unknown before, and that the enemies of the Church are working all the more energetically because they are cautious enough, for the present, to be working quietly. This Society should be supported and its papers read.

our breathing-time is well used in planning out new work, our case will be worse five years hence than it was five years ago. At all events, we are sure that all honest Churchmen will share the hope, which is indeed our full belief, that the existing *malaise* in our ecclesiastical affairs will lead up to such a rearrangement in our Church administration as will be found hereafter to have been the point of departure for a fresh career of Church expansion and Church usefulness.



THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Der Jesuiten-Orden.* Von Dr. J. Huber. Berlin, 1873.

THERE is hardly a phenomenon in History more deserving of investigation than that presented by the body of men termed Jesuits, who, though from the very day of their institution an object of suspicion in many powerful quarters, and repeatedly of sharp proscription, have, nevertheless, asserted such enduring influence as to have become credited in popular fancy with the mysterious possession of a subtle faculty like that whereby some vegetable fibres contrive to defy extirpation. Barely a century has elapsed since the promulgation of the Bull, through which it was confidently anticipated that Clement XIV. had at last laid the spirit of this occult force under the supreme spell of Pontifical exorcism; and public curiosity finds itself still drawn with unabated keenness to speculate, as it did then, on what can possibly be the vital principle feeding the rank growth to which the Society has again attained. Just as was the case a hundred years ago, the public is beset with publications about the Jesuits, varying in character from narratives worked up in the true Titus Oates colours to disquisitions bristling with learned quotations and counter-quotations. In the sharply-rolling fire of this controversy—due at the present moment to the stringent measures which Germany has deemed it incumbent on herself to enact against the Order of Jesus—both parties show themselves equally strenuous; and, if we are treated to some writings disfigured by a credulity that would still gravely adduce the ‘*Monita Secreta*’ as a genuine document, so also do we encounter rejoinders marked by a redundancy of declamation, in which the argument is made to converge upon the secondary and often very flimsy portions of the indictments advanced rather than upon their graver substance.

The point at issue in this hot dispute bespeaks attention on many grounds, and touches questions that practically affect serious interests. For upon the judgment arrived at in regard to the evidence brought forward will depend the question,

whether there can be a justification for the special sentence of outlawry which has been levelled in Germany against the Order of Jesus, on grounds which, if valid there, must likewise be deemed to hold good for a like sentence in every State. Are the Jesuit Fathers simply earnest, self-denying, devoted missionaries, who go forth only to pray, to preach, and to convert, with the fervour of souls rapt by transcendent devotion to a mystical call ; servants of Christ, devoid of worldly guile and selfish interest, and whose pre-eminence over others engaged in like work is only what must be consequent on the higher degree of their single-mindedness and the intenser zeal which they carry into the labours of spiritual conversion? Will it be pronounced, as the result of careful consideration, that only a visionary alarm, due to the sickly humours of morbid suspicion or the inventive spirit of calumny, can allege against the Society any features distinct from those necessarily appertaining to every association destined to the exercise of spiritual duties and composed of men absorbed in the enthusiasm of a religious vocation? Or will the conviction force itself on candid minds, that in the constitution and practice of the Order there is really something which warrants the charge, that the Society is an Institution curiously calculated to promote principles objectionable in their general tendency, and that it might even prove in certain contingencies a corporation dangerous to the State? It is with the view of helping our readers to arrive at some opinion on these hotly-controverted matters, that the following pages are written. We are fully alive to the impossibility of giving, in our limited space, an exhaustive survey of an organisation so elaborate, and of a system so intricate, as appertain to the Jesuit Order. We must confine ourselves strictly to features at once typical and emphatically distinctive of the Society. In seeking to bring these out, we shall advance no statement that is not substantiated on authority which the Society itself would admit to be unimpeachable. At the same time we tender our acknowledgments to various publications of recent date in Germany, of which that cited in our heading deserves particular attention. Dr. Huber's name is well known for several writings relating to Church history, and has been prominently connected with the movement against Ultramontane doctrine, which has resulted in the formation of an Old Catholic congregation. No book furnishes in so popular a form an equally comprehensive account of the Order. It is therefore to be regretted that Dr. Huber should not have expended on it the additional care which would have made his compilation, not merely a pleasant volume, but a trustworthy handbook. We
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protest against the habit either of not giving authorities, or of giving them at second-hand, and often incorrectly; while in some instances Dr. Huber has made grave allegations for which the warranty is certainly not forthcoming in the authorities named in the references at the bottom of the page.

The very special character which, from the outset, Loyola meant to impart to his Institution, was already symbolised in the title he devised for it. To have introduced his creation under a designation of the type common to existing religious communities would not have answered the Founder's intention. Loyola contemplated calling into existence an Organisation absolutely novel in character and in scope, and that fact he sought to impress on the world by a title presumptuously expressive of superior pretension. The Jesuit Fathers have ever laid stress on the point that they are not members of a Monastic Order, and in this they are justified by their exemption from all those observances as to dress and ritual, which are stringently enforced in every Monastic Profession, as well as by being expressly not comprehended in the generic designation applied by the Council of Trent to Monastic Bodies. 'Est quorundam militum societas' is the definition which the great Jesuit doctor, Suarez, gives of the body to which he belonged; and the official historian, Orlandini, distinctly says that its title, *Societas*, was adopted as most closely rendering the Spanish *Compañía*, the technical term for a body of fighting-men under the direct control of a captain. Loyola's aim was to effect an Organisation which should result in a thoroughly disciplined and mobilised body of men, moving like a highly-trained military unit at the word of command, and standing ever ready, under the proclaimed chieftainship of Jesus, to war against and smite by superior dexterity in arms the forces adverse to the absolute ascendancy of the Papal system. In his design an Institution on such a model should be more than merely one amongst various organs of the Church. It should grow into the actual embodiment of the Church militant upon earth; and, with the view of emphatically symbolising this superior scope, he conspicuously affixed to his Foundation, as a declaratory inscription, the name of the common Saviour of Mankind. The pretension involved in this attempt to monopolise so Catholic a name was instinctively perceived and strenuously resented, notably by the French clergy, then still animated with the spirit of the Gallican liberties. The Sorbonne protested against the presumptuousness implied in the claim of any particular corporation to style itself the special cohort of Jesus, and, at the Ecclesiastical Assembly at Poissy, Archbishop Du

Bellay, with the concurrence of his clergy, demanded that the admission of the new order into France should be conditional on a change of its objectionable title. But Paul III. had expressed the abiding instinct of the Holy See when, on perusal of Loyola's draft scheme, he exclaimed: 'Hic est digitus Dei;' and, notwithstanding the opposition of minds that were veteran and venerable in the Church, the Order grew quickly into commanding influence under the fostering countenance of successive Popes.

The method elaborated by Loyola and his immediate companions, for securing the organisation of a rigidly disciplined and yet admirably pliant body of ecclesiastical warriors, is a theme on which many writers have dilated. It is indeed impossible to consider the series of 'Regulations' and 'Constitutions,'—of minute injunctions and astute exemptions,—which make up the code of the Society, without becoming greatly impressed with the forethought and sagacity which could devise provisions so intricate and so nicely dovetailed. The law-makers of the Society have framed a set of ordinances and of privileges with skill that is perfectly marvellous. On the one hand, they supply every conceivable guarantee for crushing out any germ of independent impulse that could by possibility allow momentary play in an individual member to some movement of dissent, however suppressed and strictly mental, from any order emanating from his Superior. On the other hand, they are studiously adapted to instil into those entrusted with the supreme direction of the Society a sense of discretion so vast, so ample, and so completely freed from all ordinary limitations, that they may become absolutely imbued with the consciousness of duty being wholly centred in the keen observance of whatever at any particular moment might recommend itself as specially expedient for making particular minds acquiesce more readily in their ascendancy. To this end Faculties are lodged with the supreme authority of the Order, which have no parallel in their range; while the whole plan of the extraordinarily protracted training, to which every member is subjected, has been carefully thought out with a view to the particular end of making him a thoroughly supple instrument ready at an instant to the hand of his Superior for any purpose. That powers of so vast a range might possibly be diverted by some Superior to other purposes, under dictates of personal ambition, was a danger which did not escape Loyola. No part of his organisation is more noteworthy than the chain of checks and counter-checks for keeping each organ of the system, including the highest, to the precise mark of its intended functions, so as to let it neither lag behind nor yet exceed the measure thereof. A mechanism
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has thus been contrived, which, while exceptionally complicated, has yet worked with noiseless smoothness—setting in action a body of forces elaborately disciplined for the attainment of distinctly specified results, under the guidance of motive powers at once steeled into inflexible rigidity as regards ultimate aims, and yet capable of Protean suppleness in the adoption of forms of procedure at the dictate of policy. The circumstantial provisions of this machinery—the dry bones of the system—have been repeatedly dissected, but nowhere better than in the chapter devoted by Dr. Huber to this interesting head of his subject. We can here merely draw attention to certain capital points, which it is essential to grasp as fundamentally characteristic of the Society of Jesus and as distinctive of its constitution from that of any confraternity of a simply devotional nature.

In the statutes and records of the Order, it is over and over again declared with emphatic solemnity, that the cardinal purpose of its labours is the promotion of God's Greater Glory; that all its powers and resources are to be devoted '*Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*.' In a remarkable epistle to the Fathers in Portugal, to be found in every edition of the '*Institutes*,'* St. Ignatius gave these instructions: 'Other religious associations may exceed us in fastings, in vigils, and the like rigorous observances; it behoves our brethren to be pre-eminent in true and absolute obedience, in abnegation of all individual will and judgment.' In the '*Constitutions*' it stands again written: 'Let all be convinced, that those who live under obedience are bound to let themselves be set in motion and directed by Divine Providence through the medium of their Superiors, exactly as if they were dead bodies.' In these sentences we have the quintessence of the principle whereon the Society was formed. It was meant to be the force that should break down by the sheer weight of solid pressure all elements adverse to the exaltation of God's Greater Glory; such exaltation demanding the reduction of the world to the implicit acceptance of a system culminating in the acknowledgment of an Absolute Pontiff. As the emblazonment of the name of Jesus symbolised in a speculative sense this Glory of God, so was it symbolised in the concrete by the Pope, to whose service every full member of the Order was sworn by a special vow. Yet at the same time this body-guard for the absolute authority of the

* All references in this article are to the Prague edition of the '*Institutes*,' in two volumes, 1757, published by the 18th General Congregation, which contains also the Decrees of the General Congregations and the Declarations by successive Generals, which rule the constructions to be put on the text of the statutes. It is this edition that was used in the pleadings against the Jesuit Order before the French Parliaments.

Pope was curiously provided with Faculties calculated to justify its acting of its own accord for the assertion of its principles, in the event of some Pope proving unfaithful to them. It will be found that, while the General professedly figured as a mere Lieutenant holding a commission from the Pope, he was yet invested with certain Faculties in virtue whereof, in particular contingencies, he might consider himself the depositary of powers that rendered the Order exempt from the authority of an innovating Pope. The same spirit of jealous precaution is manifested in the provisions for securing the maintenance of the principles of the Society against a General who might perchance be infected with ideas not conformable to its spirit. Though invested with absolute power in everything relating to the administration of the Society, the General is yet under perpetual supervision, and, by the rules, he would forfeit his powers in certain specified contingencies. It is this chain of self-acting provisions which makes the 'Constitutions' so wonderful. The system combines in most subtle proportions the elements of Despotism, of Monarchy, of Oligarchy, and of Democracy. The fully-professed Father—who is so closely bound to obedience that he must perforce bow without murmur to any command, no matter what, which he may receive from the General—is yet quite justified in reckoning on attainment, in due course, to a position that will give him influence in the administration of the Order, provided only his capacities are adapted to the character of its labours. The General, again, who is enabled to issue at discretion instructions that must be acquiesced in implicitly by every individual member, finds himself yet perforce surrounded by persons imposed upon him by the Society, of whose presence it is not in his power to divest himself, and who are for ever by his side like shadows—inconstant spectres of admonition—that never forsake him for even the shortest interval. Finally, the Pope, who at first sight would appear to be exalted on the pinnacle of the absolute Commander of the Faithful—Lord over a host of myrmidons sworn to unmurmuring obedience to his whispered word—will be discovered, in the case of certain critical emergencies, to be hampered by limitations not very ostensible but very singular, which, whenever they should come into play, must invest the General of the Jesuits, towards him, with the character rather of a great feudal magnate, strong in chartered rights, than of a mere captain in command of a body-guard in the pay of an absolute prince. By what elaborate provisions it has been possible for Loyola and his immediate partners to effect the blending of elements seemingly so incongruous into the production of an Institution which, while outwardly fashioned

fashioned into the monotonous aspect of a cast-iron phalanx, possesses the most curious aptitudes for instantly falling into the loosest skirmishing order—this it is that we now shall proceed to illustrate from the 'Institutes' of the Society, the Privileges recorded in Papal Bulls, the Decrees of General Congregations, and the authoritative Declarations given by its Generals.

It is matter of notoriety that there are various grades in the Order, and that the conditions surrounding the primary admission and the gradual advancement of the members constitute cardinal features in its organisation. It would only bewilder the reader were we to give a catalogue (and within our space it could be but a catalogue) of the intricate series of subdivisions and removes which make up the gradations through which a Jesuit may be made to pass. To grasp the peculiar significance of these intermediate steps, for the purposes of test or reward, would need an amount of explanation which we cannot here afford. It is enough for the general reader to hold fast the fact, that the vast Organisation known as the Society of Jesus is composed of a body of men falling practically into three great divisions:—first, the division of Probationers, comprising an infinity of various sub-grades, to some of which are attached important trusts, but having this characteristic in common, that they are not connected as grades with any *solemn* profession of vows:—secondly, the division of Fathers who have made profession of the *three* vows:—and thirdly, the veterans of the Order, the select Fathers who have been proved worthy of admission to the innermost circle of the initiated, the Fathers who have made profession of the *four* vows. By the statutes, no one under fourteen years of age can become a Novice. Once admitted as such, which depends on the absolute discretion of the Superiors, the Novice is systematically subjected to a most rigid probationship, extending necessarily over a number of years, and in which advancement or non-advancement through the various stages is again wholly dependent on the opinion formed by the Superiors as to his qualifications. Assuming that he bears himself to their satisfaction, the aspirant will ultimately be permitted to make profession of the three vows, namely, of obedience, chastity, and poverty. It is perplexing to meet with special mention of these vows at this point, as they have been apparently exacted at earlier stages. The explanation is that all previous vows constitute mere moral engagements taken towards God, which strictly bind the individual *in foro conscientiæ*, without however involving any contract that possesses a bilateral force. Thus, by his vows, the Probationer binds himself indeed to absolute obedience towards the General for as long as the latter may see fit to command him (for the

General

General can dismiss him at pleasure), without acquiring in return a particle of rights in the Society.

To all intents and purposes the Probationer is no more than the bondsman of the Order from the day he crosses its threshold; having renounced, on his part, every shred of individual liberty, while, on the other part, nothing whatsoever is guaranteed him beyond admission to a course of trial. The Jesuit who has made solemn profession of the three vows is, however, in this improved position, that his expulsion can no longer happen at the mere individual whim of the General without the concurrence of the principal officers of the Order, a proviso that is practically but of nominal value. If advancement up to this stage has been surrounded with arduous conditions, it is yet more difficult to obtain admission into that choice class which constitutes the core of the Order. No Jesuit is to attain this supreme degree under the age of forty-five; consequently, if he became a Novice at the earliest legal period, he must perforce have passed thirty-one years in subordinate grades, however admirable his qualifications may be. The Father is required at this stage to renew the solemn profession of his former vows, to which is now added a vow imposed on no other Order—the vow of special obedience to the Pope, at whose word the Jesuit binds himself instantly to go forth on whatever errand it may please the Holy Father to command. The Fathers who have sworn this oath compose what may be called the Old Guard of the Order. It has been calculated that not more than two per cent. amongst the received members of the Order come to be deemed worthy of admission to this supreme grade.

If we now consider the mechanism regulating the action of this complicated body, we find ourselves in presence of a no less curiously contrived system of provisions to ensure the closest check and supervision at every turn and point, in combination with the vastest possible faculties for elastic play in the mainwheel of the machinery. Through the medium of the General Congregation—comprising Elect Fathers, and particularly the high dignitaries called Provincials—the Order appoints certain members to be constant attendants on the General, who, while possessed of the entire patronage as regards every other nomination—including the Provincials—is wholly debarred from a voice in regard to these. The individuals thus holding commissions directly from the Order are the Assistants, four in number, each being the representative of a nation; the Admonisher, a dignitary sworn by special oath never to lose sight of the General, whom he is intended to dog at every step, like the personification of a pursuing conscience; and the Confessor, at
whose

whose hands the General, when falling back occasionally into the conditions of ordinary humanity, seeks to be shriven. The General is besides bound by stringent vows never to take up his residence anywhere but in Rome, and never to stay from home, even though only for a night, except in company with a Father Assistant. He is likewise not at liberty to abdicate his office, which once accepted he is bound to hold on in deference to the Order, without the consent of which he is also debarred from accepting any preferment or dignity. It is even within the competency of the Order, in specified cases, through appointed organs, to suspend and depose a General, and a serious attempt was once made to put this power in force against a General who had given offence to influential sections in the Order. Notwithstanding the apparent definiteness of these limitations, they virtually amount to nothing as checks, except in the hardly credible contingency of a General proving traitor to his power and seeking to undermine the basis of his own greatness. The real safeguard for the maintenance of the Order in the old lines resides in the extraordinarily careful probation every Jesuit has to undergo before promotion, which makes it well-nigh impossible for any false brother to escape detection at some point or other of his protracted inspection. In practice, and this is quite conformable to the intentions of the Founder, the General of the Jesuits is an autocrat, provided only he will exercise his vast prerogative in astute furtherance of the special aims of the Order, namely, the ascendancy of a particular ecclesiastical system and the extended subjugation of mind to certain habits of thought. It is true that, taken by themselves, the 'Regulations' we have mentioned need imply textually no more than studiously careful dispositions for ensuring stringent supervision and discipline in a body devoted to purely spiritual offices and sternly trained to rigorous observances. It is not, however, from the 'Regulations' that the practical working of the Order can be gathered. There exists a series of Privileges and Faculties and Declaratory Decrees which must be closely scanned if we would grasp the spirit of the Order as an active institution.

It is no exaggeration to affirm that, barring one or two quite minor items, not a single point is laid down in the 'Regulations' with the semblance of obligatory condition, the ready means for dispensing with which are not forthcoming in the Schedule of Faculties lodged in the General. The first circumstance that commands attention is the quite exceptional formula in which the engagements contracted by members of the Order are sworn. The Jesuit Father makes his solemn professions 'to the Almighty God in sight of the Virgin Mother . . . and to
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the General of the Society *standing in the place of God.*' The omission of any mention by name of Christ or the Trinity, coupled with the special invocation of the Virgin, are points eminently characteristic of the theology uniformly advocated by the Order; while the altogether unapproachable elevation ascribed to the General is emphatically typical of the spirit in which the Order is to be administered. That a Society avowedly intended for the special advocacy of particular Church interests should be rigorous as to the selection of its members, is only natural. In the 'Constitutions' it is solemnly declared that the Order shall be absolutely closed against whatsoever person has at any time been guilty of some delinquency, or labours under a serious imputation. But on perusing the less obvious portions of the 'Institutes,' we discover that the General alone decides as to what may or may not constitute a serious imputation. Nor is this all. If a candidate presents himself, who not merely labours notoriously under serious imputations, but actually stands convicted of delinquency, he is yet admissible if the General considers him possessed of natural advantages likely to prove of avail to the Society. There is no ambiguity in the terms of the Faculty. The provisoes in the statutes as to conditions of exclusion are a mere flourish of the pen; for no disabilities can attach to any candidate—no matter what his antecedents—of whom the General believes that he is in possession of something whereby the 'Society would be greatly benefited.' It is well to grasp the import of this vast dispensing power, for in it is epitomized the essence of the Order as an organization. The system is wholly framed to the end of facilitating, at all moments and at every point, the employment of any force of practical fitness that may chance to offer itself, through the medium of a General invested with unlimited discretionary power. Accordingly it is within his competency to throw open the gates of the Order, or to keep them closed; to retain an individual for his whole life in mean drudgery, or to promote him to high trust; to expel him in a manner that brands with public ignominy, or again to ensure his noiseless egress.* The head of no other religious community has ever been invested with

* 'Nonnulli occulte dimitti possunt, quando cause (quæ plurimæ et quidem ex illis aliquæ sine peccato esse possent) essent occultas.'—Decl. A. In Cap. III. Const. Inst. vol. i. p. 368. A question suggests itself how such a faculty of occult dismissal could be applicable to any but those whose admission had been occult? It is difficult to understand how a recognised and professed member of the Order, who had been publicly wearing its dress, could be *occultly* sent out of it—that is, severed from community with the Order without such severance being made manifest, unless, for concealment's sake, he should be permitted still to assume before the world the guise of a Jesuit. The proviso would, however, be quite intelligible if applied to Crypto-Jesuits.

powers approaching those of the General of the Jesuits for the enlistment of every desirable recruit and the easy dismissal of any one not to his taste. On the other hand, should it be the General's opinion that a member seeking to quit the Order might yet prove of value to it ultimately, he is empowered, not merely to compel his remaining in it, but he is provided with Faculties for humouring his disposition by indulgences that would allow of his having liberty for a period, but without being relieved from his obligation of obedience to the General.* 'In proportion as the Society should be beholden to one as having deserved well of him, or as he might be endowed with special gifts of God for helping it in promoting God's governance, so should he be let go with greater difficulty; as on the contrary he to whom the Society may be less beholden, and who may be less fit for helping it in God's governance, can be let go more easily.'† These are maxims laid down in the declaratory gloss attached to the chapter of the 'Constitutions' which treats of the rules that should guide the General in regard to his flock.

At a very early period it did not escape the observation of men who had the best means of judging, that the preference given in the Order to special aptitudes rather than to mere godliness was likely to undermine the purity of its religious profession. Thus St. Francis Borgia already, in an Encyclical written as General, expressed his fear lest the time might come, when, through undue consideration for what was opportune and apt, the Society might prove a field wherein ambition and pride would run riot without check, and he wound up with the remarkable words, 'Would to God that, before now, experience had not more than once taught us this.' A rebuke so sharp from one in St. Francis's high position was galling to the Fathers, and they accordingly had recourse to the simple process of altering the objectionable passage. The fact deserves attention as being the first important falsification that can be established against the Order. In the edition of the Epistles of the Generals of 1611, the original text of St. Francis is to be found; but in the three subsequent editions a version is given that thoroughly modifies the tenor of his remarks. There is yet another very venerable testimony on this head. St. Charles Borromeo gave expression in a letter to the following observations: 'The distinction drawn between those admitted to Profession and those not admitted to it is one likely to bring about some

* 'Si hujusmodi essent [qui demissionem petunt] ut Deo gratum fore videretur, eos non sic relinquere . . . privilegiis ad negotium hujusmodi concessis a Sede Apostolicâ, quantum Superiori in Domino videbitur, uti licebit.'—Inst. I. p. 369.

† See Inst. vol. i. p. 365; Decl. C, I. Const. sec. pars.

day a misunderstanding which will have consequences. What most makes me think this is the seeing how the Superiors often do not admit the best subjects, while admitting with open arms those who are apt for sciences, though often they may be destitute of piety or devotion.' It would be a curious chapter which should give the catalogue of those who under various pleas have been rejected by the Order: not a few names eminent for Catholic doctrine would figure in it. It is enough to mention some who in this generation have knocked at the threshold of the Order, but either were informed that it would be better for them to apply elsewhere, or after having been taken on trial received an unmistakeable hint that their services could not be turned to account. Amongst the aspirants thus weighed in the balance and declared to be found wanting may be numbered the celebrated preacher Ventura, the Oratorian Theiner, who subsequently became Keeper of the Vatican Archives, Father Passaglia, and last, but certainly not least, John Henry Newman.

By the original constitution of the Order, it was enjoined that solemn professions could be made only in Rome, the obligatory residence of the General, the object being evidently to ensure that admission into the inner circle of the Society should never happen without the direct control of him who is its soul. Paul III., as early as 1549, had relaxed this prescription, and sanctioned the General's delegating to individuals of his own selection the faculty of admitting candidates into the Order—a provision that would not appear anomalous if limited to deputies taken from its ranks. It is, however, a startling fact that, on reading through the Privileges declared to be vested in the General by the Declaratory Glosses appended to the Constitution, we find him empowered to confide the most delicate trust in the Order to persons who are themselves not declared members of it. A proviso so extraordinary irresistibly calls to mind rumours about Crypto-Jesuits. We shall presently revert to the latter topic; here we merely desire to establish the existence of this anomalous Faculty, the text whereof we subjoin in a note.* No less amazing are the unique immunities conferred on the Order by Pontifical charters. The Jesuit Father is expressly relieved from such ritual observances as are obligatory on all other Religious, while he is merely bound to observe decorum, local custom, and the simplicity congruous to a mental

* 'Quibusdam tamen Præpositis Localibus vel Rectoribus et aliis Visitatoribus aut Personis Insignibus poterit Præpositus Generalis hanc auctoritatem communicare, imo et alicui qui de Societate non esset aliquo in casu.'—Decl. B, Cap. i. Const., Inst. vol. i. p. 407.

profession of poverty. The measure of the latter receives a striking illustration from the Faculty to carry on trade operations, which was conferred by Gregory XIII. in terms so ample as to be without parallel; and the public scandal attendant on Father Lavalette's commercial insolvency in the last century is evidence that the Society did not refrain from freely dealing in such operations. Still more interesting are the privileges whereby the Society is virtually put in possession of sovereign authority for its own administration, without preliminary deference to Papal sanctions. In 1543 Paul III., by a Brief, conferred on the Order the Faculty to modify its rules and statutes of its own accord, as *time and place might render expedient*, even to the extent of making quite new ones; such modifications and new enactments being declared *ipso facto* valid and through this charter surrounded at once with all the sacredness of express Apostolic confirmation.* Pius V., in his enthusiasm for the excellence of these new soldiers of the Faith, was not satisfied with this. In his exuberant zeal he went the incredible length of issuing a Bull confirming to the Society all previously granted privileges, extending to it every privilege that ever had been or at any future time might be conferred on any Order with obligations of poverty, and furthermore declaratory that 'these present letters at no time whatever shall be capable of being revoked, limited, or derogated from by Ourselves or the aforesaid Holy See, nor shall they be comprehended within any revocation of similar or dissimilar graces . . . but for ever shall stand excepted therefrom.'† In virtue of this unique charter the Society is virtually constituted as a body which it is beyond the pale of Papal authority to control, inasmuch as that authority by this deed solemnly renounces in perpetuity all power to abrogate any one of the Privileges already appertaining to the Society, or secured to it in the future by this anticipatory document. In the eyes of Pius V., the strengthening of the Order was the strengthening of the forces at the service of the Holy See; but it is well to consider that such unique privileges also tend of necessity to establish titles which can be fairly invoked as a warrant for considering invalid any sentence, however solemn, of the Holy See, which might be unfavourable to the action or existence of the Society. Even this does not make up the sum of the possible immunities and liberties vested in the Order. We have hitherto dealt only with the category of privileges which are distinctly ascertainable, because declared and promulgated. But there is another category, of which all that is

* See Inst. S. J., vol. i. p. 10, for this Brief. As the first General Congregation laid down, 'Regulas condere solus potest Generalis,' the powers used in virtue of this Brief were practically vested in the General.

† See Inst. S. J., vol. i. p. 43.

declared is the fact of their existence—the category comprised under the vague term of *Oracula viva vocis*—privileges conferred by a Pope through word of mouth, without deed or document to leave a public trace that can establish their validity, which must accordingly rest on knowledge testified to by the original depositaries of Pontifical confidence, and handed down by tradition; or, if inscribed anywhere, then it must be in some secret records reserved for the eyes of only the innermost adepts of the Society. Let it not be supposed that the existence of such *Oracula* is open to the shadow of a doubt. It rests on absolutely unimpeachable authority—the declaration of the Society in its own Statute-Book. In the printed Compendium of its Privileges, the Order solemnly affirms ‘non minoris sunt efficaciam et valoris *viva vocis oracula* quam si per Bullam aut Breve ad perpetuam rei memoriam essent concessa.’* There is no gainsaying the explicitness of these words, though the advocates of the Order seek to explain away their significance, and to reduce the range of what could possibly come within the scope of such inscrutable instruments. These pleas are, however, strikingly invalidated by the inadvertent testimony of the Society itself. In 1703 there was printed at Prague, in the presses of the Jesuit College, a Compendium † of the Privileges alone of the Society—a compilation authenticated with every possible voucher for its official character. In this volume occurs the remarkable declaration, that the obligations binding on conscience attach not merely to the Faculties ‘contained within this Compendium, but likewise to those which are secret or not promulgated—*occultis seu non manifestis*.’ It is acknowledged that the title whereby the Society of Jesus, in derogation from the Decrees of the Council of Trent, retains special privileges, rests on a clandestine warrant of this character given by Pius V. We shall point later to the allegation of a like warrant in respect to another matter of grave consequence. The two cases together indicate conclusively that the *Oracula viva vocis* should not be dismissed as a mere figure of speech which can never be credited with important bearings.

No point connected with the Society of Jesus has given rise to angrier controversy than the supposed existence of a grade of clandestine members, affiliated through bonds, not of mere sympathy, but of positive Profession and direct engagement, while exempted, in deference to motives of particular expediency, from any overt signs of Membership. The Crypto-Jesuit, stealing about the world under disguise, figures as the typical representa-

* See Inst. S. J. vol. i. p. 323.

† ‘Compendium Priv. S. J. Prague, 1703. Typis Universitatis in Collegio Soc. Jesu.’ The passage in question will be found at p. 58.

tive of the Order with one class of writers, while his existence has been pronounced the invention of a heated fancy by critics so little prone to priestly propensities as Bayle. Dr. Huber is disappointing in his treatment of the subject, for, while he leaves the impression of his belief in a provision for secret affiliation, he has not substantiated the allegation by any conclusive evidence. It must be admitted that there would be nothing in the fact of a clandestine grade necessarily incompatible *à priori* with the spirit of the institution. If the General is avowedly empowered to admit any candidate, though 'notoriously infamous for enormous crimes,' whose acquisition should promise to be of particular value to the Order, there cannot be anything incongruous in his being enabled to secure the accession of some equally valuable recruit through a secret engagement, in the event of particular circumstances barring such an one's ability to render full service to the interests of the Order if he were to appear publicly as a member—the more so as it is the distinctive condition of the Society to be exempt from any obligations of dress and from all the ritual observances compulsory on such as belong to the emphatically sacerdotal congregations. The Jesuits have, indeed, on all occasions stoutly denied the existence of a clandestine grade of Membership; but we are not acquainted with any writer of the Order who has effectually grappled with the particular texts and incidents which can be pointed to as giving colour to the allegation that to affiliate by secret profession, and to allow those thus affiliated to live on in the guise of seculars, is neither contrary to the letter of the rules, nor has been absolutely foreign to the practice, of the Order. In a Declaratory Gloss appended to the 'Constitutions,' as a definition of what lies within the area of the Society, it is affirmed to comprise not merely Professed Fathers and Novices, but all who at any time may be under some probation with an inward intention of 'ultimately living or dying in the Society,' and of being admitted some day to one or other of its grades. Over all these the General's authority is declared to extend implicitly;* so that he would seem hereby empowered to assert a right of absolute command over individuals whose connection with the Order was merely that of an inward intention 'ultimately to live or die in it.' No doubt there is something cloudy about the wording of this passage, and if it stood alone we should certainly not consider it a sufficient warrant for the affirmation of an absolutely anomalous provision. But there is another capital passage in the Statutes

* See Decl. A, in Cap. i, Const. v., Inst. i. p. 402. By the first General Congregation these Glosses, the power of making which was exclusively vested in the General, were declared to be of absolute and unimpeachable authority.

of the Order, to which we have already alluded in passing, that is so clear in its wording as to be free from all ambiguity. In this passage it is laid down that the admission of candidates* can be effected only by the General in person, or through those on whom he has conferred special powers; and then follows the designation of the persons who may be so deputed. Amongst the persons designated are enumerated 'individuals of distinction,' without limitation as to their being of the Society, or even in holy orders, and then come these most remarkable words: '*Yea, even in some instances one who himself may not be of the Society.*' How words so clear and distinct could ever be made to bear plausibly any but their plain construction, baffles our conception. Until some commentator of superior skill shall have performed this wonderful feat, we shall venture to consider them conclusive on the point that by the statutes of the Society it is expressly declared not unlawful in particular exigencies to employ the agency of individuals who themselves have made no overt profession of the Order. And that the Faculty thus legitimized has not been allowed to remain wholly in abeyance,—for this there is also forthcoming evidence of a nature which it appears to us cannot be impugned.

The share due to Francis Borgia in the early fortunes of the Order is matter of notoriety, as also how he was a Spanish Grandee of illustrious lineage, holding high appointments in the State. For a man of his position to cast aside the glitter of the world's distinctions for a religious profession, at the call of an enthusiast, was necessarily a step beset by obstacles of no slight gravity. But Borgia's soul was bent on the furtherance of the work preached by Loyola, and finding himself perforce tied for a while to the world through various obligations, Borgia craved to be allowed, during the interval before he could conveniently loosen himself from those ties, to make a secret profession of the vows that are compulsory on a member of the Order. The indulgence so demanded was accorded. In February, 1548, Borgia, in the private chapel of his feudal mansion, made secret profession of the vows, after which to the outer world he still continued to be Duke of Gandia and Viceroy of Catalonia until circumstances were sufficiently matured to let him withdraw into the retirement of a religious house. Our knowledge of this case is drawn from no doubtful source. The occurrence is vouched for by Ribadeneira and Orlandini, two official writers of the Order. The only point in the transaction which can be open to question is how far the Profession made was more than mental—how far the

* See Decl. B, in Cap. i. Const. v., Inst. i. p. 462.

Viceroy, on the occasion of the solemnity in his private chapel, bound himself in those absolute obligations which are exacted for actual Membership. In the absence of positive information as to the tenour of the vows sworn on that occasion, a very striking light is shed on the matter through a Pontifical deed, which, when the date is well considered, it is hardly possible not to refer directly to this incident. At the period of which we now treat, Paul III. had already solemnly approved the 'Constitutions' of the Order, and in special Bulls he had given his Pontifical sanction to the vast powers vested by the original scheme in the General. Everything needful for the confirmation of the General's unprecedented authority might, consequently, have seemed to have been secured. Nevertheless, in 1549—that is, immediately after Borgia's profession—Paul III. saw fit to issue another Bull, known as *Licet debitum*. In this remarkable document the Pope first reaffirmed the General's general jurisdiction over 'all members of the Society,' and then extended it likewise over such 'persons as might be living under obligations of obedience to him, wherever they may be residing, even though *exempt* and *notwithstanding whatever faculties they may be holding*.* It suggests itself with irresistible force that so extraordinary an increase of the powers deliberately conferred but a short time before must have been due to some particular circumstance having since arisen; and does it not press itself upon us, with almost the weight of demonstration, that this circumstance must have been the peculiar case so exactly covered by the new provision—the case of Borgia's clandestine admission into the Order? At all events, the fact is manifest of a most suggestive synchronism between the admission of Borgia under anomalous conditions and the immediately subsequent promulgation of a Bull which exactly legalises whatever might have been open to challenge in that admission. Moreover, evidence of no trivial nature can be adduced that the case of Borgia does not stand by itself as an instance of clandestine affiliation.

In 1681 there was printed in Rome a collection of Letters by Oliva, General of the Order,† which is presented with even more than the usual vouchers of authenticity. Besides bearing the customary *imprimatur* of spiritual censorship, the edition must have been prepared by Oliva himself, who died only some weeks before its publication; while, in a prefatory statement, it

* The Bull is couched in terms singularly explicit as to the distinction between the two classes. 'Plenam in universos ejusdem Societatis socios et personas sub ejus obedientia degentes, ubilibet commorantes, etiam exemptos, etiam quascunque facultates habentes, suam (jurisdictionem) exercent.'

† 'Lettere di G. P. Oliva, 2 vol., Roma, presso al Varese, M.DC.LXXXI. Con licenza dei Superiori. Imprimatur: Rev. Pater Mag., S. Pet. Ap.'

is declared that every letter ascribed to Oliva and not contained in this collection is to be considered 'spurious, apocryphal, and injurious to his name.' In the collection of the General's letters thus amply authenticated there occurs more than one passage which might be taken to corroborate a practice of occult affiliation; but we shall confine ourselves to one, the explicitness of which seems to defy the possibility of any but a literal construction being put on the words. The 723rd Letter in the second volume is addressed to a Venetian nobleman, who sought to be publicly admitted as a Professed Member of the Society. Oliva saw reason why it would not be desirable to accede to the request, and in this letter he set himself to dissuade the nobleman from any public profession, on the ground that this step must materially impair his peculiar usefulness in behalf of the very interests which both had at heart. 'Most readily,' writes Oliva, 'would I receive you amongst the servants of God with the veneration due to your fervour, if after protracted examination of the circumstances I did not clearly perceive that the Eternal Father meant you for a Minister of his Sublime Republic rather than for a nursling of so holy a community.' After further remarks in this strain, Oliva continues: 'Nevertheless, in course of time I will show your Lordship how to combine with the sacrament of wedlock the palms and crowns of religious profession (la religione). It was in this manner that under my direction a Cardinal dedicated himself to God while retaining the purple to serve the Church, and crucified himself to the Society (la Compagnia), so as not to forego the acquisition of holiness by a clandestine (occulta) and sworn submission to whoever shall be and is the successor of the Holy Father. To you the opportunity will not fail for promoting the interests of Divine service in the magisterial offices which high lineage ensures, and thus it will be yours to be more thoroughly one of us while retaining your independent station and being on the watch in our defence.' It will not escape observation that the expressions employed by Oliva in regard to the engagement contracted 'under his direction' by the Cardinal are those which are applicable, with the closest precision, to the specific vows demanded on full Profession. The Society is designated by its technical term of Company, and the obligation, by which the Cardinal binds himself in secret, is that obligation of implicit obedience to the Pope, which the Professed Jesuit of four vows has to contract. There seems no loophole here for disputing the character of the engagement entered into, as there is none for denying its secrecy or questioning the ground on which the proceeding was recommended. It is conceivable to set up a plausible plea against the

the literal construction of the flowery phrase about combining 'palms and crowns of religious profession with the sacrament of wedlock;' but none can be advanced against the plain and matter-of-fact language in which the counsel is given not to follow out the strong inward call for a public Profession of religious vocation, on the one ground that by doing so a considerable worldly advantage must be sacrificed, to the consequent loss of desirable political influence.

The marked nebulousness which surrounds the conditions attaching to the class of the Professed Fathers of three vows has induced the surmise that the affiliated members (assuming their existence) are to be found in this division. Such was the opinion expressed by Monclar in his masterly pleading before the Aix Parliament—one of the most critical disquisitions on the 'Constitutions' of the Order. 'The creation of those Professed of three vows is one of the mysteries of the policy of the Society,' are his words. 'Wherefore add this intermediary class? No one has been able to understand the true ground. . . . The first mention of it occurs in Julius III.'s Bull of 1550. . . . Suarez informs us of the remarkable circumstance that they can be exempted from taking the priesthood, though simple Coadjutors, and even Scholars after a specified age, are bound to become priests. 'Through this dispensation it is possible for mere clerks and even laymen to hold positions superior to those of priests in the Society.' Whoever has studied the intricate regulations of the Order will admit that Monclar is perfectly justified in asserting that there is nothing to bar recourse to such occult stratagems, though it must be of the essence of such devices to render conviction very difficult. That on various occasions the Jesuits have not shrunk from courses of procedure more marked by the spirit of slyness than of fearlessness is notorious. No fair-minded person will make it the ground of charge that, in the days of our Penal Laws, Jesuit Fathers should have stolen into this country disguised as Protestants, with the view of secretly ministering to the religious wants of persecuted and destitute Catholics; but the question is different in reference to their operation in China and Sweden. We shall presently refer more fully to the former case: as to the latter we will merely state that, in 1574, some Members of the Order not merely introduced themselves into Sweden in the guise of Protestants, but that one of the number deemed it conformable to his conscience to occupy, as an useful medium for disseminating grains of Catholic divinity, a theological chair in the Protestant College. Before dismissing this much controverted and very obscure point of secret affiliation,

it should be observed that the inference, which Oliva's words seem to warrant, may find further confirmation in a decree of the first General Congregation, and in an elaborate disquisition by one of the greatest luminaries of the Order, Suarez. In this Congregation the question was raised, whether Lay Members of the Order of Christ—a semi-religious, semi-military body of chivalry—could be admitted into the Society,* 'though there might be ground for believing that they had no intention to make profession amongst us,' and the resolution was affirmative. Now, there was nothing distinctive of this Order from any other semi-religious Order of chivalry, so that what was explicitly ruled to hold good in the case of the laymen enrolled in the Order of Christ must hold good likewise of those enrolled in kindred associations; and this Suarez unequivocally affirms in an argument singularly elaborate and explicit. This sublime doctor demonstrates at great length that the obligations consequent on religious vows can be deemed adequately fulfilled by any Member of such Orders, though living in wedlock, so that, according to this ruling, any individual doing service in behalf of the interests of this Society in some particular line might become affiliated to it while living with a wife, provided he had contracted those engagements of obedience, &c., demanded from every one who enters into any Order. It is no part of our purpose to conjecture whether those who have administered the Society have often put in practice the Faculties sanctioned by these authorities. The point of importance is to establish their existence, and to demonstrate how the shrewd minds that ruled the Society worked out and legalised a system of warrants, under which practices of stratagem and of hidden affiliation would be readily justified whenever they were found to be expedient.

The practice of covertly modifying, through subsequent glosses of an unobtrusive form, the conditions clearly enjoined in the body of the Statutes, deserves particular notice in reference to the obligations of poverty, and the prohibition against assumption of ecclesiastical dignities, which are both so stringently laid down

* 'An sæculares qui emittunt vota in ordine militari vocato Christi possint ad Societatem nostram admitti, licet credatur non emissuros Professionem apud nos. Responsum est admitti fore.' Inst. vol. i. p. 480. The only ground which suggests itself why this particular Order should have been specially considered, is that it was a Portuguese Order, and that at this period the Jesuits were specially favoured at the Court of Portugal. Suarez, whose argument is to be found in the 'De Religione,' Tract. ix. lib. i. c. 10, is explicit in not confining his remarks to any one Order; and as to the status of such knights he concludes, 'has personas esse Ecclesiasticas . . . quia consentur habere in Ecclesiâ proprium et specialem statum Ecclesiasticum et non sæcularem, nec clericalem, ergo religiosum.' The terms of his thesis are singularly definite: 'An etiam ordines militares qui castitatem tantum conjugalem vovent, sint proprie religiosi?'

in the Rules. It is notorious to how great a degree the Order has departed from the condition of impecuniosity. The proposition soon suggested itself to intellects trained in dialectics that, though the individual member could never hold property, the words of the Founder did not forbid revenues, however large, being attached to the establishment in which these pauper members resided. In 1550, Julius III., by a Bull, expressly sanctioned the possession of property by the General for the general benefit of the community, and the permission thus granted has been used with a freedom that needs no illustration. In regard to the other point, however, the conduct of the Jesuits has been sufficiently cautious to credit them, in the eyes of some grave writers, with a meritorious refusal of rank, and particularly with the honourable distinction of not having connected themselves with the tribunal of the Inquisition. The truth is that, though as a practice the Jesuits have been content to hold the less ostentatious but most influential position of Confessors to Sovereigns and persons of high degree, they have never declined ecclesiastical preferment when its acceptance did not seem inexpedient. It is enough to recal the names of Lugo, Toletus, Bellarmine, and quite recently Tarquini, as of Jesuits who have been raised to the purple. So again in regard to the Inquisition, it is easy to give a list of Jesuits ranking high by their doctrine in the Order, as Castro-Palao, Tamburini, Marin, Pereyra, who were members of the Holy Office; while Father Nitard was for a time Grand Inquisitor in Spain. We have it besides, under the hand of Loyola himself, that the principles of this sanguinary tribunal are quite in conformity with those of his foundation. The circumstances attending this utterance are too curious not to be noticed. John III. of Portugal, the first royal devotee to Loyola's doctrine, being desirous to have a Confessor who was of the Order, applied first to Father Gonzalez and then to the Provincial Miron. Both were so simple-minded as to consider the proposal incompatible with the profession not to accept proffered distinction, and reported to Loyola their having declined the request. Loyola replied in a letter eminently characteristic, and decidedly not expressive of approval.* St. Ignatius instructed Gonzalez that although preferments should never be courted, it was yet a duty to accede to a request of this nature, notwithstanding it entailed so heavy a cross as compulsory residence within the precincts of a Court—an opinion repeated in a letter to the Provincial, which he was directed to communicate to the King. John III.,

* The correspondence relating to this transaction may be found in the German 'Life of Loyola,' by the Jesuit Genelli, printed at Innsbruck, 1818.

delighted

delighted at this sympathy on the part of the holy man with his longings, now proffered further privileges. It was his desire that the Tribunal, which in his dominion specially watched over the repression of heresy, should be confided to the hands of these trusty champions of the Faith. Again he applied to the Provincial Miron, and again Loyola showed himself most ready to meet the King's wishes. Some difficulties, however, stood in the way. The Holy Office had long been the special appurtenance of the old-established Brotherhoods, and their influence in Rome might not improbably prevent the substitution of a new and encroaching Order. In a letter stamped with consummate astuteness, Loyola expressed his readiness to assume the proposed duties, and suggested means for circumventing opposition. 'Such an office being by no means contrary to our Institution,' wrote Loyola, 'there can be no reason why the Society should decline undertaking a matter so directly concerning its service and the purity of religion in that realm. But it seems to us, for avoidance of much inconvenience, that it would be advisable if his Highness should be pleased to write to the Pope, so that the latter might direct us to assume this office for then his Holiness could command the Society to take this concern in hand in that country, and thereby the business would be brought about with his co-operation. At the same time a letter to our protector, Cardinal Carpi, might be advantageous, as likewise one to the King's Envoy, so as to make him push on the matter.' And after further advice Loyola concludes with these characteristic suggestions: 'Should, however, his Highness be of opinion that the Pope's concurrence cannot be hoped for, then, to make a beginning, it might be possible for one or two of us to discharge the Office temporarily until it could be done officially with the Pope's sanction.' To attempt to construe out of these words an expression confirmatory of indisposition to participate in the practices essential to the principle of the Inquisition, is a task which we hold will perplex the most consummate master in casuistry.

It must be apparent to the reader who has followed us so far, that the Organisation of the Society of Jesus is a creation comprising an armoury of unique weapons, at the direct disposal of a General who is an Autocrat. For, so long as the General only puts in play his powers in furtherance of particular interests, technically designated those of God's Greater Glory, he is free to strain them to any extent without check or trammel on his discretion. It is only if he should ever become tempted to deviate from the line of these interests, that the General instantly finds his strength incapable of making any impression on the grim
stubbornness

stubbornness of a system stiffened into cast-iron rigidity through carefully methodical saturation by an essence as subtle as it is indelible. The irresistible effect of so much concentrated power must naturally be to efface the action of every organic force except the General's, whose authority becomes irresistibly inflated by the assumption of despotic pretensions, hardly in character with the profession of humility. On both heads—the inordinate extension of the General's pretensions, and yet his incompetency to effect reform in the system—striking proof can be adduced. Under the administration of Acquaviva, the Spanish Jesuits resented strongly the General's arbitrary mode of government, and drew up a remonstrance to Clement VIII. In this remarkable document,* the Pope was besought to stay the intolerable action of one who bore himself as if he were the Master of Masters, inspired by an infallible nature, able to do exactly as he liked—to dispense favours solely at his whim—to adjudge and command, to make and unmake, according to the uncontrolled dictates of his personal humour—these complaints being supported by elaborate allegations. National jealousy of Italian ascendancy—for till then the Generals had been Spaniards—may probably have whetted the resentment of the writers; but still, as seen by the light of subsequent events, the remonstrance can only be considered as the forcible expression of stern truth, and of a sentiment characteristic of the generation that really founded and reared the Order. It is permeated with that proud spirit of Oligarchy, which made Mariana exclaim that Monarchy because unlimited was preparing the downfall of the Society—the spirit of men who were ready to follow with unhesitating enthusiasm Loyola as a commander, but never contemplated a General who should become an irresponsible Caliph. Nothing came of the demonstration, for already the General had absorbed the life of the Order, and the Pope himself, had he been so minded, could not have curbed the Society, as was proved by Innocent XI.'s failure to enjoin on it the abandonment of Molinist views. Himself of Jansenist leanings and anxious to repress the spread of Probabilist doctrine, Innocent succeeded in bringing about the elevation to the Generalship of Gonzalez, whom he knew to be an austere Anti-Probabilist. Indeed he had written a treatise in this sense, which was still in manuscript at his election, but subsequently printed. Notwithstanding the vast prerogatives vested in his hands, Gonzalez failed absolutely in making any impression. The Order proved stubbornly mutinous, inces-

* This most noteworthy paper, the genuineness of which is not disputed, is to be found in the 'Tuba Altera majorem clangens sonum de necessitate longæ maxime Reformandi Soc. Jesu,' Argentina, 1714, p. 556.

santly caballing against the General with malevolent denunciations, until he was worried to death, unto the signal overthrow of the united forces of a General and a Pope, who for once happened to strive together in the direction of a reform.

How futile it is for a Pope to think himself able, of his own authority, to make the Society acquiesce in commands, however solemn, when not to its taste, despite the oath of special obedience to him which every Professed Jesuit Father swears as his distinctive obligation—of this signal evidence was afforded in that curious Episode known as the controversy about the Chinese Rites. We cannot discuss how far the Jesuits stand convicted of having paganized Christian doctrine—of having falsified essential articles of faith so as to suit the temper of heathen people. The fact is plain, that early in the seventeenth century the highest authority in the Church saw reason for entertaining the gravest misgivings as to the mode in which, through the instrumentality of the Jesuits, conversions had been wrought in China and Japan on a scale so vast as to have shed dazzling lustre on the assumedly superior efficacy of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Notwithstanding the constitutional disposition of Rome to move against those who are promoting her ascendancy, it was felt incumbent to dispatch persons with powers for inquiring into and correcting the reported questionable practices of the Jesuit missionaries. The ecclesiastics sent, selected mostly from the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, comprised three Bishops and Vicars-Apostolic. On their arrival in those distant regions, they encountered from the Jesuits a reception as spiteful to themselves as it was glaringly disrespectful to the Holy See. There exists a memorial addressed to Innocent XI. by Cerri, secretary to the Propaganda, which narrates in detail the outrageous proceedings of the Jesuits. Not only did they deride the authority of these direct emissaries from Rome, but they carried audacity to the length of declaring the Apostolical credentials to be forgeries, and of persuading the natives that these new-comers were pseudo-Christians—impostors whose ministrations were but profane parodies on the holy mysteries, and they even exerted their ascendancy at the Court of Peking to get these venerable ecclesiastics seized and forcibly transported into the dungeons of the Inquisition at the Portuguese settlement of Goa. In vain did Clement X. and several subsequent Popes launch censures against such signal insubordination. Conscious of their local influence, the Jesuit Fathers in China laughed at these Pontifical bolts. They even advanced the noteworthy allegation that, as they acted under specific authority from their General, Bulls and Briefs in a contrary sense from the Pope could not affect them.

After

After years of protracted scandal and grossly flagrant repudiation of Pontifical censures, Clement XI. at last dispatched Cardinal Tournon, with the solemn character of Legate, with authority to put a forcible stop to this outrageous condition of things by the exercise of the severest powers of the Church. Despite his august rank, Tournon found himself every whit as unable as his predecessors to get the Pope's orders acquiesced in. Not merely was he expelled from Peking, but attempts were made on his life at the instigation of the Jesuits; and ultimately they caused him to be thrown by their friends the Portuguese into cruel confinement at Macao, where he died miserably. The circumstances attending this extraordinary procedure are narrated in a scarce book edited by the celebrated Cardinal Passionei, who supports his allegations by extracts from the reports of Tournon and his secretary Angelilla. The questioned genuineness of these documents has been thoroughly established, though the traces of this authoritative confirmation have been so carefully effaced as to be virtually inaccessible. The *Péres de la Mission*, commonly called Lazarists, whose head-quarters are in Paris, some years ago prepared for publication, and actually printed, a collection of missionary reports. One volume referred to the China Missions, and for it Father Theiner, then Keeper of the Vatican Archives, collated the texts given by Passionei with the original documents in the Archives, and testified to their absolute identity. But suddenly a stringent order from Rome prohibited the issue of the volumes, which were already printed, and that suppression has been so rigidly enforced that they may be said not to exist. It has not been possible to procure a copy for the British Museum. Dr. Huber, indeed, makes a reference to the book, as if it were a publication within everybody's reach. We believe a stray volume of the collection—the very one Dr. Huber refers to—does exist at Munich in the library of an ecclesiastical dignitary of European reputation, where Dr. Huber probably saw it. We have it at least on the authority of one whose knowledge of ecclesiastical libraries is probably superior to that of any living person, that he is aware of but one complete copy, which is in the library of a religious community, and not accessible to a student who might inquire for it. This fact is worthy of attention, as indicative of the extraordinary care taken by the Jesuits to ensure at any cost the obliteration of all evidence that can be unfavourable to the proceedings of the Society, no matter on what occasion or at how remote a period.*

* The collection is in eight volumes, and was printed in or about 1865, under the title of '*Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*.'

The curious plea in behalf of their contumacious disregard of Pontifical censures, which the Jesuits based on the superior authority of an instruction from the General, cannot fail to remind the reader of that remarkable Brief by which Pius V. secured the privileges of the Order from revocation even by a Pope, and of the acknowledged conveyance of Faculties through the inscrutable medium of *Oracula viva vocis*. In regard to both these points, the action taken by the Order on its suppression by Clement XIV. is curiously significant. No Pontifical utterance could possibly be more emphatically solemn than the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*. The Society itself seemingly deferred to the sentence, and its members made a show of dispersing into obscurity. But very soon they were found to congregate again in the dominions of the heretical Sovereigns of Prussia and Russia, whence they began to promulgate views flagrantly derogatory to the Holy See, and in contradiction to those they themselves had previously upheld. In Cologne Father Feller, a Jesuit divine of repute, printed so direct an attack on the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope, that a public apology was exacted, while in the University of Heidelberg another Jesuit publicly affirmed the proposition that the Pope could claim no power, direct or indirect, over Bishops, as they derived authority straight from Christ. In Silesia the Provincial, notwithstanding the Pope's Bull, kept his establishment open for the reception of dispersed brethren. In Russia, at the instigation of the Jesuits, the Empress Catherine threatened reprisals on all Catholic foundations, if any attempt were made by the Nuncio to enforce the decree of suppression on the members of the Society in her dominions; and, after opening a new house of Novitiate, the Fathers met, in 1782, to nominate a Vicar-General for the administration of the Order, which had been suppressed officially by the Holy See. They had even recourse to the dissemination of spurious documents with the view of making the masses believe that the allegation was unfounded of the Order being under the cloud of an abiding censure. Two forged Briefs were circulated, bearing respectively the dates of June 9 and June 29, 1774, the former expressive of the Pope's joy at the position of the Order in Russia, and the second announcing the immediate repeal of his predecessor's Bull. 'There is no conceivable error against true doctrine which there is not ground for apprehending that we may see professed by persons who are exasperated, licentious, irreligious, and the worshippers of might,' are the words written by the Nuncio Garampi in a secret dispatch,*

* To be found in Theiner's 'Hist. of Clement XIV.,' vol. ii. p. 409.

under date of November, 1773. Nor was it merely in the heat of an excited struggle for existence that the Jesuits allowed themselves to be hurried into having recourse to a reprehensible stratagem. The story of these absolutely spurious documents has been gravely reaffirmed by recent Jesuit writers of high standing, whose intellectual capacities carry within them melancholy guarantees that this cannot have been due to want of discernment. No less eminent a man than Father Curci—the starring preacher at the Gesù Church in Rome, and amongst the most prominent contributors to that ‘*Civiltà Cattolica*,’ on which Pius IX. has conferred the unprecedented distinction of being declared in an Apostolical Brief the specific organ of veracity and holy doctrine—has not refrained from repeating the glaringly false statement of the insertion of the said Brief in the ‘*Warsaw Gazette*’ with the acquiescence of the resident Nuncio;* nor is Father Curci the only modern Jesuit who has seen fit to speak of these fabrications as if they had been genuine documents. But Dr. Huber advances a curious statement, calculated to impart a new character to these otherwise inconceivably insubordinate proceedings of the Order, which we give on his responsibility, as the authority quoted by him is not within our reach. According to it the Society, though not revived publicly until 1814, had been so clandestinely many years before, through an *Oraculum viva vocis* given by Pius VI. This allegation rests on a statement made, according to Dr. Huber, by Father Roothan, the late General of the Order, in a printed Encyclical, under the date of December 27, 1839, which statement, Dr. Huber affirms, was never called in question by the Holy See. The allegation, if correct—and we have no reason for impugning so circumstantial a statement on the part of Dr. Huber—is most remarkable and signally significant; for even if we were to assume the utterance of this particular *Oraculum* to have been an invention of Father Roothan’s, the fact is still established—by his reference in a solemn act to the supposed creation of an organic faculty through the medium of this most inscrutable instrument—that the instrument itself, so far from being considered obsolete, and an unmeaning appendage, is recognised as a living and capital factor in the present organism of the Society.

The death of Clement XIV. has been ascribed to poison administered by the Jesuits. That such an idea should recommend itself to a certain class of writers is natural, but it is matter of astonishment to find Dr. Huber giving countenance to a story

* See his ‘*Una Divinazione sulle tre ultime opere di V. Gioberti*’ Paris, 1848.

so manifestly unsupported by any but the flimsiest evidence. No one who gathers his knowledge of the circumstances surrounding Clement's death from Dr. Huber's narrative can well acquire any other impression than that, notwithstanding Dr. Salicetti's medical statement after a post-mortem examination, the indications of a mysterious cause of death are still serious, and that the fact of the Pope having been poisoned was believed in at the time by some who were in a position to have the best means of knowing what happened inside the Vatican. We wish we could remain under the impression that Dr. Huber has here been merely guilty of carelessness; but there is an arrangement in his apparent references and in his statements which savours strongly of studied intention. According to Dr. Huber, the Spanish Ambassador, Monino, reported his firm persuasion that the Pope had been poisoned; this belief was credited at the Court of Spain and generally in the Cabinets of Europe; and 'it is a fact' that antidotes were found after the Pope's death in his room. It is noteworthy that Dr. Huber omits all but a passing reference to Father Theiner's 'Life of Clement XIV.,' not only the capital work on the subject, but one written in a spirit decidedly hostile to the Jesuits. The reason may possibly be found in the circumstance that Father Theiner, despite his unfriendliness towards the Society, is clear in wholly exonerating the Jesuits from having poisoned the Pope. But Dr. Huber does refer, in support of his allegation, to another historian of standing, Ginzel, and therefore it may fairly be demanded of him to have carefully read and faithfully given the statements of his cited authority. We have seen Dr. Huber affirms 'as a fact' the discovery of medicines in the Pope's apartments that were antidotes. On turning to Ginzel,* we find the following words: 'Of these pills the Pope made use, at the advice of Dr. Bianchi, as a means to promote perspiration, and by no means as an antidote.'† Is this a statement confirmatory of Dr. Huber's glib allegation? Far more important, however, than the opinion of any modern writer, would be the proof that at the time Foreign Ambassadors, such as the Spanish and Neapolitan, with their excellent means of information, had been led to the conclusion that poison had been administered, and on this head direct evidence is afforded in a book Dr. Huber never seems to have heard of, Ferrer del Rio's 'History of Charles III.' What a leading position was occupied by the Neapolitan Minister Tanucci amongst the political influences brought to bear against the Society of Jesus, is

* Ginzel, 'Kirchenhistorische Schriften,' vol. ii. p. 246.

† Thus Dr. Bianchi was a personal friend of the Pope's from his youth, and a native of Rimini.

notorious.

notorious. He, at all events, can never be reckoned as a witness whose testimony in favour of the Order must be considered liable to the imputation of partiality. Yet on two occasions Tanucci expressed his clear conviction, in confidential letters, that there was no shadow of foundation for the charge of poison, and in one addressed to King Charles,* he even referred to the very Monino whose authority is invoked by Dr. Huber in support of the statement which he has not scrupled to introduce into his text. There cannot be a doubt that the charge against the Jesuits of having accelerated the death of Clement XIV. by poison is substantiated by no tittle of valid evidence, and it is lamentable to find in a book like Dr. Huber's allegations, though in part veiled and rather insinuated than directly expressed, which are wholly unworthy of an author who lays claims to critical faculties.

Unfortunately this is not the only instance where Dr. Huber has been led into making very grave statements which can be characterized only as being without the shadow of foundation. A notable example occurs in his account of what passed on the occasion of the discussions in presence of Clement VIII. in reference to the doctrines about grace, represented by Molina. Dr. Huber's narrative is as follows: 'In the History of these Transactions, where both parties carried on their causes, it is related how the Jesuits made expressly for the occasion an edition of Augustine, in which they altered or expunged all the passages contrary to their doctrine. Thus, in 1603, Valentia, in presence of Clement VIII., affirmed, in the teeth of the Dominican Lemos, who had cited a passage of Augustine, that the same did not exist in his writings. Thereupon Lemos demanded that the works of this Father should be fetched. But Valentia had them quite ready to hand and read, out of the falsified edition prepared by the Order, the very contrary to what the Dominican had affirmed. Taken wholly aback at this, Lemos asked that the works of Augustine be fetched out of the Pope's library, and Clement VIII. was then able to convince himself with his own eyes that the Dominican had quoted correctly. On the fraud being thus

* 'Hist. de Carlos III.,' por Don A. Ferrer del Río. Madrid, 1856. Vol. ii. p. 505. Tanucci escribió á Centomani el 8 de Octubre: 'La recibida confidencial con que V. S. I. me ha favorecido el 4 del corriente concluye lo que yo creía del decantado veneno; esto es, que no es veneno criminal, sino veneno dialéctico el origen del deplorable suceso.' A Carlos III. el 11 de Octubre: 'Monino habrá referido la conjetura y la fama del veneno por obra de los jesuitas. Sería sumamente prolijo el discurso con el cual, despues de haber considerado y leído muchas cartas y minutas voluminosas de Roma sobre el asunto, ha venido á la opinion de que ningún otro veneno han dado los jesuitas y tantos agentes suyos en aquella corte al buen Papa sino el de hacerla creer que estaba envenenado.'

disclosed,

disclosed, the Pope said to Valentia, "Is it in this manner that you seek to deceive the Church of God?" Whereupon the latter fainted, and two days later died.* For all this Dr. Huber refers, as his one authority, to Serry's '*Historia Congreg. de Auxiliis*.' Now, in the first place, it may be asked why refer to a second-hand authority? Serry was merely a compiler, who very fairly, in his account of this capital discussion, refers to and quotes quite accurately the narrative by Lemos, himself an active participator in the debate, and one of the principal parties in the supposed transactions narrated by Dr. Huber. It will seem hardly credible that neither in Serry nor in Lemos is there one word which justifies the astounding statement, that the Jesuits had expressly printed a falsified edition of Augustine, and brought it forward during the discussion in support of the views which they sought to affirm. It is narrated with dramatic effect that Valentia, in the course of his spoken argument, did cite a passage out of the '*De Civitate Dei*'—that Lemos, taken at first aback, nevertheless happily remembered the passage; and, recognising the quotation to be garbled, appealed to the Pope to have it looked up—and that thus he convicted the Jesuit doctor of misquotation.† What, therefore, stands on record is the fact of a garbled reference—one, doubtless, of capital importance for the matter under discussion, but still garbled only in spoken reference, and not at all such a most elaborate and portentous trick as would have been the deliberately falsified edition which Dr. Huber explicitly alleges to have been printed by the Jesuits, with the express view of misrepresenting St. Augustine, and making him appear to have held views in conformity with their favourite theology. Dr. Huber's reputation is too high to let it be thought possible that he should have knowingly given currency to a sheer invention—an absolute myth. We do, however, believe him culpable of negligence and hastiness. As he was content with a passing reference to Serry, instead of looking into Lemos, so we can understand that he satisfied himself with a mere glance at his authority, without reading through the very detailed account which is given of the incidents attending this remarkable controversial duel. We regret sincerely to have had to notice blemishes of this nature in a book which has so much to recommend it, which treats a vast amount of matter in the main correctly and vigorously, and which certainly constitutes a valuable contribution to our literature on the Society of Jesus.

Here, for the present, we break off. Complicated and intricate

* See Huber, p. 282.

† The passage can be found in Lemos, '*Hist. Congreg. de Auxiliis*.' Lovanii. 1702. P. 279.

as are the matters we have been dealing with, they are yet surpassed in these respects by the various topics that would have to be necessarily treated in an outline of the doctrine which has been propounded by great and leading Jesuit Doctors. A review, however abridged, of the really essential points must yet demand an amount of detail requiring more space than remains at our disposal, so that we must defer till our next issue the consideration of this important portion of our subject.

ART. II.—1. *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor.* By the Rev. Henry J. Van Lennep, D.D., thirty years missionary in Turkey. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1870.

2. *Commercial and other Reports, received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty's Consuls, &c., in Turkey, during the Years 1867-72.* London.

‘ALTHOUGH in the opinion of some it matters but little to England whether an Othman, a Romanof, or a Hapsburg rule on the banks of the Bosphorus, it does, in the opinion of all, concern her much whether a Turk or a Frank rule in the Valley of the Nile.’

Thus far the practical good sense of ‘Mushaver Pasha,’ Sir Adolphus Slade; and had the gallant Admiral added the Valley of the Euphrates to that of the Egyptian stream, and coupled the Red Sea with the Persian Gulf, his proposition would have gained in completeness without losing in force.

The problem, or, to use the stereotyped phrase where the East is concerned, the ‘question,’ thus implied is one the solution of which depends on two distinct factors, namely, the external relations and the internal condition of the Ottoman Empire. However sound within, a nation may—though that is a rare event—be crushed, and even disintegrated, by overwhelming pressure from without; but however little interfered with, even bolstered up, it may be from without, it cannot, in accordance with the laws of nature, long continue to hold its own if it is corrupt and decaying within. Neither alone nor with as many allied Powers as may be ready to hand, can England guarantee the continued existence of the ‘Sick Man,’ if his sickness be unto death; nor even if she could, ought she, in her own best interest, to do so. But it is easier to speculate on, perhaps to calculate, the actual or possible designs of Turkey’s neighbours and enemies, than to form as much as even an approximately correct appreciation of the degree of her vitality or exhaustion within herself; and it is perhaps for this reason that discussion more often turns

on what surrounds the Ottoman territory than on the equally or even more important topic, what is the real condition of the Government and the populations included within that diminished, but still vast, area, the land of the Crescent.

Yet if there exist on the face of the earth an Empire into which such an investigation is not only justifiable, but even necessary, on our part, it is the Ottoman. There is, or at least there ought to be, no need for insisting on the geographical importance of its position by sea and by land—on the keys of the Red Sea, of the Black Sea, of the Persian Gulf, of India, of Central Asia—any more than on the gordian knot of complicated intrigue that ceaselessly twists and tangles within its limits, and that may any moment, must some moment, entangle in its coils the destinies of Western Europe, and our own the foremost. Setting all these things aside, there remain more special reasons, and of a nature to regard ourselves principally, though not exclusively.

Scarce twenty years have elapsed since the outbreak of the all too-famous Crimean war; not twenty since its conclusion by the Treaty of Paris. Nor do we intend any disparagement to our allies of that date when we assert, that among all the European signatories, assembled in Paris March 30, 1856, none accepted the 9th Article of the document then laid before them, with all its fair words of Imperial promise, more sincerely, more confidently, more hopefully, than the representatives of England. It was the acknowledgment of a debt contracted; a debt not the less real, because implied throughout rather than expressed; a convention too well understood to admit the formal obscurantism of diplomatic phrases. And how stood the contracting parties? On the one side there was support given, blood poured out, treasure lavished; on the other figured reiterated pledges, assurances of reform, of progress, of whatever may be summarily described as the good conduct of a nation: such were the title-deeds, and such the ratification. The one Empire, the Ottoman, admitted its short-comings in the past, and promised a new and better era in the future; the other, our own, accepted the promises, and gave the help which, in the days of Mentchikoff and Nicholas, was nothing less than a renewed lease of existence to the heirdom of Othman.

Liberal, indeed, was the help, and liberal, too, were the promises in return. Civil equality for all subjects of the Crescent, whatever their creed or race; abuses to be done away; monopolies to be thrown open; taxes moderated, and the proceeds usefully employed for the public benefit; justice even and unpurchased; education of all degrees and for all classes; public works; yearly budgets; encouragement of trade and industry,

nay,

may, even popular representation: whoever wants to study the programme has but to glance over the numerous Hatti-Hamais, youns, Tanzeemats, Tashkeelats, and analogous documents, Firmans, Iradets, Protocols, and so forth, that have radiated in an unceasing star-shower of bright Imperial promise from the palatial centre ever since 1856, and still radiate: if he would see the performance let him look at the Empire.

Not, however, at Constantinople itself—whether it be within the walls of old Stamboul or on the heights of modernised Pera, nor yet among the villas of Chalcedon or the Bosphorus. The capital of a despotic, even of a centralised—the one adjective may pretty fairly stand as a synonym for the other—Government is but a delusive standard by which to measure the country around it, except it be by antithesis, perhaps. Besides, Constantinople is not a capital only, it is a seaport; nor a seaport only but a refuge, a very nest of adventurers, of quacks, of sham diplomatists, of swindlers, of the worst scum of Western pseudo-enterprise and rascality, collected to prey on Eastern ignorance and supineness; of Europeans degraded into the baseness of Asiatic vice, and Asiatics refined into the finish of European scoundrelism; a repair where the robbers of all races divide and batten on their ill-gotten gains, and where Blake's visionary verses on an imaginary London find, with slight change, a much truer application than in our own or any other European capital.

‘the hapless “peasant’s” sigh
Runs in blood down palace walls.’

Here no just estimate can be made either of the social condition or of the progress of Turkey at large.

To the provinces, then, and above all to those least subject to foreign influence—least modified by stranger contact—where Turkish development, Turkish manners, Turkish institutions have their freest play; to the land which was the birthplace and still is the strong tower of the Turkish Empire, the provinces of Asia Minor, the Anatolia of our day. Here, if anywhere, we can take a just measurement of Turkish progress or decline.

Two sources of information are open to us, though each has its drawback: the one that of being too drily matter of fact, the latter not enough so. The former comprises the Reports, Diplomatic, Consular, or Commercial, yearly laid before Parliament and duly promulgated, enough for our purpose at least, in Blue books large and small, folio, octavo, and the rest. Much may be learned from them; and it is a pity that the fashion of their compilation should render them to the reading public in general as sealed as ever was the book of the Apocalyptic Seer. Yet the

are worth study, not as models of style, but as repertories of fact. The statistics of population, of commerce, of taxation, the condition of the agricultural, of the industrial classes, the tenure of land, the value of labour or rent, are mixed up in them with many curious notices on the administration of law and justice, on colonisation, on the relative position of Mahometans and Christians, on education, on police—in brief, on every topic. With a certain sameness in the outlines, they differ, however, considerably in the colouring, according to the idiosyncrasies of those who have sketched them: some landscapes, being from first to last of a sombre hue, that of universal blame and dissatisfaction; others, of a more chequered aspect, admitting patches of light here and there amid the shades; a very few bearing a roseate tint throughout. But, on the whole, the general impression they leave on the mind is, that the provincial populations, though not devoid of capacity for better things, are at present condemned to wither under a general atmosphere of maladministration and decay.

Next we turn to the recitals of travellers and foreign residents, such as his the title of whose work heads the Review; their number is legion, male, female, learned, unlearned, British, French, American, from the days of Hamilton, of quarto volumes and mezzotints, down to those of small octavos, vignettes, and gilded covers. Here the verdict is still more various. From the enthusiastic Turcophile, with whom the turban is a coronet of nobility and the mosque the symbol of sanctity, to the unsympathetic American, we have every grade of admiration and of disgust.

It could hardly be otherwise. Turkey, the battle-field of so many nationalities, interests, and creeds: the tangled skein of so many, and, we may add, such rotten, threads: the twilight, not, however, the 'morning' land between East and West, civilisation and barbarism, Europe and Asia, claimed by each, belonging to neither, is, of all regions, the one least likely to escape in its portrayal the false colours of prejudice and the touches of misconception. Every visitor who lands on the Turkish shore brings with him a baggage of preconceived theory on 'the Eastern Question,' or, 'the Cross and the Crescent,' or, 'the Semitic races,' or, 'the Sick Man:' and, as he has already viewed Syria or Anatolia from his study or club-room, so he will, in nineteen instances out of twenty, view it from the forest-clothed summit of Mount Olympus or the bare slopes of Anti-Lebanon. In short, the politician, the dilettante, the missionary, the European, the American, each will see unlike the other, and as each sees so he will report.

Of

Of this the book before us is an instance in point. Truthful, even to minuteness where he pictures the interesting towns of Amasia, Tokat, Sivas, and Angora: excellent in his notices, geological or otherwise, of the country and landscape around; accurate and ingenious, if not always critically correct, in his descriptions of the strange sculptures of Pterium, Eyook, and the Niobe of Mount Sipylus, and his dissertations on their antiquity and meaning, Mr. Van Lennep is incapable of appreciating at its due value the character of any Eastern race, or of understanding Eastern institutions and manners, still more so of passing a reliable judgment on them. As an American his mind has no point of contact with the Oriental; as a Protestant missionary he condemns, not Mahometanism only and its followers, but every description of Christianity except his own with a narrow-mindedness worthy of Archbishop Manning or the author of the 'Syllabus' himself.

Regarding the relics visited and illustrated by Mr. Van Lennep, and of the countless others that belong to the same, or later, some even to earlier, dates, that abound in the centre and east of Asia Minor, we have no leisure here for more than a passing notice. Temples and tombs, in the style and ornamentation of which no feature indicates the almost pre-historic race that hewed them in the living rock: others like those of Eyook, semi-Egyptian in their character; others, again, manifest Assyrian; Pontine carvings, where the influence of Greek art is occasionally visible; Roman, Byzantine, Seljookian, Turkoman constructions, each a history in itself: of these not a half, not a quarter even, has yet been properly investigated. Suffice to say that an Exploration Fund would have at least as worthy an application, and as satisfactory a result, in Asia Minor as in Palestine.

Leaving, though with reluctance, the interesting field indicated, but far from exhausted, in the antiquarian chapters of Mr. Van Lennep's book, we come to the author's strictures and animadversions on the Turkish Government and race, or races rather, for there are many subdivisions, all of which are referred by the similarity of their leading characteristics to something of a common stock. Here some of the writer's remarks are manifestly dictated by the ignorance which arises, not from want of experience but of sympathy. But some of the accusations made coincide in the main with those brought by other less biassed but not less serious authorities; and, on this account, deserve impartial investigation.

They are soon summed up. 'Beggars all, beggars all: marry,
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good air.' Little doing, less likely to be done; trade degenerated into pedlary, enterprise into swindling, banking into usury, policy into intrigue; lands untilled, forests wasted, mineral treasures unexplored, roads, harbours, bridges, every class of public works utterly neglected and falling into ruin, pastoral life with nothing of the Abel resemblance about it, agriculture that Cain himself, and metallurgy that his workman son might have been ashamed of; in public life, universal venality and corruption; in social life ignorance and bigotry; and in private life immorality of every kind; not 'something,' but everything rotten in the state of Turkey: such is the picture. We may add it is hardly an overdrawn one.

Yet the eye of a close observer may detect many and unmistakable indications that the general decrepitude of provincial Turkey, and of Asia Minor in particular, is not due to any native and inherent cause either in the population itself, or in the physical circumstances of the climate and land. We need not cite for this purpose the historical records of Turkish, and notably of Anatolian prosperity, nor appeal to the half-effaced traces of industry, vigour, art, and order that silently witness even now to an era of better things continued as late as the first half of the eighteenth century. It is enough to have passed some years of life in Asia Minor, and in the very districts visited by Mr. Van Lennep himself, to know by experience that the population, the Mahometan portion of it we mean, town or country, is, as a rule, industrious, simple, thrifty, ingenious too, peaceable, and orderly; that if strongly attached to their own religion they are tolerant of other creeds and practices to a degree rarely attained even in Europe; and that, with individual exceptions, they are as free from the grosser and worse forms of vice and crime as any nation under the sun. That they enjoy a climate than which few are more favourable to labour and produce; that the soil is almost everywhere fertile above, and rich in valuable ores below; that the coast abounds with places of shelter; and the inland with noble rivers, are facts which no one will question. Yet, amid all these advantages, it is no less certain that capital has vanished from the land, that every undertaking, every enterprise, commercial, industrial, agricultural, or other, is surely smitten with failure; that the social condition is deteriorating in every respect, the number of the inhabitants diminishing, and that the symptoms precursive of a general bankruptcy, not of means and finances only, but of vitality and of men, become more menacing year by year, almost day by day.

What then is the cause of these things? If it does not lie either

either in the country or in the inhabitants themselves, where is it to be sought?

In the opinion of not a few, 'Mahometanism' would be a sufficient answer to such a question. The intolerance of the Koran, say they; the antagonism it proclaims to civilisation and progress; the fanaticism it inspires; the barbarism of the practices it permits or sanctions—slavery, divorce, and polygamy, for instance—these are the stumbling-blocks in the way of Turkey, and by their removal alone can she hope to advance on the better path. But strange as the assertion may seem, the only hope for the duration of Turkey as a united empire lies in her allegiance to Islam. We have seen old ruins deprived of almost every architectural prop, and seemingly ready to fall asunder from hour to hour into formless heaps, yet held together in seeming defiance alike of gravitation and time by the dense ivy that clusters round and binds them. And thus it is with the tenacious, so-called bigotry of the Mahometan populations. Without a caliph, for Mahmood II. and his successors forfeited long since, at least in the popular estimation, all claim to that title; without a hierarchy, a thing of all ages unknown in Islam; without the once famous and richly-endowed schools of learning and piety; without a single teacher or instructor worthy of the name through the length and breadth of the Empire, they yet cling to their creed as firmly as did its first followers, and to the system of which that simple, powerful creed is the corner-stone, and show no more signs of abandoning it in its cloudy, than they did in its sunny days. Their national institutions have perished; their Sultan has become to them as a stranger, and his Government the mere expression of bureaucratic rapacity; their substance has been consumed by taxation, their homes by usury, their children by conscription, their lives by injustice; yet this one link binds them together, and centres them in the memory, the tradition, of Osman and Stamboul: a gathered crowd on the isolated peak of Islam, they stand still and gazing on the faint reflected shimmer of the Crescent, for ever set beneath the Western horizon; and in that gaze are one.

No traveller in the Turco-Asiatic provinces can have failed to remark the significant fact that, however squalid the town streets, however miserable the hamlet, one building in village or town is sure to be solidly constructed, well kept, swept, garnished, and even decorated; and that building is the Mosque. While elsewhere the native architects seem incapable of constructing one wall at right angles to another, or of bringing two house-fronts into symmetry; while heaped-up rubbish and all manner
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of refuse cumbers the broken pavement of the common way; while the plaster flakes from off the house walls, and the broken windows of the dwellings are stuffed with filthy rags; here in the mosque close by, the exact angle that ranges all the worshippers with their faces to Mecca has been calculated with the utmost nicety; every part of the edifice—porch, doors, windows, vaulting, is not only maintained entire, but decorated, if not always with taste, at least with care; while all around the place, on the paved paths that approach it, and among the tall trees that, wherever possible, have been planted to overshadow it, the most scrupulous neatness prevails. Morning and evening, Begg, landowners, tenants, ploughmen, artisans, day-labourers, slovenly and unpunctual elsewhere, attend with order, quiet, and precision; while the Friday crowd, with their clean dresses glittering in the noonday sun, attest a regularity, self-respect, and unity of feeling unattainable in any other place, or for any other object.

Nor is the all-pervading influence of Islam less remarkable in every phase of domestic life. Inscriptions of genuine Islamitic character are painted on the outside walls of houses, are traced in gilded letters on the boards framed and hung up within the rooms; at eating, drinking, rising up, lying down; at the greeting in the street, the shop, the field; in every conversation, on every occasion, the one formula is the password for all.

We admit once more that Islam, crystallised as it now is in its later days, presents, not, indeed, a barrier, but a check to progress; that its social code, whether prohibitive or permissive, is inconsistent with the better domestic, and therefore with the most perfect forms, of civic organisation; that it encourages a certain negligence in regard of human duties as compared with theological; and that by the contentment and endurance it preaches, favours a disposition to acquiesce in the lower steps of the ladder; thereby in a measure discouraging men from endeavour after the higher. But Mahometanism has two, seemingly antagonistic, peculiarities: the one, that half-heartedness appears to be impossible in it: its followers are Mahometans all through; the other that, however immovably fixed its centre idea, the circle of theory around it is capable of dilatation to a degree that might startle the broadest divine of our own schools. At once iron-bound and expansive, its formula admits within its range the spirit of a Huxley almost as readily as that of a Suarez: but, while admitting them, it communicates to each its own special tinge. To illustrate these statements would require not an article but a volume: those versed in Eastern literature or in Eastern life will, however, know what we mean.

We said 'so-called' bigotry; for bigotry implies not merely devotedness

devotedness to a creed, but hatred and contempt of those who differ from it; and this is not, broadly speaking, the Anatolian tone of mind. Ignorance and the semi-savagery of isolation may, of course, produce it in individual instances, but in general the provincial Turk, however attached to his own fashion of faith, has no antipathy for those who profess another. We see Christians and Mahometans living socially enough, as for centuries they have lived, side by side, in almost every village, every provincial town of the empire; and should any manifestation of ill-feeling and hostility occur, its commencement will rarely be found on the Mahometan side. Thus, horrible as were the Syrian massacres of 1860, we must not forget that even they were inaugurated by Christian provocation. On the other hand, the handsomest houses, the fairest gardens, the largest warehouses, the best-stocked shops, inland as along the coast, in Central Anatolia as at Meidania or Smyrna, belong to Christians. One Christian is a tithe-farmer, another a public accountant, a third a member of the Provincial Council. Where, then, is the special oppression? or rather where are its effects? Where, even the dislike or contempt? The very word '*Giaour*,' out of which so much capital has been made for stereotyped accusation, even official, has, in plain truth, no more offensive meaning than our own '*dissenter*,' '*heathen*,' or any other term employed to indicate those who differ from us in theological belief; it denotes the follower of some other than the established creed, but, in its ordinary application at least, throws no slur upon the creed itself. In a word, making all due allowance for 'the disgust which every well-constituted mind feels for any form of worship other than its own,' there is not normally more intolerance in Asiatic Turkey than there is in England or Prussia; much less certainly than there is in Ireland or Spain, perhaps even in France.

If, then, the Eastern Christians do not rise to a position of the highest importance, do not get the whole land with all it contains into their own hands, and elbow the '*usurping Moslem*' out of it, as it has been so often asserted they would do at no distant date, the cause must be sought, not in their Mahometan fellow-citizens, but in themselves. And we will venture to assert that no one who has known by experience Greek narrow-mindedness and unscrupulousness, or Armenian baseness and rapacity, but will allow that the turn of Fortune's wheel, which should bring these and their like uppermost, would be very far from a beneficial one for Turkey, or those who have to do with her.

Not, therefore, in the land or climate, not in the character of
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the dominating races that inhabit there, not in their creed, not even in their bigotry, are to be sought the causes of Turkey's avowed decadence, of her untilled lands, wasted forests, neglected mines, unrepaired or unconstructed roads, broken bridges, desolate coasts: of her diminishing population and increasing indebtedness, of whatever renders her what she actually is—a proverb and a byword among the nations. Yet a true and adequate cause there is; and one all the more fatal in its working that it is still, in spite of accumulated evidence to the contrary, regarded by the ignorance or the partisanship of many in the light of a benefit, not an injury; of an invigorating remedy, not a life-destroying poison. This cause is no other than the so-called 'reform' inaugurated by Sultan Mahmood II., and but too faithfully carried out, especially in its most injurious details, by his successors.

Life, whether individual or collective, whether of an animal or a State, is continuous; discontinuity is only another name for death: nor where this has once taken place can any second form of equivalent vitality be substituted till the original one has passed through absolute and elementary decomposition. A tree will bear much pruning and lopping of its branches, and even sometimes be the better for the process; but no new wood, however cleverly let in, can keep alive a severed trunk; a fresh sprout may, indeed, spring up on the site when years have rotted the bole level to the ground; but it is another life dependent on other conditions; the old one is gone for ever. Even more truly does this hold with a people and its institutions.

Whatever nation violently and abruptly breaks off the tradition link of its origin, forfeits its place among the living and leading ones of the earth; and its spasmodic efforts to enter on a new line of existence can only lead it further and further astray from its true orbit. Macaulays may apologise and Buckles extol, but a Revolution like that of France is at most a splendid suicide; and death, however the convulsions that precede it may for a short period simulate renewed vitality, is not the less certain and complete. If England has up to the present day shown herself capable of throwing off and recovering from demagogues and empiricists, while France and Spain have sunk down from one attempted re-integration after another into what we now see them, it is because the England of one century has never disconnected herself from the England of the century before; and while she has gradually modified, has never precipitately abjured her primal institutions.

To return to Turkey: if we would understand her present condition, we must know what she was in the past. The com-

mon idea—one studiously promulgated by the servile press of Constantinople itself and eagerly adopted by those interested in believing it abroad—is, that from an unmitigated despotism, in which the will of an absolute Sultan and the rapacity and brutality of subordinate pashas alone were law; where the population, especially the Christian portion of it, had daily to submit to fresh exactions and cruelties; where might alone was right, violence and injustice the order of the day, and no man could call the head on his shoulders his own, Turkey has at last, thanks to the enlightened energy and reforming zeal of Mahmood II. and his successors, been transformed into a, comparatively at least, free, orderly, law-governed, and progressive empire.

Now, of both these statements it is the exact reverse that is the truth. From a confederacy of half-independent States, each retaining in the main its own customs, privileges, and institutions, guaranteed by a strength to defend them, and by a rough, but efficacious, popular representation, Turkey has within the last fifty years passed into an absolute, uncontrolled, centralised despotism; under which every former privilege, institution, custom, popular representation—in a word, every vestige of popular freedom and local autonomy—has been merged and lost in one blind centralised uniformity.

When, in 1808, Sultan Mahmood ascended the throne, Turkey was not a despotic government; decentralised as she was, she could hardly with propriety be called a monarchy. Within the walls of Constantinople itself, where the barracks of the dreaded Janissaries fronted his imperial portal, nay, within his very palace, where the purchased pages of his own seraglio claimed and often exercised their prescriptive right to organise discontent and mutiny, the Sultan was far from absolute. But outside the capital both he and the pashas who represented his authority were held in restraint by not less than four other checks, three of which had a recognised and, after a fashion, a legal existence; the fourth, not the least efficacious, was due to the circumstances of the times.

For a correct appreciation of the Janissaries, a body that, throughout the empire, in the provinces as well as in the metropolis, held the capricious princes of the moody family of Osman salutary awe, the reader cannot do better than consult the admirable *résumé* given by Sir A. Slade at the opening of his work.

The Janissaries, originally, as is well known, a purely military institution, had in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by a series of progressive modifications, become a sort of overgrown

grown and ill-selected popular assembly ; which, however, though turbulent in its proceedings, and often rash and violent in its demands, had yet the merit of being uniformly opposed to the illegal exercise of the sovereign power, to the sale of offices, the debasement of coinage, and the other measures by which the later Osmanlee Court was already doing its utmost to ruin the empire.

Scarcely less powerful to prop a throne or to overturn it than the Janissaries themselves, were the 'Ulemah,' or 'learned men ;' a body of legists, the authorised interpreters of the Koran and of the laws based on it, and not unlike in their position to the scribes and lawyers of the later Jewish nation. These, with the 'Sheykh Islam,' and the two great military judges or 'Kadee-Askar,' the one of Roumelia, the other of Anatolia, at their head, formed a Court of Appeal, to which the Janissaries and their like had frequent resort for the moral and legal sanction requisite to support them in their resistance to the despotie vagaries of their sovereigns. Backed up by the arms of the soldiery and the voice of the people, the decisions of the 'Ulemah' could not be ignored with impunity ; and it is but fair to say that these decisions were generally on the side of right.

Both Janissaries and Ulemah, though powerful in the provinces, had their main lever of action in the capital. But without its walls, and especially in the remoter districts of the vast empire, two other recognised and, one might almost say, constitutional checks counteracted the free exercise of the central power. The first of these was formed by the 'Dereh-Begs,' or 'Lords of the Valley,' so called from the favourite position of their strongholds at the entrance of some mountain gorge, or defile road, whence they levied toll on the passers by. Many of these chiefs belonged to families that had ruled their districts centuries before the establishment of the Ottoman dynasty, from which, in return for services rendered, they had received patents of confirmation in their ancestral privileges ; others, more recent, had been created by the Turkish Sultans themselves. Supported by large retinues of armed followers and vassals, they continued down to the present century to exercise no inconsiderable amount of local authority ; and were the natural opponents of every oft-renewed endeavour made by the capital to drain the provinces to its own exclusive advantage. They corresponded to the feudal aristocracy of the European West.

Next in importance to the provincial action of the Dereh-Begs was that of the Timarlees, or holders of military fiefs ; their number, as early as the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent, amounted to 53,352, and became subsequently even more considerable.

siderable. Originally mere State tenants for life, they gradually rendered themselves, in the majority of instances, hereditary proprietors; till at last they formed an influential landed gentry, conservative, as such always are, and not less disposed to resist royal than other innovations. Collectively taken, the 'Dereh-Begs' and the 'Timarlees' represented the country, as the Janissaries did the town element of the empire; and it was from among their retainers and tenants that were recruited those terrible bands that so often devastated Europe, and twice encamped beneath the walls of Vienna itself.

Lords, commons, gentry, and law, had thus each after their fashion their constituted representatives in the Turkish Empire; and could assert, by force even, if necessary, their prescriptive rights. Taken singly, none of them, the Janissaries excepted, were very formidable opponents to a vigorous despot; but united they were irresistible. And behind them stood a fifth power, unconstitutional and formless, but by no means to be neglected in the calculations of any would-be autocrat—an armed people. Every adult male of those days throughout the Empire had weapons, and knew the use of them. Our own best historians have amply shown how far Lancastrian, Yorkist, and even Tudor monarchs were kept in check by a similar state of things within this very island; and in the far East frequent and dangerous revolts of over-taxed provinces often warned the Sultans of Constantinople that the obedience of their subjects, however extended, had its limits. In a State like this a Pasha or Sultan might be, and often doubtless was, despotic enough among his own immediate surroundings and dependants; but the nation at large, strong in its local and self-governing rights, and in the numerous guarantees, military, legal, aristocratic, territorial, and, if need were, individual, of those rights, had little to fear from a Mehemet Köpreli or a Murad IV. himself.

Of these five restraints on administrative encroachments, four have now been wholly swept away. The destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 is one of the most ghastly, as it is one of the most widely known, facts in modern Ottoman history; it was complete. The Dereh-Begs, isolated and incapable of acting in concert, fell the next victims; some who attempted resistance were subdued by force and put to death; others compromised for their personal existence by the sacrifice of their lands and authority; between 1830 and 1840 the class had ceased to exist. Equally sweeping was the annihilation of the Timarlees: Mahmood by a single stroke of the pen resumed all the fiefs, lands, and privileges granted by his predecessors on the throne; nor
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in the majority of instances was the smallest compensation made to the evicted holders. Lastly, a strict prohibition of the private possession or use of arms, a prohibition evaded of course, or resisted in many places at first, and in some few poor and outlying districts even now, but which has been generally carried out in process of time, disarmed the population at large to the sole profit, an illusory one, of the throne. The Ulemah alone remained; but, without a military accompaniment and the clank of arms, the feeble voice of law and justice rarely makes itself audible to an autocratic ear.

Turkey was now a *tabula rasa*, and Sultan Mahmood, as though to the manner born, proceeded eagerly to inscribe on it, where it lay passive before him, the Alpha and Omega of despotism—a standing army and a centralised bureaucratic administration. The loss of Greece and Algeria, the disconnection of Roumania and Egypt, the semi-independence of Servia, the treaties of Adrianople and Hunkiar Iskelesi, with all the other losses and humiliations that Turkey has had to submit to during the first half of the present century, give the interpretation of Sultan Mahmood's writing, for what regards the outer fortunes of the State: and an Empire converted, like the later Byzantine dominion, into a huge property, exhausted to feed an ever-rapacious capital, explains its permanent meaning for the internal condition of the Ottoman territory itself.

In fact, with the sole exception of bettering the condition of the Christians—that is, of the chief usurers and most unprincipled swindlers within the Empire; let him who knows the Greeks and Armenians of the Levant contradict, if he can—the Hatti Hamaiyoun has, in regard of all the good things that it so liberally pledged, remained a dead letter. The Administration is more corrupt than ever, justice more venal, popular education more neglected, taxation much heavier, public works more neglected, and the population at large more impoverished and faster dwindling than in any preceding epoch. With an ignorant autocrat, an irresponsible Ministry, a bureaucratic administration, a large standing army, an expensive navy, an *ad libitum* civil list, and no budget, public or secret,—he must be of a sanguine temperament indeed, who could hope for a different national result.

Want of capital is the head and front of Turkey's ills throughout her length and breadth, at the present day; want of men, the necessary correlative or result of the former, the second. To what degree both of these evils exist in the provinces, and how they have been brought about, will be best understood if we
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visit the very countries and follow the line of route traced out by Mr. Van Lennep, but as observers, not missionaries, and guided by the light of past history and present fact.

This, then, is Central Asia Minor. Here, if anywhere, is genuine Turkey: here are no intrusive consuls, no meddling Europeans, no foreign influence. This is the land of unfettered Turkish institutions, in ancient and modern times alike.

From Samsoon to Tokat, from Tokat to Sivas, from Sivas to Angorah, we may read as we run, in characters reiterated and unmistakable, Turkey's decay and the prime cause of that decay written in the contrast between the old and the new style of administration; and illustrated by the objects around us on either side of the road. It is a melancholy view. On a rising ground, wooded if near the coast—bare of all but grass, if further inland—stand the ruins of a large building, once the residence of the country Beg, the hereditary lord of the manor and governor of the district in one. Every fragment is significant; each stone tells its story. That gap in the ragged outline of broken wall was originally the wide entrance-gate through which the Beg used to ride out surrounded by his men-at-arms and retainers, by whole troops of horsemen, mounted and equipped, some at their chief's cost, some at their own, and all ready at a moment's notice, and no pay in prospect but the booty that each man's sword might earn him, to set off for Persia, for Moldavia, for Hungary, wherever the horsetails might lead them. One hundred, two hundred, three hundred troopers, it might be, from a district that now can hardly furnish twenty or thirty miserable conscripts, dragged away on foot to serve against their will for hire in that most unpopular institution, the 'Nizam,' or regular army. As for horses, the most searching requisition could now hardly collect from out of the whole neighbourhood a dozen lean, raw-backed animals, just possible to mount for a walking pace. Has the land, then, once so prolific eaten up its own inhabitants, man and beast—or why this change? Wait a little, we shall soon learn the reason why.

The gate is broken down, but over the whole extent of the hill summit stretch, some hardly scathed by time, so recent has been their abandonment, others rifted and battered, but by violence from without, the ruins of the mansion-castle. Battlemented walls, thick towers, fortified defences; they may have been erected to baffle rivals; they may also have baffled the Sultan's own emissaries when the messengers came to levy an extra contribution from the province, to the profit of the luxuries or vices of Stamboul.

Through the now fenceless entry we advance into what once

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was a wide square court-yard. Here, not half a century ago, was the ordinary place of afternoon resort, here the notables of the neighbourhood, Agha this and Khaneh-dan that, landowners, farmers, traders, often the peasants too, and the day labourers, used to assemble for gossip or business ; the place was open to all. In the large room looking down on one side of the court, where broken window-holes now let in the weather upon the rotting remnants of the planked floor, the Beg had his customary seat, with a few of his relatives or friends ; here he used to administer rough off-hand justice to complainants and defendants ; an informal tribunal, without fees, though not always without bribery and partiality ; but the arbitrary character of which was tempered by the rules and prescriptions of the Koran, often appealed to by litigants or bystanders, and rarely without effect. Nor indeed could the Beg himself, however capricious and despotic by habit and disposition, lightly venture on an overt act of wholesale injustice, especially among his own people and vassals. Public opinion, though despised with impunity from a distance, exercises a heavy pressure on those who live in the midst of it, and where deprived, as in the East, of the wholesome safety-valve of the press, is apt to take very violent and explosive ways of manifesting itself. Nor again is it an uncommon thing, nor one peculiar to a semi-barbarous state of society, that men will sooner acquiesce in the injustice of their own kinsfolk than in the justice of a stranger ; nor did occasional injustice destroy the popularity of a chief if brave, liberal, and ready to defend the interest of his vassals against rival neighbours, or even against the Sultan himself, as not unfrequently was the case.

We continue our survey of that saddest of all sad objects, the crumbling walls of what was formerly a dwelling, and notice the still smoke-blackened vestiges of the wide hearth and spacious chimney-place where the Beg's kitchen once stood. Here simmered the great caldrons full of rice and meat, out of which the many hangers-on of the castle, and principally the 'Deli-kans' or 'mad-bloods'—madcaps we should say—in other words, the unmarried youngsters of the Beg's retinue, made their daily meals. True, the mutton had not always been paid for, and the rice might have been summarily levied, not without fight shown for it, as a road-tax on some passing caravan. But however acquired, it was ultimately consumed within the district, and to the profit of the district, not sent, as at this day, to Constantinople to build for some half-crazy Sultan or intriguing Minister a new palace of wasteful luxury on the Bosphorus, or purchase on the sly some costly, because

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now contraband, specimen of Circassian beauty. Hard words, but we are not writing at random, or without knowledge of facts. But in the former times what was taken out of one pocket was at least put into the other, and the debtor and creditor account between the Government and the people, though unwritten and unregistered, was wonderfully evenly balanced at the year's end.

All up the sides of the green hill, far over the wide Asiatic plain, we see the yet uneffaced traces of irrigation channels, now broken down and dry, while, removed from their original places, and strewn at random over the ground here and there, lie the boundary stones that once marked the limits of fields, since abandoned to weed and bush. At 40 per cent. taxation, and such is the very lowest rate levied by the Stamboolee tithe-gatherers on the Turkish cultivator; if the crop be bad, the percentage may amount to something much higher; agriculture is not a paying business, and such luxuries as irrigation, drainage, manure, and improvements of any kind, are out of the question. The landowner, impoverished and in debt, cannot make them; the Government has very different uses for the money it has taken from him, and will not. Under the Begs the tenantry was sometimes, no doubt, vexed by exactions; but they were not less often relieved by exemptions; the shepherd who lives among his flocks knows each one how much wool they can bear to be shorn of; the distant sheep contractor looks only to his accounts. Besides, here again, the substance of the land, if occasionally extorted rather than gathered, returned again in great measure and by no distant circuit to the producers; this family was fed from the Beg's kitchen; that one had a couple of sons maintained among his troop; a third received reasonable advantages for the crops by the water-channel constructed at the Beg's charge, or the road repaired under his direction; while a bad season lightened from off the shoulders of all alike the burden that would otherwise have sunk them in hopeless debt. Horses, too, were cared for; the cavalry contingent of the district for war against the 'infidels' was fixed, and the quota strictly exacted on occasion by a government that above all was military, and as such could always in time of need command the sympathy and assistance, though not always in time of peace the fiscal and civil obedience of its subjects. Not one of these conditions but is reversed at the present day. Muscovite, Frank, German, whoever lists, may now assail the provinces with the safe assurance that the regular troops once overcome, no further opposition will remain; the people starved, disheartened, disarmed, and thoroughly alienated at heart from a
Government

Government that is a mere synonym for fiscal exaction, that takes all and gives nothing, that has forsaken the traditions of its youth, and preferred the office of tax collector to that of leader, will offer no resistance. 'If the Russians when they come pay for what they take, they are welcome, and we will supply all they require,' is the common saying of the Anatolian peasant. 'I wish they would come,' is the not unfrequent reply of his fellow. France after Sedan and Metz, but without the levies of the Loire and the Seine, would be but a pale counterpart of the collapse that must await the Turkish Empire after the loss of a great battle or two; no improbable event, should she ever be pitted against an enemy of real military skill. Constantinople alone would, it is likely, rally round the last Othman, as she did of old round the last Palæologus, with the bloody but bootless energy of fanaticism and despair; but the provinces she has oppressed and exhausted in the day of her security, will, in the day of her tribulation, leave her unaided to her fate.

As it is, they have not the means, even had they the will, to do otherwise. Taking our stand again on the ruin-crowned hill, we distinguish in the landscape around us two or three irregular-shaped grass-grown cemeteries, with broken tombstones inclined at every angle, from ninety to zero. The inscriptions on many are scarce fifty or sixty years old. These, and the clump of giant cypress-trees that cast their black obelisks of shadow over them, are all that is left of the thriving villages once near by. The Turkish dead are never laid to rest except in the immediate neighbourhood of the living, so that wherever a graveyard exists a hamlet must be, or have been,—now perished and gone. Want, disease (the invariable attendant on protracted want), emigration, and last, not least, military conscription, have done their work: they are doing it with those who remain.

But not far from the fragments of the old castle stands, or rather leans, a rickety wood and rubble house, ill covered with flaky plaster, every square inch of the outside squalor bearing witness to the poverty and disheartened neglect within. It is there that now lives the nephew or grandson of the lord of the castle, the actual representative of the old ruling family. His lands, his rank, his authority, all have been taken from him; and in compensation he receives, nominally at least,—for when was a Turkish remittance regularly paid?—some five hundred to a thousand piastres, that is, somewhat under 5*l.* or 10*l.* per month from the treasury that has confiscated from his fathers fifty, eighty times the sum; and that is now, from year to year, on the point of discontinuing even this miserable pittance.

What

What are his feelings and those of his kinsfolk, that is, of almost every respectable Mahometan native throughout the district, towards the Central Government, we need not say. Yet even now, when the Beg—for local courtesy continues to bestow on him the title that official bureaux deny—passes on the way, the peasants respectfully salute him, and give more regard and obedience to his suggestions or commands, powerless though he be to enforce them, than they do to those of the sallow, black-coated Stamboollee official sent hither to represent the majesty of the reigning Sultan, Abd-el-Azeez.

There, in the valley below, rises the ungainly, barrack-like house, a run-up shell of lath and plaster, which is the abode of modern officialism. Here resides the governor of the day, whatever his rank, 'Mudeer,' 'Kaim-makam,' 'Mutesarrif,' or Pasha. After long dangles about the waiting-rooms of Ministers and Secretaries at Stamboul, and wasting more money on favourites, writers, pipe-bearers, servants, and sometimes on their masters, in forwarding his suit than he himself cares to avow, he has obtained the post. Its nominal value, if one of the third or fourth category, may be from 5*l.* to 20*l.* a month; if of the better sort it may equal 40*l.* or more; but from this must be deducted, in his own private calculations, half at least of the income of the first year, of which he nominally makes a grateful sacrifice to Government, but which his patron really pockets—a perquisite of office. He himself, already in debt by his enforced largesses while at Stamboul, has had to borrow further to meet the expenses of the tedious overland journey hither on horseback;—a Polish engineer had long since the charge of making a carriage-road, and an Austrian company obtained, three years past, a railway concession; what has become of the funds set apart for these objects, they perhaps can tell, certainly the public cannot. Our new Governor's attendants have undoubtedly done their best to get from the peasants the means of transport, not to mention their food and lodging, by the way, either gratis or underpaid; yet, even after these reductions, journeying with a whole suite and luggage on horseback is expensive work; and for this expense no provision whatever is made by the central office. The Governor, on his part guileless of the geography of his own country as any of Marshal Leboeuf's officers on a frontier campaign, had never so much as heard of the locality to which he has just been appointed till the day he received his nomination; he has not the smallest antecedent connection with it, and no greater interest in or sympathy with those who inhabit it, and whom he is sent to govern, than an average Englishman might have, let us say, with Bolivia and the Bolivians. His whole calculation

is, to remain at the post two or three years, during which he hopes to extort, by fair means or foul, but chiefly the latter, from those he governs enough to enable him to pay off the more pressing of his debts; to send the expected yearly remittances to his patron and his patron's hangers-on in Stamboul; and then to get himself transferred to another, and if possible a better, place, leaving the well-squeezed orange to be yet further squeezed by his successor, whoever that may be.

About the gate of the 'Konak,' or Government-house, are lounging half-a-dozen shabby-looking 'Zabteeyah,' or policemen, dressed in clothes meant to be of European fashion, but badly shaped, torn, out of elbows, and every way disrespectful. Till lately, these men retained the ordinary Turkish costumes of their respective districts, one much better adapted in every respect to the narrow, rough, bush-tangled paths of the country; while the newly-introduced style, besides being awkward and awkwardly worn, has the additional disadvantage of being in itself a warning announcement from a considerable distance to any sharp-sighted vagabond—and such Turkish vagabonds, whose eyes are rarely blinded by 'poring over miserable books,' mostly are—that a policeman is coming, and thereby giving timely notice to escape. This, however, matters the less, that Turkish policemen are generally inclined of themselves to act on the great Dogberry's advice to his Watch, and to let the thief or villain, whosoever he be, show himself for what he is, by stealing himself out of their company, only 'for a consideration.' And in fact, as the provincial police is ordinarily paid at the rate of 80 piastres only, or about 15s., a head by the month, that this microscopic salary is generally several months in arrears, and that out of it, when they get it, they have to find themselves in everything, uniform and arms included, it is hardly to be wondered at if the poor wretches are always on the look-out for remunerative jobs; such, for instance, as laying hold of any one, guilty or not, who is likely to buy himself off for a small sum; and letting all others alone, whatever motive may exist for their apprehension.

Meanwhile throughout a district of, on an average, eight hundred square miles in extent, of which at least half are rock or forest, and consequently form the best possible refuge for any criminal who may desire to evade pursuit, twelve or sixteen policemen at most, of the description and at the wages above stated, are the sole existing guardians of order and law. Half of them are generally employed in collecting the Government taxes, living the while at free quarters in the villages assessed; of the other half some are, as we have seen, lounging about the doors of the Governor's residence; the rest engaged in his private service, or sleeping

sleeping on benches in some coffee-house, playing dominoes, perhaps. That bad pay means bad work, and no pay no work at all, is a truth of which the Ottoman bureaux appear to be as ignorant as some of our own officials.

And here we may remark on the extreme proportional difference between the salaries of the upper and of the lower class of officials in the Ottoman service. It is absurd, startling even; but, under the circumstances, not unnatural. While a 'Walee' or Governor-General receives for what is, after all, very moderate work, the equivalent of four, five, or even six thousand pounds a-year; while the Ministers resident in Constantinople itself, with the strings of the public purse in their hands, write themselves down at ten thousand apiece and more; while the Sultan disdains openly, and his favourites covertly, the restraints of a Civil List, a subordinate Governor, 'Mudeer' or 'Kaim-makam'—to give him his Turco-Arabic title—is lucky if he can draw for as much as three hundred, and his subordinates, in turn, if they get ten or twenty pounds: add to this that, except for obtaining the highest posts, where personal influence or connections may suffice for success, and excepting again instances of notorious and shameful favouritism, the recompense of services best left unspecified in European print, no office, no post, no favour, however small, is to be had throughout the Empire except for money. Every patron, every dispenser of good things, every great man, every Minister—the Sultan himself, one and all—have written up over their doors, not in letters of ink or gold, but in the yet more legible characters of unspoken, universal, irreversible custom, 'To be bought.' Hither come the suitors, a countless throng—for place-seeking grows in a nation as public spirit decays—and the Turks, once of all men the freest from this vice, are now the most widely tainted with it; a hopelessly degraded throng, too; for 'take a turn and mend' who may, it will not be he who has once, in Eastern phrase, 'sold the skin of his face,' *i.e.*, bartered away the blush of shame for office-hunting, little likely ever to brace himself up again to the independence of honest work, or even of honest idleness. The purchase is effected, and the purchaser's next care is to make the most of his business by the retail sale of what he himself has bought wholesale, through every grade and function of his administration. Thus Stamboul is parodied in the 'Konak' of every province, with this difference only, that the former plunders only to retain, while the latter retains indeed some part, but remits more. '*Omnia cum pretio*' might be affirmed of modern official Turkey more truly even than ever it was of Imperial Rome.

Even from a cancer like this cures are, so history avers, on record, in those fortunate instances when a nation has possessed sufficient vigour to throw off after a time the unhealthy element and regain the honesty of public spirit. But such cures are rare; and where they take place presuppose general national activity, great facility at large for entering on more honourable and more remunerative careers, the pressure of public opinion, and a moral sense of better things diffused among the bulk of the population; they presuppose too nobler memories of the past, not wholly disconnected from the present. None of these conditions exist in Turkey; with her place-seeking and corruption are but a natural sequence of the 'reforms' of Mahmood II., of rash empiricism, pseudo-centralisation, and bureaucratic absolutism: they are inherent in the order of things, and have no hope of cure.

Within a dingy, ill-swept, ill-garnished room—for why should he bestow care on the appearance of a place in which he is merely a passing stranger, with no object or interest on hand except to make what money he can out of it, and then leave it?—sits the Governor; his sallow complexion, shabby black suit, and the 'lean and hungry look' seldom wanting in his tribe, announce him a genuine 'Stamboolee.' Scattered before and around him, on dusty floor and worn cushions, lie some dozens of crumpled papers, covered with seals, signatures, and accounts: of these the greater number have reference to Government dues of various sorts; others contain the reports of the various 'mejlises' or tribunals with which the present system has complicated the Administration to the profit of those engaged in it, and the detriment of anything like business dispatch; others, again, belong to the ceaseless stream of nugatory telegrams to and from Constantinople. For the centralising system, with a large supply of telegraph-wires, some few postal conveyances—though both are habitually mismanaged, no secrecy being observed in the former department and no regularity in the latter—and hardly any roads, has naturally resulted in the multiplication of documents, especially telegraphic, to which nobody pays any attention, and of accounts for which there is, practically speaking, no verification.

As to His Excellency the Governor himself, he has learnt the lesson early taught him, that the only thing his superiors and patrons at Constantinople care for, the only chance allowed him of getting into favour or keeping so, his present tenure of office and his hopes of a better in future, are summed up, one and all, in remitting to Constantinople as much money as possible. How it was got no one there will inquire; how it is
expended,

expended, those who have seen the country-seats on the Bosphorus and the diamonds in the harems best can tell. Perhaps, as we have heard more than one of this class declare, he had first entered an official life with very different views and intentions; perhaps he then meant to make the welfare of those he was to govern his first object; then he devised measures for alleviating their burdens, improvements to supply their material wants, order, justice, and education, for their social requirements: a programme such as that Fuad Pasha himself might have dictated and Sir Stratford Canning approved. But all too soon experience taught him that official promulgations were meant to be read, not to be acted on; that very different things were expected of him by his employers at the capital; that they cared nothing for the people under his charge, everything for the money to be wrung out of them; and so he, like the rest of his colleagues in office, shaped his course according to the wind.

Unlike his predecessor, the old native Beg, who, almost single-handed, at little cost, and with a Kahiyah, or secretary, and a scribe or two at most, administered the affairs of the district, and yet found leisure to attend to his own, the new Stamboulee magistrate has paid assessors by the dozen and salaried subordinates by the score. There is an Administrative Council, a Town Council; sometimes, if near the coast, a Trade and Commerce Council, a Criminal Court, a Civil Court, a Police Court, besides the great yearly meeting of Deputies from all subdivisions of the district or province elected, as such elections go to represent, after a fashion, the inhabitants and their local requirements, generally a bridge, a road, or the like. Of these council members and deputies, one-half is made up by Government nominees, the other half is nominally chosen by the people; but such is the prevailing apathy, itself the ominous expression of political hopelessness, that the popular members, too, are in fact not less designated by Government than are the others. But by whomever these subordinates may have been appointed, they too know, one and all, no less than their chief, that the only projects which will really be attended to, the only suits that will effectually be promoted, are those which go to bring money into the exchequer or into the pocket of those who hold the keys of the exchequer; and they act accordingly. Look at the various council-rooms round the courtyard below; there, in an atmosphere of cigarette smoke, on a divan strewn with tobacco ashes and burnt ends of paper, sit chatting with each other the clerks, or 'Kateebas,' whose name is Legion; all underpaid, if we take account of their individual salaries; overpaid, if we consider the amount of the real work they perform,
which,

which, except where money is in question, amounts to nothing, and that nothing always in arrears. Outside the doors stand a crowd of ragged, poverty-stricken petitioners, who have paid away, or are still paying, the last fraction of their wretched savings to the ravenous crew within, in hopes of obtaining that redress for their wants and grievances which experience might have already sufficiently taught them they will never obtain.

A miserable spectacle. But we must not suppose that the indigence of these peasants is exceptional or peculiar to applicants of their class; on the contrary, the men gathered here are only an average sample of their fellow-villagers in mountain or plain, and even, in a large proportion, of the town population itself. Poverty is the rule for both; and if leaving the 'Konak' we take up our post of observation in the best frequented thoroughfare of any provincial town, even the most thriving, say Samsoon, Trebizond, Sivas, or Angora, and watch the passers-by, a quarter of an hour will often have elapsed before a single decently-dressed and well-to-do individual has come in sight. When he does, it is generally a Christian money-lender. And though the use of plaster in a southern climate, and the beauty of natural surroundings, rarely wanting to an Eastern landscape, often render the general effect of a Turkish town, when viewed from a little distance, pleasing to the eye, nearer inspection rarely discovers a single dwelling that does not bear the marks of premature dilapidation and decay. But in the clay walls and ragged roofs of the village cottages, or rather hovels, no illusion can find place; poverty, sheer poverty, is written in every crevice; and the 'nakedness of the land,' often of its inhabitants too, not metaphorically, but in absolute fact, is without and beyond any veil. Without capital, and without the possibility of acquiring or keeping it, matters could scarcely be otherwise; and throughout the Ottoman provinces capital is not diminishing, it is gone, it is utterly drained away. The first and greatest sluice has been opened by the Administration itself. We have seen that the hordes of officials let loose by the bureaus of Stamboul on the land are, and can be, from the nature of their position, nothing but so many leeches, drawing off the life-blood, partly to their own profit, partly to that of the central pool, whence they have issued. Of the taxation, direct and indirect, but all flowing in a steady stream to Constantinople, whence not a drop circulates back to the land of its source, we cannot say much here; the subject, a vast and complicated one, would require to be treated by itself. Fortunately, more than one blue-covered volume of recent date supplies
complete

complete and detailed information regarding Anatolian taxation in all its branches; and the statements made by the Consuls of Erzeroom and Trebizond, evidently after accurate and careful research, apply, with slight local modifications, to all the Asiatic provinces of the Empire. From them we learn that the average direct taxation of the peasant stands at 40 per cent., or nearly so, on his actual or possible gains; that of the townsman, who is on the whole less burdened, at about 30 per cent.; while the indirect taxation imposed on both by tolls, pass-papers, market-dues, custom-dues, dues of every kind, besides forced labour, requisitions, and, in the case of the Mahometan population, that heaviest toll of all, military conscription, about doubles the amount in either case. Meanwhile the Stamboul treasury, burdened by an unprofitable and ever-increasing load of foreign debt, ever on the verge of bankruptcy, and ever, by its desperate attempts to maintain an undermined credit, deepening beneath its feet the gulf into which it cannot but fall, puts every expedient into execution to squeeze the very last drop from the over-wrung fleece; carries its fiscal claims backward for imaginary arrears, and fain would appease the anxiety of its creditors by publishing statistics that show the amount collected from the provinces in 1872 to have been greater by a third than that collected in 1870. 'Therefore,' say outsiders, 'it is clear that the resources of the Empire have increased by so much during that interval.' Not so; they are the exigencies and the exhaustion of the Empire that have so much increased, the resources have proportionately diminished. The tree is being cut down, that the reckless owner may gather the last fruit lurking among its branches. When to these things we add the growing depreciation of property, especially real, consequent on the habitual absence of law and justice in the provinces; the expense of purchasing what may hold the place of law and justice from corrupt tribunals, when they can no longer be dispensed with; when we add that, however bad a season may afflict the peasant, whatever commercial crisis the townsman, whatever general cause of distress the whole country, the burden of direct and indirect taxation never varies, except to grow heavier, we may wonder not that the inhabitants are poor, but that they are still alive to be so; not that the provinces are under-peopled, but that they are not wholly desert.

But, as though all these things were not enough, another blight—the ordinary sequence of malgovernment—overspreads the land, as pestilence follows famine. What the tax-gatherer has left, is gleaned by the usurer. In spite of the fair promises
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of the Hatti Haminoun of 1856,* there exists even now no credit system in Turkey, no country bank, no means of obtaining an advance, except by private loan; no investment, except in such loans; no limit to the terms, no security on the payment. True there is the 'Bourse' of Galata, the 'Ottoman Bank' at Pera, Smyrna, and Beyrout, with a few similar establishments in the principal seaport-towns. But they have no branches in the country; and their operations regard almost exclusively foreign or Government loans, and transactions of a speculative character with mixed European companies, railroad or other; the tendency of which is to draw off the wealth of the Empire, not to husband it; they are not reservoirs, but drains. The peasants, pressed by the claims of the tax-gatherer, the landowner in need of money for improvements, the shopkeeper desirous of outfit, the artisan who would set up or extend his workshops,—are one and all driven into the hands of the private money-lender, generally an Armenian; often himself the tax-farmer of the district, and who, as creditor, has probably under his thumb the principal officials of the province also. Thus between the claims of the Government and those of the usurer, the unfortunate peasant is ground as between an upper and a nether millstone, of which it would be difficult to say that either is the harder. Three per cent. per month is the ordinary rate of Armenian interest; and this, if unpaid, is at the end of the year added to the capital. The day of selling out soon comes; the family emigrates or starves, and the usurer remains ready to pounce on the next comers, and repeat on them the same process as on their predecessors. We have known a single money-lender thus draw to himself the substance and destroy the population of a whole district.

Another evil that naturally follows is, that capital wherever it exists is certain to be applied almost exclusively to loans of this nature, while for productive investments scarce a farthing can be found. A profit of 36 per cent. even at the risks it involves is sure, particularly with Asiatics, to be preferred to one of 4 or 5 per cent. though more solid and made by honest means, such as mining, agriculture, irrigation, and the like. Hence too, as a further consequence, every work of public utility is thrown into the hands of foreigners: foreign capitalists construct harbours, work mines, utilise forests, lay down railroads;

* 'On s'occupera de la création de banques et d'autres institutions semblables, pour arriver à la réforme du système monétaire et financier, ainsi que de la création de fonds destinés à augmenter les sources de la richesse matérielle du nou Empire.'—*Firman et Hatti Sherif*. February 21, 1856.

or, at least, organise companies which profess to do all these things; while the profits, if any, are shared among foreigners and outside the country. Native capitalists, the high-placed official who sells the 'concession' and pockets the fee alone excepted, are passive and take no share. Lastly, whatever home-made capital still remains in the territory is unavoidably, by the very universality of small private loans, so broken up and subdivided as to become practically useless for any serious purpose. Of all the sinister influences at work within the Empire, none is more directly destructive of its internal prosperity, and, above all, of its agricultural and landed well-being, than this.

'Not a single property, great or small, within this district, but is burdened to my certain knowledge with obligations and liabilities exceeding the value of its possible produce for two generations to come,' said a Turkish provincial governor, and confirmed his assertion with an oath. He might have safely added that not a crop was then standing in the field which had not been bartered away in advance, for half its real value, to some usurious lender; probably the very same who had farmed the taxes of the province, and was about to make his additional percentage on this bargain also. But he knew his duty too well to make any reference on the subject to headquarters, where his province and its inhabitants were only represented by their remittances; where their grievances would excite no sympathy, and schemes, however rational, for improving their condition, no interest. Nor was it likely that any of the numerous but obsequious placemen around him, members of councils, tribunals, or boards, each intent on retaining his own position and making his own profits solely, would care to compromise himself with his chief, or at Constantinople, by unseasonable representations to unlistening ears. Meanwhile, should the Governor himself, led by the natural feeling which compels even the most apathetic to take some interest in what immediately surrounds him, desire to alleviate or remedy the evils he witnessed, he would soon find that though all-powerful to take, he was all-powerless to help or give; that, in fact, he could do nothing without an authorisation, for which he might long write and write in vain.

For, as matters stand, except imperial palaces, barracks, Krupp guns, ironclads, state factories, and presents, little other public expenditure is likely to be sanctioned by the central fiat even within range of the Bosphorus, and none beyond it. When the mines of Anatolia are worked, the manufactures of Syria encouraged, the dykes of the Tigris Valley restored; when the bridges, roads, quays, embankments, canals, reservoirs, caravansaries, all that

was

was the pride and profit of local governments, and is now perishing or has perished with them, are repaired and perfected; then indeed will there be hope for the government and the governed, for Turkey and her Sultan. But it is a hope too far off yet even for prophecy.

For this, also, Sultan Mahmood has to answer. When, jealous of power, he destroyed the old aristocracy of the Empire, he destroyed the only class from which a Government worthy the name could be formed; to replace them by parvenus and sycophants—men untrained in the school of family honour, men of expedient and of yesterday, men whose motto could be none other than '*après nous le déluge*,' and their conduct in accordance. Very few, since the beginning of this century, have been the Turkish Ministers who could name with a hope of recognition their own grandfathers: some have themselves risen from the very lowest ranks. Yet it is certain that no man who has not an honour of his own to care for, can safely be entrusted with the honour of others; no one who for half his years has been absorbed in pushing his own interests will bestow the other half in honestly watching over the interests of those entrusted to him. An aristocratic bureau-government, like that of Venice, may stagnate; but a plebeian bureau will soon ferment into the corruption of a New York 'ring' or a Bordeaux committee. And here again is one of the bad lessons Turkey has taken from that most pernicious of political instructors, France; with her she has substituted the aristocracy of intrigue and patronage for that of birth; like her, too, she has sacrificed an empire to a capital; and but for the sabre still girt to the loins, however degenerate, of a son of Othman, and the inherent self-sustaining tenacity of Islam, she would before this have paid a like or an even more fatal penalty.

But the mention of the sabre reminds us of those who should wield it, and we ask what is there in the Turkey of our days to replace the terrible Janissaries, the Sipahées, the Lewendâ, Akinjees, Segbans, and Gunellees of Varna and Mohacks? And here again we will take our answer from the provinces, and, better than any, from Anatolia itself, where the numerical preponderance of a Turco-Mahometan population renders military conscription at once more regular and more comprehensive than anywhere else. In the European half of the Empire the bulk of the population, being Christian, is exempted, while in Syria, Mesopotamia, and the outlying eastern districts, the Koordies, Arabs, and other wild tribes are apt to exempt themselves from the burden. Thus the entire standing army, reckoned at, though not really attaining, 165,000 men, besides the navy, which may
require

require about 30,000 more, has to be gathered from a population not exceeding at most 8,000,000 of souls, men, women, and children, thus giving a percentage of about 20 per cent. on the available male inhabitants—a heavy ‘blood-tax.’ We will return for a moment to the modern official residence, the ‘Konak,’ that we have already visited in Central Anatolia; perhaps we may there learn something as to how these things are managed under the present system.

It is early morning, but the courtyard already holds numerous groups of pale, meagre, ragged youths, worthy, to judge by their looks, of Falstaff’s own regiment, awkwardly huddled together among their weeping relatives, decrepit fathers, wrinkled mothers, brothers, friends, come hither from the district round to be present at the ‘Kura’ or ‘lot drawing’ of the annual conscription. For the recruiting party from Stamboul has arrived; the lists of peasant names for a circuit of many miles round have been looked over, and the village headmen or ‘Mukhtars,’ the last feeble remnant of an old self-governing organisation, have received orders to send all eligible youths to take their chance of military service at the ‘Konak.’ There is no fear of any disturbance among the crowd; no excitement, no feeling is manifested except that of unwillingness and reluctance, as ever and anon the shrill voice of some old woman is heard under the little window of the room where sits the recruiting officer, entreating that her Osman, her Mohammed, her Alee, may not be taken from her to be lost in the ranks of a distant ‘Ordoo’; that the last prop of their cottage be not wrenched away; the last fire quenched on its hearth. The young fellow himself makes no affectation of any greater zeal on his part to wear the Imperial livery; he too joins his supplications, even his tears—for the heroes of Asia Minor have no more shame in shedding such nowadays than they had in the times of Troy and Homer—to those of his family; every plea is put forward, every excuse invented, and all not to be a soldier. Nor must this conduct be attributed to disaffection or cowardice; the real motive is the loss which the young man’s absence will cause to those whose livelihood depends in great measure, perhaps absolutely, on his labour; it is fear, not for himself, but for those he leaves behind to want and starvation, a fear too often justified by fact, that draws the tears from his eyes and prompts his entreaties no less than those of his relatives. In vain, his turn has come, the lot has been drawn; in another day he will be marched off to the depot, and when after long years he returns to what was his home, it is well if silent walls and thatchless rafters are not his only greeting.

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He too will in the meanwhile have undergone a great change, and in some respects one advantageous, not for his relatives indeed, but for himself. The Eastern nature is pliant, almost plastic, and the lad who to-day by his looks, gestures, and cries seems as if he were being led away for immediate execution at least, will, before a year is out, have been by the combined influences of discipline, comrades, and barrack-life transformed into the most orderly, docile, enduring, cheerful, and not the least brave of soldiers.

Without the reckless dash that signalised their onslaught in bygone days; without the terrible enthusiasm, fostered by the consciousness of power, and reinforced by the anticipation of unlimited booty, that animated the besiegers of Vienna and the captors of Bagdad, the drilled and disciplined soldiers of modern Turkey have yet never failed to prove themselves truly possessed of the military qualities most essential to successful warfare alike in every age, modern no less than historic. The annals, even the European ones, of the Crimean war allow their merits; the Danube line and the Asiatic frontier, Montenegro and Candia have witnessed their undiminished courage; nor can any one have visited their camps or accompanied their march without admiration for their patience under privations and their amenability to discipline; qualities not always found in the better appointed, better cared-for troops of European armies. The spirit, too, of Islam, if occasionally languishing in the seaport bazaar or the dissipated capital, recovers much of its pristine vigour in the congenial atmosphere of a camp, and the obedience no less than the courage of the Turkish soldiery assumes an almost religious character,—no unimportant fact in a land where the only nationality recognised is that of creed. Nor are the ancient traditions of 'Ghazoo' or 'Holy War,' synchronous with the Arabian Prophet himself, and his injunction of never sheathing the sword once drawn against the infidel wholly forgotten; nor do breech-loaders and clothes of European cut dissociate the soldier of the Turkish 'Nizam,' in his own mind at least, from the turbaned warriors who warred sword and spear against the Franks in Palestine. He who does battle with Greek, Russian or European, is still as of old a champion of the true faith; he who falls, though struck down by the bullet of a needle gun, a chassepot, or a mitrailleuse, is a brother-martyr of him who perished more than a thousand years ago by Roman javelin or Greek fire in the days of Heraclius or Manuel. Islam is the one last unsevered link between the Ottoman past and present, between the real and the pseudo-Turkish Empire, and its strongest clasp is in the Turkish army.

Nor

Nor should we forget that the Turco-Ottoman race itself, or rather the races that have united to form its actual bulk, Turks, Tartars, Turkomans, Circassians, and Koordes, have always been emphatically soldier races; for centuries war has been to them the real business of life, other pursuits mere fills-up and pastimes; hence they are naturally at their best when engaged in a profession which, however modified by the progress of the times, is still more congenial to them than any other.

It is worth notice too, what, indeed, has been hinted at by Admiral Slade and other competent authorities, that not only is the army isolated by circumstances of military discipline and barrack-life from the generality of the surrounding population, but that familiarity of intercourse between soldiers and civilians is positively discouraged by those in power. The Sultan, or more properly the bureaucracy which replaces him and acts for him, desire to retain so powerful a weapon exclusively in their own hands. And, indeed, the Turkish military officials are of themselves, and independently of any external influence, very little disposed to intimacy or even friendship with the civil authorities, whom they regard as upstart intruders on their own prescriptive rights; nor without good reason. The Civil Service of Turkey, as distinct from the military, and still more as superior to it, is an entirely modern creation, initiated by Sultan Mahmood II., perfected by his successor, Abd-el-Mejeed, never popular with the nation at large, and positively odious to the army and all in it; who have thus seen more than half their old honours and emoluments transferred to a recent and less worthy rival. To this very antagonism is, however, on the other hand, due the fact that the Ottoman Government of our own time occupies a much stronger position in regard of its own subjects than it did at a former date, when the army was sympathetic, almost synonymous with the people; and thus can now enforce behests, realise exactions, and subdue resistance, in a way unknown before. Much to the advantage of the office-holders, no doubt; not equally so, perhaps, to that of the Empire at large.

Whether this same army may not some day, like the Janisaries of old, though, perhaps, in a less noble and less public-spirited cause, prove a very Frankenstein to the power that has called it into being, is a question of which the answer must be left to time. Symptoms of discontent and insubordination have more than once manifested themselves, especially among the pampered and petted troops massed together in the ostentatious idleness of suburban barracks round Constantinople; and these symptoms have been met, not with becoming firmness and severity,

severity, but with additional pampering and yielding weakness. A dangerous precedent, especially in an overgrown capital and a declining Empire. The evil does not, indeed, appear to be imminent, at least in its more critical forms; but it exists, and may prove serious before long.

But if we consider the army, not in itself so much as in relation to the Empire at large, we shall find it to be a source of weakness rather than of strength—a peril, not a protection. Subtracted from a poor, insufficient, and dwindling population, every batch of recruits leaves behind it a gap in the labour and resources of the country that has no tendency to fill up; it is the stock, not the surplus, that is being drawn away from the land. Thus we have in the military conscription a direct cause, acting in concert with the two chief indirect ones already noticed, namely, maladministration and usury, for that visible decay of the Mahometan population about which so much nonsense has been said and written. The while, on the contrary, the Christian races, the Greek and Armenian especially, though not a whit more virtuous than their Turkish fellow-citizens, nor, though monogamists, more physically prolific, but exempt from conscription, shielded too in no inconsiderable measure by the fostering care of consulates and embassies from the ill-effects of maladministration, and themselves the lords and exactors of usury, not its victims, have full play to increase and multiply, as they do, on every side.

Lastly, the nation, taught to consider itself as distinct from the army, and in a measure at variance with it, has also learned to regard the defence of the Empire as no part of its duties, and is disposed to take no share in it, come what may. Take, as an instance, Anatolia, than which few countries are better adapted by nature for guerilla warfare; few, where an enemy, cut off from supplies and harassed by a hostile peasantry, would find it more difficult to advance. Yet the resistance experienced there by Paskievitch in 1829, and by Mouravieff in 1855, was simply co-extensive with the ground occupied by the regular troops opposed to them; nor would it be a whit more general at any future date. This apathy is by no means peculiar to Anatolia; it is the same, or even deeper, in the other provinces; a serious consideration for an Empire with so open a frontier-line both by sea and land as Turkey.

‘Our soldiers are excellent; our regimental officers, up to the rank of captain, tolerable; our field-officers wretched; our general officers as bad as can be; and the highest up and oldest are the worst of all.’ In these words a Turkish field-marshal, in command of one-sixth of the entire Ottoman army, a man of judgment

judgment and experience, summed up the condition of the service to which he belonged. Nor was this verdict,—one to which those best acquainted with the subject will regretfully subscribe on every point,—given twenty or thirty years ago, when the newly-established system might have been reasonably supposed not yet to have had time sufficient for freeing itself from old defects and abuses, but last year only.

What, then, is the reason of so marked a difference of efficiency between the Turkish soldier and the Turkish officer? and whence the superiority of the former in his line over the latter in his? The circumstances and the training of each supply a sufficient explanation.

The duties of a common soldier are easily learnt, and are, besides, of a character eminently congenial to an Eastern, and still more to a Mahometan, recruit. No better training-school for endurance and privations of every kind can be imagined than the ordinary life of a young Turkish peasant. Bred on the rugged slopes of Lazistan, or the wind-swept plateau of Sivas, cold, heat, rain, hunger, thirst, fatigue, exposure, want, have been the familiar companions of his earliest years; his daily meal a piece of maize-bread, his clothing rags; his bed, the damp floor of an ill-thatched hut: the roughest campaign could hardly exact more of his youth than home life has already of his boyhood. In addition, and as if in special view of a soldier's career, respect and obedience to his elders and those above him have been his earliest lessons; the often-recurring ceremonies, one might almost say gymnastics, of the five stated prayers, performed now alone, now in company with others, have brought him half-way on his drill; and the stories told by his neighbours of the Meccan pilgrimage, though he himself may not have shared in it, have accustomed his mind to ideas of distance and danger. Lastly, he is a sincere Muslim—the poor, whatever their form of religion, are generally sincere in it—and Islam is a proselytising, and, therefore, by a necessary consequence, a pugnacious creed. It would be harder to make a bad soldier than a good one out of materials like these.

Much more complicated are both the duties and the training of an army officer. In physical vigour and endurance he ought scarcely, if at all, to yield the palm to the soldier he commands, while in intellectual acquirements and moral standard he ought, of course, to be considerably above him. Now in modern Turkey the social class from among which a young officer is the most often recruited, is one the children of which are brought up in hareems, and pass through their boyhood with no more idea of gymnastics than the students of an Italian '*collegio*' or French '*petit*

'*petit séminaire*;' sallow-faced, flabby lads, with regular but spiritless features; much addicted to premature cigarettes, cards, and vice; but guiltless of any single form of exercise or amusement enumerated in the Index of the '*Boy's Own Book*,' or practised by the youngsters of an English or German school. Petted and spoiled from their earliest days, these striplings have little respect for age and less for authority: their nearest approach to a journey has been a saunter along the '*Grande Rue*' of Pera, or a feeble canter on the Beyook-Dereh road; fatigue, hardship, and danger, are things scarcely known to them even by name; the only ideas with which the intercourse of their elders has familiarised them are '*Bourse*' transactions, intriguing, jobbing, and profligacy. Their very Islam is vigourless; French associates, vermouth, and cards have not, perhaps, wholly effaced, but have dulled and blurred its characteristic impressions; the '*café*' is more familiar to them than the mosque, the card-table than the prayer-carpet.

Thus prepared, but with no other primary education, ignorant even of his own language, so far as its grammar and literature are concerned, without an idea of history, geography, or any science whatsoever, the town-bred boy is sent to the military College of Constantinople. Entered there, he has to pass the first and the most valuable of his '*learning years*'—to borrow a convenient German phrase—in acquiring initial rudiments of education which a European child of his age has picked up at home, perhaps at his mother's knee, before ever his name figured in a school list. At last, after much and irretrievable loss of time, our young Stamboolee arrives at the special sciences of his future profession. Here his lessons are dictated to him by professors—French, Italian, and Turkish, mere speculative teachers themselves, unskilled in the practical application of the very sciences they dictate: often ignorant and dishonest teachers too, with no object in view except their own salaries and what personal advantages they may be able to procure for themselves one way or other out of their pupils. As to the lessons, delivered mechanically and rehearsed by rote, they are exercises of memory, little more. Knowledge thus acquired is hardly likely to be kept up by private study in after-life: and, as a matter of fact, books, manuals, and diagrams form no part of a Turkish officer's baggage, whatever may be his occupation. Besides, any slight interest that an inquiring and intelligent pupil might possibly take in his theoretical studies, is quickly neutralised by the great practical lesson that he soon learns within the walls of the college itself; namely, that not proficiency, not merit, but favour, connection, and intrigue, are the
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sole real arbiters of his future advancement. He sees military rank, even of the highest grade, conferred on lads around him nowise better, perhaps decidedly inferior, to himself, merely because this one is the son of a Pasha, that of a Minister, a third of a favourite at Court. One boy, though still a dunce on the scholar's bench, is decorated with the insignia of a colonel, another with those of a general; while he himself, toil as he may, is (if patronless) fortunate should he, at the close of his studies, obtain a sub-lieutenancy; in which poorly-paid grade he may linger for years, till some lucky chance, or sheer length of service, perhaps brings about his tardy promotion.

School and college days are those that more than any others mould the entire character of after life: and he must be dull indeed who cannot from the picture just given of the first scenes in a Turkish officer's 'progress' image out those that follow to the end of the vista. But neither public nor even professional spirit, neither attention to the duties of rank, nor self-discipline and preparation worthily to perform those of a higher position when acquired, must find place in the series. As the career began in superficiality, favour hunting, and idleness, so it will continue, so it will close: and individual exceptions for the better will be unable to correct, or even modify, its original and prevailing tenor. To sum up, a Turkish officer, especially a young one, is tolerably sure to have in a marked degree one, and one only, good quality, that of easy, good-natured kindness to his men: he is also, particularly if advanced in age and rank, still surer to have two bad ones, to the full as distinctly marked: they are profound ignorance of whatever regards his profession and carelessness about learning or practising it.

'Better a herd of sheep led by a lion than a herd of lions led by a sheep,' says the old proverb; and, with slight modification, it is applicable here. Hence, in spite of all the excellent military qualities, physical and moral, still existing in the lower ranks of the Turkish army,—in spite of an enthusiasm not wholly dimmed and something of the old warlike fire of Islam—the future of that army, officered as it is, when put to the test, can hardly be considered doubtful. Gravelotte, Sedan, and Metz have shown what the best and bravest troops may come to when they have a *Maréchal Bazaine* at their head; and Sedan and Metz will be, not re-enacted, but outdone, on the plateaus of Anatolia or the defiles of the Balkan, should Providence ever assign to the Ottoman Empire what has been spared it thus far, namely, an adversary who shall be at once a good tactician and shall bring to the contest a well-appointed army.

Mention of the military schools and of their defects, or rather
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of their utter inefficiency, suggests another topic, regarding which, for its very vastness, we would gladly keep silence, yet cannot wholly omit in a review like the present; namely, the general condition of public education among the Mahometan population of the Empire, particularly in Anatolia. We will be as brief as the subject permits.

'My people perish for lack of knowledge,' said a prophet of old times: and could the great Arabian preacher, whose comprehensive mind, if Mahometan tradition says true, anticipated the advantages of learning and the dangers of ignorance for his followers, witness the actual state of the Ottoman provinces in this respect, he would assuredly reiterate, and even intensify, his Hebrew predecessor's complaint. It would be all the more bitter that, however badly these things may have gone in Judaea, they were not at any rate always thus in the land of the Crescent.

How they now are we will judge for ourselves. Accordingly we pursue our imaginary, yet over-real, journey through the 'little known parts of Asia Minor,' in company with our missionary guide, Mr. Van Lennep. We halt beneath a grove of tall trees, evidently planted here long ago by human care, just outside some country town. Looking round us through the leafy screen that once afforded a pleasant shade to crowds beneath, we observe, rising from some broken lichen-stained steps, an open archway hung with creepers; above it a stone tablet let into the brickwork bears a half-defaced inscription commemorating the piety and liberality of a Kara-Osman Beg, be it, or a Seyyid-Oghloo Ibraheem Agha, who in the year of the Hejrah 1132, that is to say, in the early part of our eighteenth century, erected and endowed the building that those trees sheltered and to which that door gave access. We enter: round three sides of the grass-grown court within are ranged the empty rooms; some, the larger ones, were destined for the use of professors; others, mere cells, gave habitation to the resident students, who were drawn mostly from the poorer classes; in the centre of the court stands the cracked and waterless basin of what once was a fountain; the fourth side of the quadrangle is occupied by the extinguished hearths of the great kitchen. This court, these rooms, it is but half a century since, belonged to a flourishing provincial 'Medreseh,' or college, and were frequented by some thirty or forty white-turbaned youths, who, at the trifling expense of an occasional tribute-present to their professors, were instructed in the refinements of their own native literature, accompanied by something of the history of their country and empire, besides Arabic and even a little Persian; and, above all, in the theologico-legal learning, which
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has always been of such high repute in the Mahometan East. Studies like these then led to employment and distinction, and many a name honourably inscribed in the annals of Ottoman greatness had first been registered on the muster-roll of students in just such a 'Medreseh.' But the revenues by which the teachers were paid and the college supported were unfortunately derived from lands of Government grant, bestowed by Sultan Selcem, or Suleyman, on the founder's ancestors, in return for the prowess of their sabres on Hungarian or Wallachian plains. Later seraglio-Sultans, inappreciative of services that are now, by the contrast they suggest between past and present, more like a reproach than a merit, have resumed those lands, but have forgotten the bequest attached to them. Scholars, professors, and the culture they represented are, in consequence, gone from the district, which now contains scarcely an individual capable of signing his own name decently.

True, the learning formerly taught in that crevassed hall was old-fashioned, narrow, and of a speculative rather than a practical bearing: stationary, in a word, not progressive in its character and tendency. But why root up the trunk on which more fruitful grafts might so easily have been made? A well-endowed, widely-distributed network of educational establishments existed all over the land: the chairs of the professors, the benches of the scholars, were ready placed in every district. With moderate encouragement from Government and under judicious direction, other branches of knowledge and science, more in accord with the conditions of the age, might also have been taught from those chairs; and the now empty benches would thus have been filled by pupils more patriotic, perhaps more fervent in their Islam, certainly more capable, more energetic, more adapted to every public and social duty than the ignorant, apathetic, unawakened youths of actual Anatolia. So argued the Seljook Sultans when they erected the noble colleges of Erzeroom, Sivas, Kaisareeyah, and Koniah; so, too, the genuine heirs and successors of Osman when they protected and encouraged the countless schools of which we have here selected a random sample; it exists at the country-town of Ispir, in the deep, savage ravine of the torrent of Chorook. But—

'Sure if dulness owns a grateful day
'Tis in the shade of arbitrary sway;'

and the bureaucratic despotism introduced by Mahmood II. and developed by Abd-el-Mejed has, like that of the Second Empire in a neighbour land, no better auxiliaries than the ignorance and incapacity of those it governs. None know, or at least feel,

this more intimately than the speculation-fed clique of Stamboul; and the stereotyped Ministerial utterances, in French especially, about the desire that animates the Porte for the education and enlightenment of its subjects, whatever credence such fine speeches may obtain in high places, are, and are meant to be, nothing more than tubs to the European whale of newspapers, diplomacy, and Pera. In the provinces seclusion safely dispenses with such disguise; and there the Ottoman Government has gladly seen the torch of knowledge flicker and go out for want of feeding, and has even occasionally stamped on it when it would not go out quickly enough of itself.

Room would fail us were we to attempt the description of the shameful neglect into which has fallen the 'Mahallah' system—that of the primary schools erected centuries ago by the 'Sultans of the tent,' not the Sultans of Bosphorus palaces, in every town-quarter, every village, every hamlet, of the Empire; nor will we dwell at length on the most lame and impotent conclusion to which, brief as their career has been, have already arrived the newer 'Rusdeeyah' schools, professedly set on foot to fill up the gap left by the ruin of the old educational institutions. Suffice to say that in the provincial Mahometan districts public education has practically ceased to exist, and that private education, once far from uncommon or unsuccessful, has fared little better. The father who desires the advancement of his children is too well aware that the road they must follow in pursuit of success lies elsewhere: other portals, sufficiently specified already, may be frequented: but the portal of much study can lead the young Ottoman now to nothing but weariness of the flesh, and of the spirit too: and can we wonder if few there be which go in thereat?

Enough: who wishes may add details and multiply facts on these and kindred topics from the sources we alluded to at the commencement of this Article. It is time for us to sum up the account and strike the balance.

An overgrown, unprofitable capital, with several palaces and palatial residences, but without quays, landing-places, water-supply, or drainage; a show fleet of ironclads safely moored off the toy-seraglio of Emirghian, but strangers as any river-boat to black water, let alone blue, outside the Straits; an army officered as we have already described it; a still more numerous black-coated host of civilian Pashas and Effendees, licking up all that is round about them, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field; and a load of foreign indebtedness at which the boldest financier of Vienna herself might well stand aghast: these are the acquisitions the Empire has to show from the epoch of Sultan Mahmood

Mahmood II., the destroyer of the Janissaries, the reformer of the Empire, up to the present day. These she has gained; and in their lieu she has lost Greece, more than half-lost Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, and Egypt; she has sacrificed the vitality, material, intellectual, and moral, of her yet remaining provinces; she has rendered her Government a tree without roots, her empire a pillar without props, her existence a diplomatic question. And all this because her rulers have preferred a *coup d'état* to statesmanship, abolition to modification, revolution to reform. The lesson may be read elsewhere, but nowhere more legibly than in Turkey, most legibly of all in the Asiatic provinces that bear her name.

Yet while we admit the full significance of these things, let us beware of the common error of those who imagine that because an empire is decrepit it is necessarily short-lived; that because national death is morally certain, it is, therefore, near at hand. With individuals, even with families, events of this kind succeed each other rapidly enough; but nations move more slowly, and their downward, no less than their upward, course is measured by long stages and interrupted by many halts. Indeed, the very causes that have rendered the Ottoman Government a blight and a ruin to its subjects, the Mahometans foremost, have also, so long as it remains unmolested from without, a decided tendency to prolong its intra-territorial existence; for the very exhaustion of the subject populations ensures their submission; and narrow-mindedness, consequent on ignorance, removes the danger of union between the various classes and races of the Empire in a common attempt to shake off the common yoke. Attempts, too, like that made by Mehemet Ali and his talented stepson, are not likely to be renewed nowadays by the Khedive of Egypt or the Pasha of Bagdad; nor, if renewed, could they, unless powerfully aided from without, meet with any lasting success. Lastly, in Islam, and its late revival, a phenomenon which has taken many by surprise, but which is no less natural in its causes, though more efficacious in its results, than the contemporaneous religious revival in some parts of Europe, we have an additional guarantee for the prorogation of the death signal of the Turkish Empire.

Meanwhile we, who, in the public opinion of Europe at least, and to a certain extent in our own, are more or less pledged to maintaining the integrity and existence of that Empire, may not find it a waste of time to consider not only how far our interests and those of our vast Asiatic dominion are bound up with Ottoman destinies, but also what modern Turkey, the Turkey of Mahmood II. and Abd-el-Azeez really is; how far she is likely
ever

ever to make good her solemn promise of amendment, and to become a thing of honour, not of discredit to her supporters; or rather whether by non-fulfilment of her part of the contract she has not virtually absolved us from our own, and left us free to inquire whether we may not frankly and unblamed, in the eventuality of an Eastern crisis, seek in it exclusively our own advantage, and that of those we govern, rather than cling to the illusive memories of the past, and the yet more illusive hopes of an improbable, perhaps impossible, future.

That the Christian races will ever assume the dominant position at present occupied by the Mahometan within Ottoman territory, and, above all, on Asiatic ground, is a supposition that no reasonable man acquainted even moderately with the Greeks and Armenians of the Levant can entertain for a single moment. That a dominant bureaucracy and an autocratic sultan will ever replace on their own necks the constitutional restraints that they have themselves with difficulty broken off, and by so doing give at last one trustworthy pledge of good government, progress, and prosperity, is to the full as unlikely. That all, or any single one, of the nationalities or classes included within the limits of the Empire will have the power, or even make the attempt, of re-imposing such restraints in view of the public welfare is, in the opinion of those who best know the country and its inhabitants, absolutely out of the question.

What degree, then, of support we may in future accord the Ottoman Empire must be measured, not by its own merit, but by our own necessity or advantage; and be weighed, not in the wanting balances of Turkey herself, but in the truer scales of British interest and Asiatic welfare. For taking that measurement, for poisoning those balances, the time may be far distant; it may also be very near to come. Diverted by the giant eddies of the Centre and West, the European current has of late years set in another direction, and has left the deep waters that surround Turkey comparatively calm.

But that great current will return Eastward again, and when it does, it needs must overflow and sweep away the huge, venerable, rotten trunk that still rears itself erect above the level. The Sultan's dominion, like the Papal monarchy, to which, in its modern form, it bears a strong resemblance, is an anomaly, an anachronism; in both antiquated pretensions have been intensified by the worst expedients, borrowed from the spirit of modern pseudo-Cæsarism; in both centralisation has ruined the land and its inhabitants alike to the profit of an out-of-date autocrat, a selfish Administration, and an ostentatious capital. Such things bear within themselves the sentence of their own condemnation.

Already

Already executed on the elder criminal, that sentence, though delayed, cannot fail of ultimate execution on the younger; and to hinder or delay it is no part of England's duty. Greatly as the Roman States have already benefited by the exorcism of the ecclesiastical incubus that had brooded over them so long, still greater will be the relief and resuscitated prosperity of Anatolia and her sister provinces when the fiscal blight of bastard Ottoman officialism clears off from the fairest regions of the Mediterranean East, never to overshadow it again.

When that hour comes, let the Ottoman Empire fare as it may, England's policy is clearly traced out for her beforehand by the exigencies of her own great empire. To Russia, mistress of the Central Asiatic line, belong of necessity the destinies of Northern Turkey: they are already in her hands. Her Asiatic policy, long consistent throughout, now draws to completion. One foot planted on the Amoor boundary line to the east, and the other on the Caucasian Isthmus to the west, she has gathered up in her unrelaxing grasp the two extremities of the great Tartar route; her latest campaigns have cleared away the obstacles interposed midway; while, by her celebrated note of October 1870, she demanded, and by the Conference of January 1871 obtained, that the key of the whole mid-Asian system, the Black Sea itself, should be placed henceforth within the reach of her hands, ready to wrench it, whenever the hour strikes in the councils of St. Petersburg, from the feeble grasp of the Osmanlee, and to make it all her own. That she will, sooner or later, thus wrench it; that the Russian flag will float supreme over every port on the Black Sea coast; that it will even one day wave in sovereignty from the towers of Galata and the Seraskierat; is scarcely less certain than that the sun once risen in the east will move onward to its place in the western heavens: a wonder-working Joshua may perhaps delay; but cannot reverse its course.

What Russia is to Central, that are we to Southern Asia; it is our inheritance, the reward of our consistency in act, if not in purpose. We, too, have almost reached the goal; and the very events that will ultimately award the Black Sea to our northerly ally, will, we can hardly doubt, decide for us also into whose hands the key of our choicest possession, the Southern Asiatic route will fall. For, once again, what the Black Sea is to Russia, that to us are the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. From Muscat to Yokohama the Indo-Chinese line is ours: the completion of that line, its last, and because its last, its most important, connecting link is formed by the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. To these shores must all our attention—as much, at least, as we can spare from disestablishing Churches
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and marrying our sisters-in-law—be directed, when the Crescent vanishes from them in its last eclipse: and unpardonable indeed will be our weakness, our negligence, or our folly, if a single harbour, a single roadstead along their extent, acknowledge in that day any sovereignty but our own; if not in our name, at least in that of a supple instrument or a docile vassal.

From the inhabitants of those regions we have more reason to anticipate a friendly welcome, all Giaours though we be, than to fear active opposition, or even passive ill-will. A Mahometan population can acknowledge no worthier sceptre than that which already shelters in peace and prosperity nigh thirty millions of their brotherhood; nor have any rulers of the earth a fairer claim to the inheritance of the Fatemite and Abbaside Chaliphs, to Cairo and Bagdad, than ourselves, the lords of Ghaznee and Delhi, the heirs of Mahmound the Conqueror and Akbar Khan.

Time must show, thought may already foreshow, what facilitations will offer themselves, what obstacles will block the way; nor, less, how the former may be availed of, the latter anticipated or removed. But it is not too much to say that the last hour of Ottoman rule will also be the first in a new and a decisive era for our own dominion; that the shock which casts down in final ruin the throne of Orkhan, will also loosen the Asiatic diadem from England's head, or fix it there with new and lasting firmness. True this is no work for theorists and Quakers, for arbitrations and Geneva conferences; but it is a work for England and Englishmen, for the successors of those who planted the British flag at Gibraltar, who unfurled it in Abyssinia, who have maintained it, the hereditary beacon of sound government, justice, and prosperity to rulers and ruled alike, over India and half a world.

ART. III.—*History of the Modern Styles of Architecture.* By James Fergusson, D.C.L., F.R.S. Second Edition. London, 1873.

MOST cultivated men profess to have some knowledge of the building art. The knowledge is avowedly but superficial, just a refinement; not a serious acquaintance with the work of men, but a genteel and delicate appreciation of what they call 'the beautiful.' In other words, they know what pleases them, and yet they do not know why, and have no thought or care about the worthiness, or otherwise, of their enjoyment. They possibly have learnt some names of styles, and can, perhaps, distinguish

distinguish more or less correctly what these mean. Their judgment is in favour of some style as 'preferable;' and they pique themselves upon their keen discernment of the special merits and peculiar knack of certain living architects. This is the class and character of those who pass for men of taste, who take the lead in Boards and Church Committees and Government Commissions, and to them is very greatly due the constantly declining state of English art. Our buildings fully justify the estimate that not one 'cultivated man' among ten thousand has sound knowledge and discriminating power in architectural affairs, or an opinion that is worth a moment's confidence. The small minority will testify that this is true, and that the talk concerning art and artists prevalent in good society is generally make-believe and empty prattle.

Such ignorance should be abated. To obtain a thorough knowledge of the methods and the merits of true art would need much time as well as patient industry; but, thanks to Mr. Fergusson, an amateur may promptly gain a large comparative acquaintance with the noble works of ancient builders as well as with the feeble efforts of our modern men. And though, unhappily, a history of modern architecture, with its illustrations, must resemble a museum of morbid and deformed anatomies, relieved, perhaps, by some few seeming miracles of pleasing combination, or of grace of form; yet the discriminating student, reading Mr. Fergusson's instructive work, will not be scandalised, but he will find his interest in the subject constantly increasing as he follows the Historian and admires his ready power of diagnosis and his well practised, though ideal, therapeutic skill. The specimens of art are chosen with sound judgment and a very comprehensive knowledge. The views and plans are interesting, clear, and well engraved, and thus the work is made as systematic as a cyclopedia, as full of information as a handbook, and as amusing as a novel.

But it is more than this. The 'History' is, in fact, a continuous pungent satire on the royal, reverend, and noble victims of the modern system; an exhibition of the monumental follies of the vaunted 'culture of the West,' and a display, as frank as it is enlightened, of the petrified delusions of three hundred years. The climax of the work is in the Preface and the Introduction. Here Mr. Fergusson has concentrated the result of his long study of the modern styles, and he proclaims them all to be mere pomp and semblance, 'vanity and lies':—

'The Styles of Architecture which have been described in the previous parts of this work' [those on Ancient Architecture] 'may be called the True Styles. Those that remain to be examined may in like

like manner be designated the Copying or Imitative Styles of Architectural Art.'

'It is perhaps not too much to say that no perfectly truthful architectural building has been erected in Europe since the Reformation. In modern designs there is always an effort either to reproduce the style of some foreign country or that of some bygone age; frequently both. St. Peter's and St. Paul's are not Roman buildings, though affecting a classical style of ornamentation; and even the Walhalla and the Madeleine are only servile copies. So, too, with our Gothic fashions. Our best modern churches attain to no greater truthfulness or originality of design than exists in the Walhalla, or in buildings of that class.'

'All this degrades Architecture from its high position as a quasi-natural production to that of a mere imitative art. In this form it may be quite competent to gratify our tastes and feelings, but can never appeal to our higher intellectual faculties.'

'Besides this loss of intellectual value, the art has lost all ethnographic signification. So completely is this the case that few are aware that such a science exists as the Ethnography of Art, and that the same ever shifting fashions have not always prevailed.'

Truth and simplicity, and ethnographic value being lost, the charge of wastefulness must necessarily follow:—

'While admiring the true Mediæval Art with the intensest enthusiasm, I cannot without regret see so much talent employed and so much money wasted in producing imitations of it which are erected in defiance of every principle of Gothic Art. Neither can I look without extreme sorrow on the obliteration of everything that is truthful or worthy of study in our noble cathedrals or beautiful parish churches; nor do I care to refrain from expressing my dissent from the system which is producing these deplorable results.'

This is good criticism and sound sense, and so is very much to be commended to the patrons of cathedral 'restoration.'

After a humorous and sarcastic reference to the destruction and defacement that in thirty years have made our churches, abbeys, and cathedrals, in a second sense memorials of the past, Mr. Fergusson declares that—

'All our grand old buildings are now clothed in falsehood, and all our new buildings aim only at deceiving. If this is to continue, architecture in England is not worth writing about; but this work has been written that those who read it may be led to perceive how false and mistaken the principles are on which modern architecture is based, and how easy it would be to succeed, if we would only follow in the same path which has led to perfection in all countries of the world, and in all ages preceding that to which the history contained in this volume extends.'

This volume, and the two which have preceded it, are the
most

most complete and comprehensive English History of Architecture that has yet appeared. They are particularly valuable as an index to the various schools and styles of architectural work; and if the student will accept them as a warning and a guide, and, rejecting modern buildings as 'deceptions,' will select some 'true' old work to draw and measure parts of it full-size and stone by stone, an unexpected interest will probably arise. A new companionship will be discovered, and where all had seemed mechanical and tame, the stones will soon be felt to be alive. The spirit of the Master-Workman will be manifested in each curve and joint, and even in the very setting of the work. His mental and artistic growth will be revealed; a sympathetic art association will be gained with a true manly simple workman, and with a mind and method utterly removed from the 'refined' impostures that delude our much enlightened cultivated age.

To those but little educated in the ways of art the *Master-Workman* is a mystery. His influence and existence are half doubted, half denied, or wholly misconceived; and thus it seems that he requires some further introduction to society to make his quality, his antecedents, and his expectations fully known, and so to justify his claim to independent recognition and a status in the world. This introduction we propose to give, and we shall show that in the progress of 'true' art the Master-Workman was the pioneer, and made and followed up the path that Mr. Fergusson declares has 'led art to perfection.'

All history tells us that in every scene, or kind, or period of art, whenever it was true, original, and great, the workman was the master. His often questionable social status did not in the least affect his dominant position in the world of art; and if we go to Athens, where art reached its ancient climax, and inquire what were the value and condition of an architect in Greece, Plato has furnished us with a complete reply. He says that 'you could buy' (πρίαιο) 'a common builder' (τέκτονα) 'for five or six minæ at most, but a master-workman' (ἀρχιτέκτονα) 'not even for ten thousand drachmæ, for there are few of them even among all the Greeks.*' Thus in Plato's time—and he was born but three years after Phidias had died—the master-workman might in common conversation be referred to as a slave. He was a rare luxury, and so was worth above four hundred pounds, or twenty times the price of a mere labourer. This startling sum is quoted, not for some neophyte or unknown article, but for the very few selected 'among all the Greeks.'

* *Ἐρασμ.*, p. 135.

Or if Plato's negative conveys a wider meaning, and assumes that the chief builder was above all price, and in no way purchasable, but a choice gift from heaven, such a being is beyond our modern comprehension and experience.

Our object in this discussion is not archaeological or classical or antiquarian, but solely practical, and with a view to the future. We are endeavouring to discover what the method was by which the Greeks and 'Goths' achieved their great success in architectural affairs, that thus by contrast we may find the cause of our habitual failure. The Greek 'architect' then was not a workman only, or even a chief workman; he was the master-workman, or chief of the workmen. He was a simple workman in his origin, and probably by family descent, but, advanced to superintendence, he would 'make the plan, arrange the elevations, and be, in fact, the foreman of the work.' However, let us again hear Plato. '*Eleatic Stranger*.—The master-workman does not work himself, but *is the ruler of workmen*.' 'He contributes knowledge, but not manual labour, and may, therefore, be justly said to share in theoretical science. But he ought not, when he has formed a judgment, to regard his functions as at an end, like the calculator; *he must assign to the individual workmen their appropriate task until they have completed the work.*'

The architect was, in fact, the foreman of the works. He 'formed a judgment,' that is, he decided on the plan or detail, and thus 'contributed knowledge and theoretical science.' He was 'the ruler of the workmen,' and *so must always have been upon the works*; and 'he assigned to the individual workmen their appropriate task,' and to do this he must himself have been a workman, as any jury of twelve working carpenters and masons would immediately declare. Thus, with the help of another 'chief' or two, Ictinus built the Parthenon. And four master-workmen were engaged on the foundations of the Temple of the Olympian Jove at Athens. If we imagine, then, a dozen architects employed on the foundations of the Law Courts, we shall recognise the difference between the ancient working foreman and the modern 'architect.'

It is further remarkable that we seldom read of a Greek architect who built more than one temple, and never do we find him engaged on more than one building at a time. We never hear of him as a draughtsman, but so frequently are architects called also carvers that many must have been proficient in the plastic art. Theodorus, architect at Samos, was a modeller and carver. Callimachus, the inventor of the Corinthian capital, was of course a carver, and besides he was a goldsmith, an embosser and engraver, a maker of lamps, and, in fact, a very accomplished

accomplished workman. Chotas, an assistant to Phidias, was a carver, and a master-workman of great eminence. Phidias was himself a carver, and his influence is visible in the refinement that distinguishes the Propylæa and the Parthenon. He was not the sub-contractor for the carver's work, but, as the noblest of the workmen, he was made by Pericles the chief superintendent of the works, the architects or master-workmen being under him. Plutarch tells us that 'Phidias directed all, and was the overseer of all for Pericles. And yet the buildings had great architects and artists of the works. For the Parthenon was the work of Callicrates and Ictinus. And almost all things were in his hands, and, as we have said, he superintended all the artists.'

For three centuries there had been a gradual and moderate improvement in the architecture of Greek temples; but under the influence of Phidias this at once rose to perfection, and the absolute refinement of the outlines, curvatures, and mouldings, is the evident result of his more accurate perception, cultivated by his constant study of the human form. Phidias was not regarded as a draughtsman. We have no record of his drawings, but only that he *worked* in marble, ivory, and gold, and this not in a 'study,' as we have somewhere seen, but in a workshop (*ἐργαστήριον*); and, though in artistic and imaginative power he was supreme, he did not fail to use the skill of inferior men. 'In Greece especial excellence in art and handiwork of every kind was greatly prized. The best workman in the most humble craft might succeed in rendering his name immortal. Superior artists were distinguished by the surname godlike; and we are told that the Greeks were accustomed to pray the gods that their memories might never die.'*

It is abundantly evident, then, that Greek art of all kinds was entirely and exclusively the product and expression of the workman. There is nothing in the slightest degree professional about it, nor have we evidence of any class of draughtsmen who prepared designs. Artists of the highest rank and greatest power lived at their work. Phidias was 'borrowed' by the Eleians to 'make' their statue of Olympian Jove, and Ictinus and Callicrates 'built' the Parthenon. That was their 'work.' The design, exquisite as it is, would have been but a small affair for any draughtsman, and all the special merits of the work are quite beyond the draughtsman's sphere. They are the practical perfection of the improvements gradually made in former temples. The imagination and perception of the workmen had been trained by constant and hereditary use, and their

* Winckelmann.

effect was always manifest in architectural as well as sculptured forms.

Let us now pass from Greece to Rome, and leave philosophers and carvers and the master-workman for an author who is often glorified and quoted as the earliest known advocate and representative of the architectural profession. Vitruvius was for centuries a classic among architects, who made the world believe that he was really an authority of power and weight in architectural affairs, and so the laity have been persistently misled by the fictitious use of this man's worthy name.

'Architecture,' we have been told, 'is a fine art,' and that Vitruvius has said it. Vitruvius has, in fact, said nothing of the kind, but in the first line of his treatise he declares that architecture is a 'science arising out of many other sciences and adorned with much and varied learning.' Architecture is in practice thus transmuted, science takes the place of art, and instead of masters we shall now find only scholars. Vitruvius declares that he 'will lay down rules which may serve as an authority to those who build, as well as to those who are already somewhat acquainted with the science.' And so the good man's 'rules' have 'served as an authority,' and for nothing else. They were, in fact, the law of the profession that was added because of transgression. The inspiration of the workman had been lost, and the regulations of the schoolmaster were the necessary substitute. But wherever work that may be called Vitruvian has been done with demonstration of imaginative power, the good has been in spite of all Vitruvius has ruled, and by an inspiration such as he never had experienced or foreseen. The inspired workman *feels* the necessary, and for ever varying, rules of art. He does not learn them from a treatise, nor accept them as unchangeable and inexpansive.

Vitruvius also in various places shows that among the Greeks the architect personally superintended the work. Ctesiphon, for instance, contrived the apparatus for conveying the shafts of the columns which he had prepared for the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. The man was evidently the master-workman. Paeonius attempted the same method, but was unable to complete his contract.

We have shown from Greek philosophy and Roman story that in building-work the first adviser was the master-workman, that he was the result of selection and culture, that he was a workman though a master, that he had coadjutors if not partners, that they personally superintended the buildings and the individual workmen, and were sometimes, if not always, contractors for the work. This is precisely the state and position of the
medieval

medieval master-workman. The Greek method and the 'Gothic,' and, in fact, all true building methods, are essentially the same. The subtle curvatures in the lines of a Greek temple and the ornamentation, not casual or fortuitous, of a Gothic church, are the direct expression of the working men of various grades, but always present at the building; so that when building-work was excellent and dignified, there were master-workmen, and now that it is debased, we have no chief of the builders, but only a chief of the clerks, whose aim and occupation is not about art, but only concerning luxury. The modern method is 'like cookery, wholly in the service of pleasure without regarding either the nature or the reason of the pleasure,' but the ancient practice 'has to do with the soul, the processes of art making a provision for the soul's highest interest.'

Nothing can be worse for 'the soul' than a constant appeal to the low instincts and ignorant prejudices of a public greedy for luxuries and display. And yet, after centuries of neglect and of admitted failure, we still continue to despise the workman, and vainly trust in the imposture that would fain 'imitate' his works and thus pretend to take his place. It is the workman only that can effectually perceive and feelingly originate the more subtle elements of good architectural design. Our dilettanti and composers talk of the Greek workman's work as if some special superhuman power had wrought it, and to rival it were hopeless. But if the modern workman could get rid of his desire for all the many curses of our modern 'civilising arts,' and would simply work and make a steady study of his work, he would inevitably rival, and in some respects he might surpass, the glories of the Parthenon itself. But good imaginative work can never come of avarice and greed, nor is there any hope for art in England while the public mind is subject to artistic superstitions. Until we get entirely rid of the fine words that have imposed upon the public, we shall not have sound knowledge and intelligent ideas. 'Fine art,' for instance, is a term of fashion, and the 'fine' gentlemen who got themselves dubbed 'dilettanti,' 'connoisseurs,' and 'men of taste,' used this 'superior' epithet to scare the uninitiated and exclude 'the vulgar.'

'Art' is another of this class of words. It did mean true imaginative work, but now it means a trade. If art be now our aim and hope, we should abandon all this verbal folly. Art should be known as work, and not as the mere prefigurement of work; we should talk no more of sculptors and professors, architects and artists, but of carvers and master-masons, painters and braziers, carpenters and smiths. Instead of studios and offices

offices we should get back to the prosaic workshop, the ἐργαστήριον of Phidias, and the 'bottega' of Michael Angelo; and we should recognise with due respect, and even with affectionate familiarity, such poor implements as the plain workman's bench and stool, the banquer and the forge. We should learn that the imagination of a man is to be used, not for the glorification of another's work, but that he may have pleasure in his own; that his first duty is sound work, and that in this his highest object and chief end should be the culture of the soul that has been given him for his particular development and constant care. When these are all admitted as 'the rights of man,' we may begin to hope; and soon, instead of the fashionable vanities which 'fine art' now produces, we certainly shall see again the genuine workman's work, all good and true, and in its excellence as fine as any relic of the Athenian school, or of the *unrestored* chief mason's work of Lincoln or of Wells.

Vitruvius and the Romans were but dilettanti in their patronage and practice of Greek art. The plain, coarse-minded, practical, and semi-scientific Roman workman, whether bricklayer or mason, was essentially a constructor, and the arch was with him worth all the orders. These he retained just as a fashion, and in using them he treated poor Vitruvius and his 'rules' with scant respect. The workman then concerned himself with his arcades, and domes, and lines and curvatures of plan, and the orders became mere fringes, the artistic sop to gratify the Roman dilettanti.

During the semi-classic period of the earlier Romanesque the workman's more imaginative art was little used. The plans of the basilicas were stereotyped and very simple, and the workmen had the slight amusement of assorting various capitals and columns for the nave and aisles, with some occasional and interesting efforts of design in capitals of sub-'Corinthian' form. But in the 'Lombard' and Byzantine works there is ample evidence of the individual thought and handicraft of the inspired workmen and their chief. The work is practical and thoroughly artistic, the expression of direct thought acting on present material. The workman's mind and hand are seen throughout; his thoughts are manifested as they rise. Changes of detail or of plan are prompt, open, and decided; and at once, without the painful preparation of the schoolman or the office clerk, the utterance is given, and a new line of poetry is in a moment added to the refined beneficent enjoyments of the world.

In looking at the east front of the Louvre, or at the western elevation of St. Paul's, we soon appreciate the harmony of studied
composition

composition and admire the grace of outline, but no sympathy arises. The design, we know, was drawn by a magnificent composer, who prepared his classical and picturesque effects away in some dull room, but of the men 'that did the work' we never think at all. But when, after a long day's study of the beautiful Duomo that Buschetto built at Pisa, we retire to the shadow of the Baptistry to see the glorious front illumined by the summer's setting sun, no thought arises of the bigness of the church, or of its cost, or even of its architectural effect as an imposing structure, but only of the workmen that so many centuries ago had done the work; we seemingly converse and sympathise directly with the master-workman and with all his men.* In no single view that we have seen is there so clear and multitudinous a sense of the true working artist's presence; the stones seem cut and fixed in some instinctively harmonious way, each by a separate workman, yet in perfect and spontaneous concert with a general design.

This is the climax of Italian medieval art. The Parthenon at Athens marked the last step of centuries of progress. The building form was perfect, and the ideal forms of gods and heroes were conceived and worked in studious contemplation of supreme humanity. At Pisa we have varied work instead of perfect form, and while we reverence the majesty of Attic art, we sympathise more quickly with the prompt and individual fancy of the homely Lombards. Much of the difference of the two styles was naturally due to the dimensions of the building stone. In Greece the massive blocks of stone and marble would induce severity of outline and colossal forms, but the work of Italy, at all times conscious of the arch, preferred small stones, and so gave greater liberty to all the workmen.

The building-work at Venice has been so well described that it is perfectly familiar even to the untraveller; so we pass on to England, where the influence of the individual workman is as clear as at the Pisan Duomo. Thus, 'Benedict, the Abbot of Wearmouth (A.D. 676), crossed the ocean to Gaul, and brought back with him *stone-masons* to make a church after the Roman fashion.' Benedict also 'sent to Gaul to bring over glass-makers, a kind of artificers hitherto unknown in Britain, to close' (*i.e.* with glass) 'the windows of the church. And they came and taught the English nation thenceforth to know and learn an art so well suited to the lanterns of the church and the vessels for various uses.' These master-workmen, then, were themselves the leaders in the arts, and 'taught the English nation.' We are ourselves indebted to these working men; and the Newcastle

* A.D. 1846. The front is now 'restored.'

glassworks may claim direct descent from the few immigrants who twelve hundred years ago were settled by the Wear.

Again, Naitan, king of the Picts, sent to Abbot Ceolfrid, of Jarrow, asking him to send him 'master-workmen ('architectos') who might build among his own people a stone church after the manner of the Romans; and Ceolfrid sent him the master builders whom he required.' Naitan asked not for 'an architect' to build many churches, but for plural 'architectos' to build one church; working foremen, in fact, or 'master-workmen who should assign to the individual workmen their appropriate tasks.'

The same method continues. In the reign of Edgar, the isle of Ramsay, in Huntingdonshire, belonged to a nobleman named Aylwine, 'who was attracted to Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, by the sanctity of his deportment,' and during a long and holy conversation with the Bishop, it came out that Aylwine, having been long ill, was cured by St. Benedict, and received a mission to erect a monastery in the island. Oswald having in his diocese 'twelve brethren in one village who had cast behind their backs the lusts of the flesh, and were only warmed with divine love,' and who would willingly undertake the charge, proposed, like the famous man of business that he was, at once to go with Aylwine and inspect the place. And then explaining to his companion that, 'while erecting there a temporary mansion, we shall also be erecting, if our faith fail not, a mansion eternal in the heavens, Let us (said he) commence at once, lest the devil should take occasion of any delay to breathe a colder spirit upon us. Let me, therefore, send hither a certain man faithful and approved in such works, under whose management a little refectory and dormitory may be prepared.' Ædnothus was sent, who laid out the ground, enlarged the chapel, and added other buildings, according to Oswald's plan. Ædnothus had the care of all the out-door works. He, during the winter, provided the masons' tools of wood and iron, and in the spring he set out the plan of the foundations and dug out the ground. He was, in fact, the chief of the workmen, and he made a fine building of it. The central tower of the church, however, began to crack, and Ædnothus had to report the failure to Aylwine, who agreed to find the money for the restoration. The labourers approached the tower by the roof, and, going stoutly to work, razed it to the very ground, dug out the treacherous earth, made the foundation sure, and again 'rejoiced to see the daily progress of the work.' What a contrast all this is to our present condition and practice! The nobleman 'attracted to the bishop by the sanctity of his deportment;'

deportment; the memory of the vow after recovery; the 'twelve brethren in one village who have cast behind their backs the lusts of the flesh; the fear of the 'cold breath of the devil; a bishop who could make a plan, and the 'man faithful in works; the cleverness and alacrity of the labourers, and their 'rejoicing in the progress of their work,' are such a beatific vision that our retrospective view confirms the holy Oswald's prescient declaration, 'Verily, this is another Eden, preordained for men destined for the highest heaven;' a remark that has not reached our ears respecting the scene of any recent architectural effort.

Such was the system of artistic practice that for six centuries served to make England the finest scene of architectural display that the world ever saw. The workmen worked 'after their manner;' they were totally without extraneous artistic tutelage, and the people understood and appreciated the work with no more consciousness or study than would be required for ordinary speech and conversation. The masons were of course largely employed on ecclesiastical buildings; not under the patronage of the clergy, however, but on the contrary rather patronising them, as we find in a very interesting episode of ecclesiastical and architectural history:—

'In the year of Grace one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, by the just but occult judgment of God, the Church of CHRIST at Canterbury was consumed by fire.' The monks with due deliberation took good counsel how they might repair the church, but the masons, English and French, whom they consulted, varied in their advice. 'However, there had come a certain William of Sens, a man active and ready, and, as a *workman*, most skilful both in wood and stone. Him, therefore, the monks retained, on account of his lively genius and good reputation. And to him, and to the providence of God, was the execution of the work committed. And he residing many days with the monks, and carefully surveying the burnt walls in their upper and lower parts, within and without, did yet for some time conceal what he found necessary to be done, lest the truth should kill them in their present state of pusillanimity.

'But he went on preparing all things that were needful for the work, either of himself or by the agency of others. And when the monks began to be somewhat comforted, he ventured to confess that the pillars rent with the fire, and all that they supported, must be destroyed if the monks wished to have a safe and excellent building. At length they agreed, being convinced by reason, and wishing, above all things, to live in security.

'And now he addressed himself to the procuring of stone from beyond the sea. He constructed ingenious machines for loading and unloading ships, and for drawing cement and stones. He delivered moulds for shaping the stones to the sculptors who were assembled, and diligently prepared other things of the same kind.'

William of Sens, the master-workman, thus continued the old Athenian method, and 'assigned to the individual workmen their appropriate task.' In the summer of the third year William had a bad fall with the scaffolding, and being 'sorely bruised, gave up the work, and, crossing the sea, returned to his home in France. And another succeeded him in the charge of his works, William by name, English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest.' We quote two more lines for the sake of the italics:

'Now let us carefully examine what were the works of *our mason* in this seventh year from the fire.

'In this eighth year *the master* erected eight interior pillars.'

Our readers will probably accept the above as conclusive evidence that the master-workman was a fact in English architectural history, and that he is not a 'crotchet.' William of Sens was no compiling copyist. He was a man of thoughtful independent mind, and was one of the earliest to adopt the pointed arch. We hear nothing of his drawings, but only of his moulds for shaping the stones which he himself delivered to the workmen.

Proceeding a step further, to the reign of Henry III., the culminating period of Early Pointed art, we find the famous Bishop, Robert Grosseteste, saying in a letter, that—

'In all kinds of workmanship the master of the work and workmen has the full power, as indeed it is his duty, to investigate and examine, with the utmost diligence, the properties, the different qualities, and the suitability alike of his materials and of the implements necessary for the work; and to make trial of the skill, diligence, and trustworthiness of those that serve under him, so that he may correct whatever is wrong or faulty. *And this he should do, not only through others, but, when it is needful, with his own hand.*

This 'master of the work and workmen' is the kind of man that built the choir at Westminster.

In Medieval times, when travelling was difficult and 'good society' was rare, the high-placed well-born churchmen would require some gentle pleasant recreation to enjoy in concert with their neighbours and subordinates both clerical and lay. Building just served this purpose, and the amount of noble work that these men left as records of their 'piety' makes it clear that art lost nothing by the absence of the drawing-master and his staff. In course of time a guild or craft arose called the Freemasons, who were especially employed on sacred buildings. These men were families of masons, and the secrets or the technicalities of their craft were, just as in ancient Greece,

Greece, transmitted by inheritance; a true vernacular that never became taught or formed itself into a science, but was a simple living art that constantly advanced. Hope tells us that—

‘Many ecclesiastics of the highest rank, abbots, prelates, and bishops, conferred additional weight on the order of freemasons by becoming its members, themselves superintending the construction of their churches. The masons, when they sought employment, had a chief surveyor who governed the whole troop, and appointed one man as warden over nine others. They built temporary huts round the site of their work, regularly organised their different departments, and sent for fresh supplies of men as they were required.’

Thus the surveyors and the wardens were again the ‘master-workmen who assigned to each workman his appropriate task.’ In 1442 King Henry VI. became a mason, and spared no pains to be a master of the art. The good example of the King was followed very sensibly by many of the nobility, and we subsequently find that the King had perfect aptitude and thorough knowledge of the craft:—

‘About twelve years before his death, the King, being at his palace of Westminster, went into the monastery church, and so forth to St. Edward’s shrine within the same; where he pointed with his staff the length and breadth of his sepulture, and commanded a mason to be called, named Thirske, at that time *master mason* of the chapel of King Henry V., who, by the commandment of the King and in his presence, marked out the length and breadth of the said sepulture with an iron pickis which he had brought with him.’

Thirske, the master mason, was then evidently a working man. A document was then prepared, ‘containing the will and mind of the King in the devising of his sepulture,’ and two messengers being sent to John Essex, head marbeller in ‘Powlys Chirchard,’ he and Thomas Stevyns, coppersmith, of Gutter Lane, went to the King at Westminster, ‘and bargained with him for his tomb to be made, and received of the King in part payment xi^s in grotes.’ The association for a king was doubtless very low, but, after all, both kings and people in those times did find their common interest and delight in noble works of art and not in vile destruction.

Again, at Winchester, Walkelyn, the Bishop, began to rebuild the cathedral in A.D. 1079, and he built most nobly. His transepts are for impressiveness quite unsurpassed, but his name is little known in comparison with that of William of Wykeham, who was Bishop some three centuries later, and who is held to be the architectural hero of the Winton church. He was a man of business, clerk of the King’s works, clever at accounts, princely
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in his munificence, and a friend of learning, great in his designs, but an abominable builder. The work at Winchester that he directed is but a desperate collapse of art. He touched nothing that he did not deface. The west front is, for its size, the poorest in the kingdom. The interior of the nave is a distinguished specimen of that mechanical and costly commonplace which quickly charms the vulgar. If our readers will compare this fashionable work with the grand and simple 'Norman' transepts, or with the noble nave of Romsey Abbey, they will begin perhaps to question whether New College is a sufficient expiation for such wholesale and irreparable vandalism. Wykeham, however, was not the 'architect' who designed the work, as is so generally supposed, nor yet, of course, the master mason. He was probably the intelligent, and unpoetical, and inartistic 'operarius' or chief director of the King's masons, 'whose special duty it was to make arrangements with the master of the works.'

In art there is no patronage or servitude. The interest and delight are common to the king, the public, and the handicraftsman. Like poetry and science, art must be free, and in its own sphere supreme, or otherwise its spirit fades, and energy and life are lost. Rank, royalty, and riches may become the deferential sympathising friends of art, but not its patrons or its fashionable guides. So when the evil influence of which Wykeham was the early representative became paramount, and ostentation was promoted above excellence, art retired, and the masons soon adopted the mechanical and hasty method of design now called the Perpendicular and Tudor styles. In these there is abundance of idea and of able workmanship, but the ideas are superficial, and the work, though neat and scientific, has neither individuality nor true poetic feeling. All that the courtiers and the men of trade required was prompt achievement and vainglorious display, regardless of the dignity or degradation of the workmen. Dudley and Empson, and their royal master, are the moral illustrations of the Tudor style.

But we need not limit our inquiry to England. Let us now cross the sea to Spain, and learn what Mr. Street can tell us about medieval architects. In chapter xxi. of his interesting work on 'Gothic Architecture in Spain,' he says, 'Almost all the architects or masters of the works referred to in all the books I have examined seem to have been laymen, and just as much a distinct class as architects are at the present day.' This is, unfortunately, their only similarity; they are 'distinct,' but in a totally opposite way. Raymond of Montforte, for instance, when employed by the Chapter of Lugo, A.D. 1129, 'was retained solely for the work there.' His salary was annual; his engage-
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ment was for life. He is called in the contract not 'architect,' but 'master of the works'—

'The title which, in course of time, was usually given to the architect; though I am not inclined to think that it makes it impossible that he should also have worked with his own hands. Indeed, the very next notice of an architect is of one who certainly did act as sculptor on his own works. This was Mattheus, master of the works at Santiago Cathedral. Ferdinand II., A.D. 1168, granted him a pension of a hundred maravedis annually for the rest of his life; and the fact proves, I think, the King's sense of the value of a fine church, and also somewhat as to the degree of importance which its designer may have attained to when he was recognised at all by the King. There can be no doubt that he had been acting there both as sculptor and architect; and if *from a modern point of view he lost caste as an architect, he, no doubt, gained it as an artist.* Here, as at Lugo, the master of the works was appointed at a salary for his lifetime, and held his office precisely in the same way as do the surveyors of our own cathedrals at the present day.'

Mr. Street gets very much misled by his nomenclature. The King gave the pension not to the 'designer,' but to the carver of the doorways. He would certainly have been perplexed if some draughtsman had been presented to him as the 'designer' of the work. The carver was, of course, the designer; and Matthew wrote his name upon the lintels because he 'did the work.' Ferdinand appreciated well the relative importance of himself and Matthew, and he paid a proper tribute to the mason's great superiority. He saw that Heaven itself had recognised the 'Master' and that the workman who conceived and wrought the 'Glory' of St. James was a creator, and in mental rank, in permanence of power and influence, and in nobility of work, above the patronising recognition of a king. We do not hear that Phidias 'attained to importance' when 'he was recognised' by Pericles. Titian is said to have been 'recognised' by Charles V. in a becoming way.

'In A.D. 1175, Raymundo, a "Lombardo," contracted 'to complete in seven years certain works in the Cathedral at Urgol, and was to be paid by a canon's portion for the rest of his life. The mode of payment, the engagement for life, and the absence of any reference to a master of works, lead, I think, to the conclusion that he was, in truth, the architect, *but*'—this 'but' is very amusing—'*but that he also superintended the execution of the works, and contracted for the labour.*'

'In A.D. 1203, one Pedro de Cumba is "Magister et fabricator," and there can be no doubt, therefore, that *he not only designed but executed the work*, which, as we go on, we shall find to have been a *not very uncommon custom.*' (O sancta simplicitas!)

Jacobo

Jacobo de Favariis, one of the architects employed at the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Gerona,

'was appointed in A.D. 1320-22, at a salary of two hundred and fifty sueldos a quarter, and under an agreement to come from Narbonne six times a year. Here we seem to have a distinct recognition of a class of men who were not workmen, but really and only superintendents of buildings—in fact, architects in the modern sense of the word.'

The word architect, then, has an ancient sense to contrast with its modern meaning, and, with Mr. Street's assistance we shall find that the old architects were persons of entirely different character and functions from their modern namesakes.

'About the same time Jayme Fabre appears to have been one of the greatest architects of his day. It is impossible to read the account of the completion of the shrine of Sta. Eulalia at Barcelona without feeling that Fabre superintended a number of masons, and acted, in fact, as their foreman; though this is no reason why he should not also have designed the work they executed.'

'In the same year, at San Felice, Gerona, Pedro Zacoma, master of the works of the steeple, was *not to undertake any other works* without permission. He was to be paid by the day, with a yearly salary in addition. He must have been employed constantly at the church, and in such a building a man could hardly have been constantly employed without *absolutely working as a mason*.'

This is conclusive. We have seen that the old 'architect' and master-builder was a workman, that he designed the work, that he personally superintended it, and that he was constantly employed upon it; and now Mr. Street adds that this could hardly have been the case without his actually working as a mason.

In A.D. 1416, Guillermo Boffy, master of the works of the Cathedral at Gerona, proposed to build a single nave of the same width as the choir and its aisles. The Chapter very prudently sought the advice of practical and able men on this bold daring project, and a dozen architects were asked for their opinions upon oath. Of these—

'All but two called themselves "Lapidarii." One was "Magister sive sculptor imaginum;" and two only call themselves masters of the works. Their answers seem to prove that they were all men of considerable intelligence.

'There cannot be a shadow of doubt that at the beginning of the fifteenth century *most of the superintendents of buildings, in Catalonia at any rate, were sculptors or masons also*. Their own description of themselves is conclusive on this point; at the same time their answers are all given in the tone and style of architects; and it is quite certain that had there been a superior class of men—architects only
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in the modern sense of the word—the Dean and Chapter would have applied first of all to them.'

And thus we see why 'architecture in the modern sense' is 'certainly superior' to the medieval work of which it is, as our Historian announces, but a 'Copying or Imitative Style.' Mr. Street's notions of superiority and his opinions about medieval Deans and Chapters appear hardly to be justified by architectural evidence; but on the other hand his testimony is so frank and candid, so valuable and copious, that there is some difficulty in knowing how to select and when to make an end. We venture one or two quotations more :—

'In A.D. 1518, Domingo Urteaga contracted for the erection of a church at Cocentaina in Valencia. *He bound himself to go with his wife and family to Cocentaina. He was to be every day at the work, having half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner in winter, and an hour and a half in summer.*'

Clearly arrangements for a working man, and—

'Though Urteaga *was evidently only a foreman of the works*, there is no reference to any superintendent or architect, and nothing is said about any plans which are to be followed. I conclude, therefore, that in this case *the foreman of works was really the architect*. Urteaga was to do all that a "master" ought in the management of such a work, and was to receive each day for himself five sueldos, and was to provide two assistants and two apprentices, the former to have three sueldos each, and the latter one and a half.'

Of Guillermo Sagrera, who was both builder and architect of the Exchange at Palma, Mr. Street remarks that :—

'*He presented the plans himself*, and that there is no trace whatever of any architect or superintendent over him. It is doubted by some whether this mixture of the two offices of builder and architect was ever allowed in the middle ages, but Sagrera's agreement is conclusive as regards this particular case, and we may be tolerably sure that *such a practice must have been a usual one*, or it would hardly have been adopted in the case of so important a building.'

'The result that we arrive at after this *resumé* of the practice of Spanish architects is certainly that *it was utterly unlike the practice of our own day.*'

After this long excursion—and thanks to Mr. Street for his instructive guidance—let us return to England. In his valuable contribution to 'Gleanings from Westminster Abbey,' Mr. J. H. Parker says :

'This point of the necessity of a gang of skilled workmen accustomed to work together for the production of the great works of mediæval art has not been sufficiently attended to. The fables of the
Freemasons

Freemasons have produced a natural reaction, and the degree of truth which there is in their traditions has consequently been overlooked. We know that each of our great cathedrals had a gang of workmen attached to it in regular pay, almost as a part of the foundation, for the fabric fund could not be lawfully devoted to any other purpose; and these workmen became by long practice very skilful, more especially the masons or workers in, and the carvers of, free-stone, as distinct from the labourers, who merely laid the rubble-work for the foundations and rough part of the fabric. From various indications it would seem that there was a royal gang of workmen in the King's pay by whom the great works ordered, and perhaps designed by the King himself (*such being the complete diffusion of architectural taste and knowledge*), were constructed. The wills of Henry VI. and Henry VII. seem to show that these monarchs were at least, to some extent, architects themselves; they give the most minute directions for the works to be done just as any architect might have done. St. George's, King's College, and Henry the Seventh's Chapel, were all probably built by the royal gang of masons.

With this we close our English evidence from medieval work and records. We have continuous proof that in the west of Europe and throughout the middle ages the master-workman was the designer of the buildings. Even so late as the seventeenth century, when the Renaissance was developed nearly to the full, we find that Wadham College Chapel was designed and built by a small gang of working masons brought from Somersetshire. But in Italy, three hundred years before, a draughtsman was employed to make a fine design for foolish work, and then the decadence of architecture had begun. Giotto, the most inspired as well as most extensive painter of his age, was a wall decorator, a master-workman, full of fancy, and with visions of human sentiment and beauty constantly before him. These he soaked into the wet plaster, and as fresco pictures they remain his nobler kind of workmanship. But in a conventional and decorative painter's way he also imitated wooden panelling and marbles and mosaic-work, and when the Florentines, smitten with vanity and pride of purse, resolved to make a tower, not simply as a thing of beauty, but 'to exceed in magnificence, height, and excellence of workmanship, whatever of the kind had been achieved by Greeks and Romans,' Giotto was engaged as the '*Capo Maestro*,' at a yearly salary of one hundred florins in gold, and he was not to leave Florence. His order and his business aim were, not to make a work of art, but studiously to satisfy a vain ambition. But the Athenians, when they built the Parthenon, never dreamed that any good could be attained by rivalling the Rameseum and the Pyramids in magnificence and height. They sought to exceed, not others, but themselves:

'and,

‘and, as the works arose inimitable in form and grace, the makers vied to excel the handiwork itself by the beauty of their art.’

Giotto then made a superficial false design after the manner of a wall decorator, and not of a chief builder or a master mason; preparing carefully a model of the tower and marking in the joints and colour of the marble work. The panelling and mosaic-work are an elaborate and costly copy of the cheap facile painter's work, itself an imitation, that Giotto used to cover his inferior wall surfaces and enframe his fresco pictures. It is ‘exquisite,’ but it is not architecture. It is, in fact, an early exhibition of the ‘Imitative Style.’ The enrichment which should be a developed grace and an occasional efflorescence on a huge building like this tower, is, in fact, a complete casing, and reveals, sufficiently for Giotto's credit, though to Florentine disgrace, that the tower was built as it was ordered for the sake of the decoration, instead of decoration being used with modest reticence to glorify the tower. The masonry is but a scaffolding or core. The panelling is made like joiner's work, and, as is right in panelling, but very wrong in towers, suggests extension and tenuity and lightness of material with corresponding sacrifice of solid power and stability. This, with the tall proportions of the panels, gives a frail and insecure effect to the whole surface. The marble-work appears to have no adequate support, but to be in danger, from the slightest settlement, of flaking off. The small mosaic-work upon the window-jambs and other parts is but a record of much futile drudgery. The tracery in the topmost windows and the tall twisted columns are both bad and frivolous, and the large high projecting parapet and cornice are entirely disproportioned to the light feeble-looking work on which they are constructed. The general effect is ‘elegant’ and delicate, but for the dignity and power that a building of this height and size should manifest, Giotto's tower is far below the work of our old masons, or of the Lombard architects. The tower was a genuine conception of the committee mind, and Giotto was engaged to decorate the folly. Like Phidias, as the greatest of the workmen, he ‘directed all, and was overseer of all; and yet the building had great artists of the works;’ for the carving of the lower story was the work of Andrea Pisano, Luca della Robbia, and Donatello; ‘and almost all things were in his hands, and he superintended all the artists.’ These carvers, like their predecessors at the Parthenon, worked each to please and to express himself, and so the tower has been saved from absolute debasement. But when Giotto died, the work went on ‘professionally,’ as a copy and
without

without artistic growth, a thorough 'modern' work; and the result is an extravagant and useless feat of uninspired labour, hard and mechanical, without life or art relationship, or any influence in architectural development and history. Mute, inexpressive, isolated, it is but a tall toy, most beautiful among its peers, but in true architectural worth as much inferior to the rough manliness of the old palace of the Signoria, or to the delicate variety of the small Spina chapel, as it is beyond these buildings in mere altitude and in proportionate expense.

But Giotto was a real 'master-workman,' and himself assisted in the 'sculptured' decoration of the tower. His panelled work is very much superior to that on the cathedral, which is as bad and mean as the interior of the church is ugly. The interiors of the churches and cathedrals after the Lombard period are for the most part miserably poor, both in conception and detail. The Duomo and the church of Santa Croce show the degradation of the master mason, and the carved capitals of the nave piers in the 'Gothic' churches are so bad as to suggest some recondite and undiscovered meaning for their special ugliness.

The Greeks used marble as a means for their refined and delicate display of form and outline. The masons at St. Mark's employed it in a sound workman's way, subordinate to the architectural character of the basilica; and there the work commands respect and admiration by reason of its genuine simplicity of method and of aim. But at Florence, surface marble-work, from the mean parti-coloured panelling of the Duomo, to the lavish expenditure on the chapel of the Medici, is a pure luxury without disguise. In using marble decoration singleness of purpose is the universal absolute necessity, and the single purpose that takes precedence of all in works of art is the social and refined enjoyment of the workman. The Greek carver and the master builder never thought about the costliness of the Pentelic stone, but only of its absolute susceptibility of all gradations of expression and of form. The Byzantine workman gloried in coloured marbles, and rejoiced that he could make his building seem to harmonise with and reflect the splendours of his Eastern sea and sky. While he recognised the dignity of the material, there was in him no thought of costliness for its own sake, or of the 'imposing character' of rare and polished stone. He had no idea of making all his work subordinate to any ecclesiastical pretension, and at St. Mark's he used his monolithic marble shafts, his brightest colours, and his choicest pictures of mosaic-work and gold, not only for the glory of the hierarchy and their upper seats, but also in the front, the portals, and most public portions of the church, to dignify and please the world. And thus his workman's

workman's inspiration has become a permanent ennobling charm for all men.

Most people suffer somewhat from magnificence upon the brain, and hence the safety of society is greatly due to the incompetence of men to carry out their vast designs. The Florentines were sadly subject to this overleaping impulse; and in consequence their buildings seldom reached completion. But for the Duomo they resolved 'to raise the loftiest, most sumptuous, and most magnificent pile that human invention could devise or human labour execute.' The result of all this 'sumptuous' determination is Arnolfo's miserable nave, in which it seems Giotto had some hand, and as a suitable climacteric the dismal cupola that, four generations later, Brunelleschi raised. And so throughout the Renaissance we find that in architecture sumptuousness and engineering, domes and marbles, entirely superseded noble work. Italian medieval architecture was in fact ruined by costly marble-work. Stone and the inspired mason were neglected, and costliness and polished smoothness were esteemed the elements of art. In carving, however, and in tombs and monuments, the workman still for centuries maintained his masterful condition.

We know that Michael Angelo declared and signed himself a 'carver,' but at clerical suggestion he sometimes, like Giotto, left his special work and aptitude to make designs for buildings. The Farnese Palace has no doubt a handsome 'elevation,' that is to say, it is agreeable to look at for a moment, and then to be well rid of. Who can help pitying the owner of that dismal cube of stone-work when he daily came in sight of it and saw it was his home? The general design is worth some admiration upon paper. The architect who completed the exterior had consummate knowledge of the influence of proportion, boundless wealth to work with, and the Colosseum for a quarry. Moreover *he was present at the work*, and so careful of the details that he had them formed in wood full size, and tested on the building. Michael Angelo was not an 'architect only.' Still the palace is but a majestic misery, cheerless as a prison, and incapable of human sympathy or popular delight; the stones are evidently dead, they had no inspiration from the workmen.

Michael Angelo, much against his will, was compelled to decorate the Sistine chapel ceiling. The idea of such decoration is of course absurd. Giotto, the working plaster painter, knew much better than to perpetrate such waste, and at the Arena chapel he made the ceiling a plain azure blue, that served by contrast to increase the effect of colour in his paintings on the
walls.

walls. Michael Angelo's commission was not given from any love of art, but as a means of personal distinction and of hierarchical display. Julius had no wish to 'patronise the arts,' but only to make use of them to glorify himself, and he impressed poor Michael Angelo just as he might enlist a leader of trained bands. This was the true spirit of the Revival. Art was to be no longer an unobtrusive quiet ordinary work, but must be treated as a slavish luxury, and be compelled to illustrate the wayward whimsies of the Papal churchmen. But Michael Angelo actually *worked* at the Sistine chapel ceiling not merely furnishing the plan and drawings, but himself 'fresh-painting' all the plaster. He was the inspired workman; but as he was a carver and not a practised decorator, he designed the ceiling in a technically unskillful way. He could draw and mould the human form with masterly precision, but when he ventured into architectural details, he, pardonably, missed the true artist method, and so his pictures on the ceiling are surrounded by a barbarous medley of Renaissance forms, a half-pretence of solid architecture, absurd in principle, and clumsy in effect.

How the medieval and the ancient decorative painters could conventionalise the forms of building-work, and subordinate them to the requirements of art, is shown in Giotto's pictures and the Pompeian frescoes, but the 'architectural' painting on the Loggie ceilings in the Vatican shows how little Raphael had discovered of the sense and scope of decorative art.

Both Michael Angelo and Raphael were in some things servants to the fashion of the day. Their buildings were designed, as of necessity when power of wealth and power of mind were ample, with much dignity and grace; but in the details their unworkmanlike contrivances proclaim the whole to be a fiction, a mere 'Imitative Art.' To Michael Angelo the 'Renaissance' Italian style was a dead language, and to his workmen it was but an unknown tongue. The Master and his men were equally unable to express themselves artistically in such a fabricated dialect; and from St. Peter's to the latest building of 'New Rome,' Italian architecture is but a dreary evidence of luxury, a record of expenditure and folly. True, there is art in Italy, and of the best; but Italy is still the great 'World's Show' of architectural rubbish, and this rubbish is exactly what our travelled people most extol and feebly seek to imitate.

In Germany some sixty years ago an ancient vellum drawing of Cologne Cathedral was discovered. This was, perhaps, the original design, or a contemporary copy, and its elaboration and completeness well account for the demerits of the building. It is a student's effort, the result of knowledge and selection;
and

its evident intention was to make a church supreme in size, height, and symmetry of form. All this has been attained, but in human sympathy and true poetic art the building is a failure. It is, perhaps, the largest church of Gothic architecture that ever was constructed, and for artistic worth is for a moment comparable with the Abbey Church at Westminster, St. Stephen's at Vienna, or a hundred still existing churches and cathedrals. The design was made when Amiens, Rheims, and Notre Dame Cathedrals were still new. These were all built by masons who made drawings quite subservient to their work of art; but at Cologne the draughtsman ruled, and so the masons used their common knack without a thought of poetry or touch of life. Cologne Minster is, in fact, a previous example of what Mr. Fergusson has called the 'imitative Styles.' On the projected spires the details are extravagant in size, the crowning finials are much larger than the archway of the Minster doors. This is not mason's work of architecture, but a clear evidence of draughtsmanship and imaginative incapacity.

On the resumption of the Minster works there was a festal gathering, and there, most prominently placed, was every workman then employed upon the church, from the chief-master to the quarryman's apprentice. 'And, turning to the artisans, the Mayor-Baumeister bade them prove their skill, concluding a solemn, honest address with the sentiment of Schiller's "Song of the Bell":—

"Let praise be to the workman given,
But the blessing comes from Heaven."

Let us the drawing-master, not 'the workman,' gets 'the blessing;' and so, it seems, 'the blessing' does *not* come.

The public hear Cologne Cathedral called the culminating point and display of medieval art; and, knowing and mistaking their own ignorance, they accept the dicta of the connoisseurs, and strenuously endeavour to be pleased. Of course they fail, and, finding nothing lovely or of interest, they leave the church in blank amazement at its height and bigness, and perplexed at what they modestly assume to be their own deficiency in architectural discernment. The work is a gigantic waste, and a total waste unless it proves a warning.

Let us contrast our own old English building method which sixty years ago was not extinct. About that time the prior of Henry VII.'s chapel was restored, and there we find a master mason still a power:—

There was but very little occasion for the interference of the architect;

architect; all the labour of arranging the work, tracing out the details and ornaments, and supplying the defects from correspondings parts, being left to the discretion and industry of the mason. The task was an important one; and required professional skill, a practised eye, and sound judgment. It is no eulogium to say that the execution of this work could not have been entrusted to a more careful artisan than Mr. Gayfere.'

This was Thomas Gayfere, mason of the Abbey. The Abbey then, was built by masons, its noble tombs were made and were designed by working men, and the most lavish work was capably restored by a discreet industrious mason.

The habitual notion of the middle and superior classes that the workmen are inferior in natural ability, or in the higher qualities of lively genius and imaginative mind, is very English. In fact, these men are frequently above 'their betters' in power of mental application and endurance. The man that makes a table or a chair requires more nervous energy than the glib shopman offering it for sale. A banquer mason or a leading joiner is, 'by profession,' greatly more accomplished than a small tradesman or a banker's clerk. The workman's only want is to regain his old and natural position, and secure the opportunity to make his capabilities and acquirements felt and known. Where this is given, even to a mill-hand, or machinist, or a manufacturing engineer, his mental power becomes magnificent. Of the seven hundred patents for our hosiery and lace machines, every inventor except two has been recorded as a *working* handicraftsman. Or if we rise above mechanics, and proceed from manufacturing England to the land of poetry and song, these arts are the acknowledged birthright of the people; not only of a Dante, a Manzoni, a Palestrina, or a Mario, but of the vinedressers of Bronte, and the peasantry of Veggiano; of the plaintive cantatore of the Bay of Naples, and of the wandering herdsman on the Tuscan Apennines.

Remaining still in Italy, and studying Baron Hübner's general view of Rome three hundred years ago, we find that when Pope Sixtus, the last man of great commanding power on the Papal throne, proposed to build, he did not choose an 'architect' or draughtsman, but engaged a young Comascho mason as his master builder. 'He and the young Fontana together formed plans, discussed and settled them.' When it had been proposed to raise the obelisk of Nero in the centre of the piazza of St. Peter, 'Michael Angelo and San Gallo, who were the first architects of the day, were unanimous in declaring the undertaking to be impracticable. Their opinion being law,' the
idea

idea was given up. Fontana afterwards designed a plan which was accepted; but, as the mason was still young, two 'architects of eminence' were ordered by the Commission to carry out the work. Fontana then, appealing to the Pope, declared '*that no man can better carry out a plan than the man who has conceived it, for no one can perfectly master the thoughts of another.*' Struck by the justice of this remark, Sixtus intrusted the whole business to his former mason. Not only Rome, but the whole of Europe, watched the works with anxious curiosity, and on September 10, 1586, the obelisk was erected on its pedestal with perfect success.

Going with Mr. Fergusson still further south, to work entirely recent, we discover in the 'parish church of Moustà, in the island of Malta, a remarkable instance of a building erected in the same manner, and according to the exact principles which covered Europe with beautiful edifices during the middle ages.'

'The real architect of the building was the village mason, Angelo Gatt. Like a master mason in the middle ages, or those men who build the most exquisite tombs or temples in India at the present day, *he can neither read nor write nor draw*; but, following his own constructive instincts and the dictates of common sense, he has successfully carried out every part of this building. It was he who insisted on erecting the dome without scaffolding, and showed how it could be done by simply notching each course on to the one below it. With true mediæval enthusiasm, he was content to devote his whole time to the erection of this great edifice, receiving only fifteen pence a day for twenty years.'

The area of this master mason's self-supporting dome is one-third larger than that of our architectural wonder at St. Paul's, and the height is greater than that of the Pantheon at Rome. The total cost was one-and-twenty thousand pounds, 'besides the gratuitous labour of the villagers and others, estimated at half that amount.'

George Kemp, the architect of the Scott monument at Edinburgh, was but a village carpenter, and so was much objected to by his superiors, who desired that some 'professional' of eminence should be employed, and not a common man of great ability, whose work and powers were much above their mental range.

The late Augustus Welby Pugin was a noted 'architect,' and able as a draughtsman, and so to some might seem to be an illustration adverse to our theory. But Pugin was much more than a draughtsman:—

'The most careful discipline and training after academic methods will fail in making an artist, unless he himself take an active part in

the work. Like every highly cultivated man, he must be self-educated. When Pugin, who was brought up in his father's office, had learnt all that he could of architecture, according to the usual formulas, he still found that he had learnt but little, and that he must begin at the beginning and pass through the discipline of labour. He hired himself out as a common carpenter at Covent Garden Theatre, and thus acquired a familiarity with work.'—Smiles, *Self-Help*.

Pugin was apparently an artist spoilt. Had he discarded 'instruments' and kept to tools, he might have reached his natural position, and become a famous master-workman. His architectural and decorative works all show exceptional ability in their inferior way; but none are really good. His church at Ramsgate, where he was, in fact, the master, is by far the best, and is his worthiest monument. Who can tell how different his fate might possibly have been, had he secured the quiet soothing influence of true artist life, instead of suffering the vexation and excitement of a mock profession?

We may now quote the latest instance of true building master-workmanship. The Portcullis Club, 93, Regent Street, Westminster, 'is a working-man's club in the strictest sense of the word. *The ground upon which it stands has been purchased. The materials of which it is built have been paid for, and the labour has been found by the working men themselves, many of them working until twelve o'clock at night. Not only so; they have been their own architects. The whole of the plans and elevations have been beautifully drawn by one of the members; and thus the little front is much more satisfactory and respectable than the Charing Cross Hotel or the Royal Academy façade.*

These are examples of mere accidental gleams of truth in modern practice, and they show that the return to sanity in art is by a very short and easy way. And now, continuing the method of historical comparison, that discovers art to be in every age the exclusive trust and treasure of the workman, let us go back four thousand years to the Egyptian tombs, and hear 'the dead lift up his voice to tell us of his life.' Ameni, a great functionary, has inscribed upon his tomb the record of his own administration, and therein reveals the generous influence of the master-workman in a wider sphere. 'All the lands under me were ploughed and sown from north to south. Thanks were given to me on behalf of the royal house for the fat cattle which I collected. Nothing was ever stolen out of my workshops. *I worked myself, and kept the whole province at work. Famine never occurred in my time, nor did I let any one hunger in years of short produce; never did I disturb the fisherman or molest the*

the shepherd. Never was a child afflicted, never a widow ill-treated by me; and I have not preferred the great to the small in the judgments I have given.' And on the wall are durably depicted illustrations of Ameni's works: *the building* and lading of *large ships*, the fashioning of furniture from costly woods, the preparation of garments, and the various scenes of husbandry and handicraft. Of the comparative value and intelligence of the Egyptian workmen, the three great Memphian Pyramids, the oldest monuments extant of building art, give curious and simple evidence. 'The slope of the entrance-passages is just the angle of rest for such material as the stone of the Pyramids, and, therefore, the proper inclination for the sarcophagus to be easily moved without letting it descend of itself.' Our readers, possibly, may recollect 'the launch' of the 'Great Eastern,' and 'the angle of rest' and immobility that our engineer of eminence 'designed.' Had common workmen used their own responsible intelligence about the work, the recent 'builders of large ships' upon the foreshore of the Thames might not have proved inferior to the primeval working engineers and architects who built the wondrous mausoleums in the valley of the Nile.

The failure and the remedy have been at length discovered. At the recent distribution of prizes at the Engineering College, Cooper's Hill, Lord Salisbury, in the true spirit of the Operarius or Master Workman, advised the students 'not to be afraid, but to cultivate a knowledge of the smaller, and what he might call the more repulsive (?), details of their profession. He was very glad to see that the attendance in the workshops was spoken of in the very highest terms by the examiners. There has been hitherto no lack of the most distinguished theoretical knowledge, but the deficiencies have been in those small practical matters on which the success of the work often depends.'

Our history of the Master-Workman is complete. His method and position have been traced throughout the course of European culture. To him we are indebted for the glories of the Athenian Acropolis, the splendour of the Venetian Basilica, the dignity of the Lombard Duomo, and the infinite variety and charm of mediæval building-work. The old method still survives in Oriental manufacture, and here again we find the modern workman painfully surpassed by his more 'educated' Indian rival. In the International Exhibition at South Kensington,—

'It was humiliating to our national pride to perceive in the specimens of Indian art workmanship a grace and finish to which we cannot attain in spite of all our modern discoveries and appliances of mechanism daily becoming more delicate in their operation. The Indian worker in gold or silver produces the most elaborate and

beautiful objects with the rudest tools, and *as long as we leave him to himself his models are purely artistic, but as soon as he attempts to produce European articles from our designs the individuality of the artist is lost, and his work is vulgarised.*—*Companion to the British Almanack*, 1872.

Those who last year visited the World's Show at Vienna will admit the general truth of these remarks. The Japanese display of art made ours look pitiful. In Japan the true style and method of art decoration are maintained. The porcelain and the painting are, in artistic combination, but one work. In our Bond Street china the fine paintings on the plates and vases are mere pictures quite distinct from pottery, and only gain some prettiness and polish from the soft glaze and texture of the ware; but they are no more to be styled ceramic art than any portrait on a panel or on copper can be classed with the achievements of the joiner or the smith. It is painful to see that in Japan, as in India, the attempt to produce articles for the European taste and market is already corrupting the workman. At Vienna in the Oriental courts there were sad evidences of the debasing influence of 'Western culture.'

Much wonderment and admiration have been frequently expressed at what we in a patronising way are pleased to call the almost Occidental cleverness of our new friends the Japanese. The cause of their ability is obvious. The people of Japan for many hundred years 'have placed the handicraftsman, down to the humblest, above the merchant and the trader in the social scale;' they have steadily maintained the artistic and imaginative training of their workmen, and as a consequence, or a concurrent influence and result, the entire population has retained its natural intelligence, and is apt to think, quick in fancy and imagination, and therefore prompt to adopt and to improve; and last year their workmen made the most refined display of decorative workmanship that Europe ever saw. The life and work of Luca della Robbia, or of Palissy, show that Japan has no exclusive artist power. 'The metal jugs of all sizes which abound on the Continent are models of undesigned art. Equally good, though a little less simple, is the rough blue and white stone ware of the South of France.' But we in England make the able potter a neglected underling of some great manufacturing firm, whose customers and show-rooms are a hundred miles away. With such a system no designs by Flaxman will make 'works of art,' nor raise our pottery above mere toy-work and a trade.

Perhaps it may be said that to employ an ordinary workman would imply the loss of all the luxury, the elegance, and the refinement of our modern civilising arts. This is the current talk,

talk, and really merits a reply like Hotspur's to the popinjay. Of course the trash that fills the Bond Street shops would disappear, and houses, churches, dress, and furniture would all be changed from soppyish finery to dignified imaginative art. The 'charming' luxuries that the fashionable world demands have almost always been the work and the contrivance of the common artisan. The tradesman only sells the goods, the workman finds the brains.

The remedy is obvious, and involves no suffering or abnegation. The public, of whatever sort or grade, should, like the mediæval aristocracy and kings, aspire to cultivate the social and artistic friendship of the master-workman. This is already done in other arts, and barber surgeons, and the quacks of former days, have given place to those who 'do the work' of healing. In some respects, however, the condition and the progress of the world have been most curiously inverted since the middle ages. In those times the public mind was greatly conversant with building art, and being free and bright in thought, the natural result was excellence in work; but in theology it was comparatively dark, and subject to the superstition of the Papacy. Now, on the contrary, the English mind asserts its liberty in theological affairs, but in respect of art it is benighted. The present period of artistic imbecility would merit the contempt of those great working men who lived in ages that the vulgar have assumed to be uncivilized and 'dark.'

Our working men have no respect or sympathy for those who call themselves their 'chiefs;' and as a serious direct result of want of interest in their work, we find that workmen do considerably less per hour, in quantity and quality, than they accomplished thirty years ago. An independent 'master,' with associated workmen, would do much more and better work than a commercial builder, dealing with hirelings, and habitually subject to trade jealousies and strikes. The saving to society would be immense. The money that is wasted on our buildings, public and private, would suffice to lodge us all like princes. 'During the past year the directors of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company Limited have been erecting some dwellings by the employment of their own workpeople, under a competent foreman, and thus far the experiment has worked satisfactorily. Greater care and attention being bestowed upon the details of the work, the expenses of repairs will, it is believed, be much less in these buildings. Thirty dwellings at Bethnal Green estate have been nearly completed upon this plan, and the Company's workpeople are now proceeding with sixty more.' Lord Shaftesbury and some other gentlemen have, in a way of business, helped to build

build a little town of houses near the Wandsworth Road. 'The architect has been a working foreman, and, to a great extent, the builders are the occupiers of the houses. Men of each trade were "pressed for their ideas," and the result has shown the amount of practical ingenuity that can be brought by an intelligent community of working men into a work on which their hearts are set.' Each man, however, should possess and care for his own freehold. The occasional correspondence in the daily papers makes us see that in their architectural affairs our sapient Englishmen are 'mostly fools,' and this particularly in their consent to live in leasehold houses. Art never can exist on such a tenure. We could distinctly show its bad effect, not on architecture only, but on the sister arts of sculpture, metal work, and painting; each has sunk, is sinking, and will sink, unless the firm and stable freehold tenure is restored. No one can think of any of our fine old buildings, sacred or secular, as leaseholds, nor will substantial fireproof houses be constructed upon leasehold ground; and when the public understand that individual benefit and the general good are equally involved in freehold tenure, all proprietors will join in a demand for such legislation, essentially conservative, as would allow, and, if required, compel urban enfranchisement. The project has its precedents; and tithe commutation, copyhold enfranchisement, and canal and railway Acts, have made the public and the lawyers understand that the proprietors of land encumbrances, and ground rents, may be forced to sell, and yet be very willing vendors.

Thus we have sought to teach the student how to recognise the only 'path that leads to excellence in art,' to explain the reason why the old building-work, so often glorious, is always good; and why our modern work, though clever and correct in imitation or design, is everywhere, and must be, radically bad; and so to prove and illustrate the doctrine of the workman's mastery.

Our plea is naturally made with special reference to the interest of the Church in human progress; and, most obviously, in all that influences the building art. This seems to justify 'a strong deliverance;' and is our great encouragement to speak aloud. And so, by much of friendly frankness, we have hoped to arouse the attention of the clergy, and to lead them to perceive how greatly the advancement of the intellectual and moral state of man, and the true dignity and influence of the Church, must be affected by the full development of the artistic 'lively genius of the workman.' As this appeal is not perfunctory but earnest, it

may

may be made with little reticence, and yet with much respect for those whose audience and help are claimed. This freedom we have used with generous confidence and candour; not seeking to reveal some undiscovered fault, but only to describe the cause and nature of an error that is great and obvious; and then, with firm assurance modestly expressed, to indicate and justify the remedy.

And now we venture to assume that all our readers recognise the historic status, and the artistic value, of the Master-Workman, and perceive that to ignore him and to restrict the exercise of his imagination in his work is a fraud on human nature, and injurious to all men. This is now evident. Our present working classes are profoundly vulgar. The increase of wages and of general comfort does not much improve them, and instruction only serves to give them larger means to demonstrate their coarseness. Those who know them in their houses tell us that as their wages rise they revel in expensive luxury and display. In this they imitate their betters. The debasement of imagination is a striking characteristic of society, and may be traced from the mean finery of a mechanic's parlour straight to the pompous rubbish that surrounds a duke. Learning is no efficient substitute or supplement, for, without imagination, 'every man is brutish in his knowledge.' We do not undervalue what is now called education, but we object entirely to the misuse of the word. The result of all our 'Education Acts' is not education, but mere teaching and the gift of knowledge. There is something imparted, not 'educated.' But it is not that which goeth into a man, but that which cometh out of him, that defiles or purifies, ennobles or degrades him; and while we merely give him knowledge and prohibit individual interest and expression in his work, the operative still remains but a degraded though intelligent machine, and the agricultural labourer is in every sense made only to 'follow the plough.'

The object of all education is the improvement of the *moral* of the man. Instruction in literature and science sharpens his intellect, and technical instruction, now required by middle-class employers for economic reasons, good in themselves, but socially and philosophically selfish, may increase the workman's value as a tool; but true art workmanship is generous in every way, and in its nature is like mercy, blessing him that gives as well as him that takes. It gives a constant opportunity and wholesome exercise for their imagination to the great fundamental class of working men, and, elevating these, it raises all humanity. Much of the congratulation that we hear about advancing wealth, and science, and mechanical improvement, is truly relevant to nothing but

but advance. The progress is in most cases grovelling and low. Men are not better for it all, but only better off. Will any who have known our Universities these twenty, thirty, forty years, tell us that the more recent men have been of a distinctly higher stamp than those who had preceded them? Is not the proportion of self-culture for its own sake greatly reduced, and the pursuit of learning very much become a hunt for fellowships, or, as upon the turf, to get 'well placed'? This all requires abatement and correction, and the change, as in most moral revolutions, must be made not in the upper but the lower orders of society. Morals do not descend, and Christianity was proclaimed and first received among the poor.

The workmen are our masters, and, we hear, should be instructed; what if this instruction should but lead them to increasing aptitude for selfishness and base enjoyment, and the whole political machine should be a means of levelling the people down to a low state of rude or polished luxury? Nothing can be more dangerous and prejudicial to the State than the neglect of the imaginative power among men. For many years greed has been blessed, and honoured, and exalted to the position of a peace-maker. But greed never has maintained a nation's self-respect and dignity; and it is only by the cultivation of the noble qualities of imagination, which rise greatly above greed, and, seeking true nobility, find it in work and sacrifice, that the position of England as a leader among the nations can be secured and made a blessing. If the imagination is not thus developed, the working men will, as they become instructed, become also increasingly obnoxious and depraved, and vulgar knowingness and vain impatient levity will, as in other regions, be the ruling characteristics of the people.

We have occasionally to regard with pity and some scorn the French elector who declines or fears to vote 'for the salvation of society.' Our working men are similarly impotent, though not perhaps in politics, yet in all that most concerns their actual work. They are acute and clever to a folly about pay, but for all else their minds have been crushed out of them; and in the great and many-sided building trade, ubiquitous and constant in its movement, the whole class of working men is sunk into the lowest state of mental and imaginative feebleness. We have given to the workman power in political affairs, but we entirely deny his right and special fitness to direct his own. He obtains his share numerically in the election of the Government that rules us all, but he is counted quite incapable to manage his own work, and, like a beast of burden or a child, is put in harness or in leading-strings, and reined and guided, 'blinkered' and controlled.

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There is no question how the working man must be improved. He must first be recognised. Let us suppose that some successful picture-dealer were to quote the various paintings in his gallery as his own productions, and that the names and individuality of all the painters were entirely disregarded, and we shall understand at once the unnatural condition of the workman, and perceive how much the decadence of painting would be promoted by such oblivious folly. This, notwithstanding, is our almost universal custom in regard to every art that we have not dubbed 'fine,' and so the working man becomes an alien and outcast from 'society.'

But we may hear that the upraising of the workman is a revolutionary project, and that its tendency would be to shatter the foundations of society. The truth, however, is entirely otherwise, and we appeal to feelings perfectly conservative when we declare that the great want of England is a wide-spread class of true imaginative workmen—men who, free from jealousy of other ranks, because they feel the dignity and comfort of their own, would never favour violent or revolutionary change, and yet would be most prompt to see and indicate whatever change is needed. These true *gentlemen* would soon become the efficient balance-weight of all society, and from their business contact with all classes, and their sympathy with each, would bring them into harmony throughout the social scale. 'They would maintain the state of the world;' and, their works and ways being entirely public, they would give no opportunity for suspicion or occasion for distrust. None would readily resent their interference or advice; they could speak with the vulgar as well as think with the wise, and without effort would obtain the confidence of the proprietary as well as of the operative classes in a way that what is called the middle class could never hope to emulate.

Having commenced by quoting our Historian's opinion of the method and results of modern architectural practice, let us now collect and hear what Goethe has to say about artistic Dilettanteism. The 'Dilettants,' who still maintain their social and professional influence in architectural affairs,¹ he has described as—

¹ Those who, without any particular talent for art, only give way to the natural imitative tendency in them, and among other things to the imitation of Gothic Architecture. Their passion for imitation has no connection with inborn genius for art. They do little good to artists or to art; but, on the contrary, much harm, by bringing artists down to their level. *The Dilettante is honoured, and the artist is neglected.* In Dilettanteism the loss is always greater than the gain. It takes from

from art its essence, and spoils the public by depriving it of its artistic earnestness and sense of right. It follows the lead of the time; whereas true art gives laws and commands the time. Dilettanteism presupposes art as botchwork does handicraft; and the Dilettante holds the same relation to the artist that the botcher does to the craftsman. From handicraft the way is open to rise in art but not from botchwork. The best of all preparation is to have even the lowest scholar take part in the work of the master. The Dilettante has never more than a half-interest in art, but the artist, who is the true connoisseur, has an unconditional and entire interest in art and devotion to it. The true artist rests firmly and securely on himself, and so incurs the less danger in departing from rules; and may even, by that means, enlarge the province of art itself. Dilettanti, or rather botchers, seem not to strive like the true artist towards the highest possible aim of art, nor to see what is beyond, but only what is beside them; on this account they are always comparing. All Dilettanti are plagiarists. They enervate and pull to pieces all that is original in manner or matter; and at the same time imitate, copy, and piece out their own emptiness with it.

'The publicity and permanence of architectural works renders the injurious effect of Dilettanteism in this department more universal and enduring, and *perpetuates false taste*; because in art the things that are conspicuous and widely known are generally made to serve again for models. The earnest aim of a true architectural work gives it a harmony with the most important and exalted moments of man; and botchwork in this case *does him an injury in the very point where he might be most capable of perfection.*'

Thus Art is not to be attained by Dilettante schemes or fanciful designs; or by a vain expenditure of wealth; or even by some recondite researches in the path of knowledge. Art is the noble end of steady and laborious work; the glory and reward of honest, thoughtful, self-devoted handicraft. Art, 'when a reality, indicates something impressive and sublime. It stamps a man with the divine seal; setting him before us as invariably impelled to do a divine thing. Work is not to him a profession, but a vocation. It is not something which he chooses for himself, but for which he is chosen; which he does not advance to because he will, but because he must. The man is not at liberty to decline the call.' Such was the Master-Workman of the past, whose free imaginative power has ever been the life of Art; and, in like manner, the emancipated Workman, gloriously 'impelled,' must always be, and is, the only real hope of English Architecture.

- ART. IV.—1. *Sartor Resartus*. By Thomas Carlyle. Popular edition. London, 1871.
 2. *Latter-day Pamphlets*. By the Same. Popular edition. London, 1871.
 3. *Culture and Anarchy*. By Matthew Arnold, D.C.L. London, 1870.
 4. *Literature and Dogma*. By the Same. London, 1873.
 5. *St. Paul and Protestantism*. By the Same. London, 1869.
 6. *Studies of the Greek Poets*. By J. A. Symonds. London, 1873.
 7. *Essays on the Renaissance*. By W. H. Pater. London, 1873.

THE struggle between the Girondins and the Jacobins in the first French Revolution has a far wider significance than the passing strife of rival factions. It represents the rupture between two elementary forces of the Revolution, temporarily combined for a common object of destruction—the men of action and the men of letters. The philosophic party, of which the Girondins were the political expression, had given the movement its first form and impulse, had clothed it in heart-stirring phrases, specious sophistry, and brilliant romance. So long as action was restricted to an assault on existing institutions, the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Church, the Girondins were the men who encouraged and guided the mind of the people. But when, after the revolution of the 10th August, the philosophers found themselves, for the first time in the history of the world, the sole rulers of a great nation, their political incapacity was at once apparent. Not one act of statesman-like energy can be credited to the Girondins during the brief period of their power. They were undecided before the enemy on the frontier, impotent among the mob in Paris, powerful only within the walls of the Assembly, and after a bare year of nominal rule all of the party who were not in hiding in the provinces had perished beneath the guillotine.

What was the cause of a rise so prodigious and a fall so disastrous? The aim of the literary or Girondin party was perfection—a dream that has always attracted and amused the minds of philosophers. Plato had given it form in his ‘Republic,’ Bacon and Sir Thomas More in the ‘Atlantis’ and ‘Utopia.’ But both the last were the mere sportive fancies of practical statesmen, while Plato says of his own republic: ‘Perhaps in heaven there is laid up a pattern of it for him who wishes to behold it, and beholding to organise himself accordingly. And the question of its present or future existence on earth is quite unimportant.’

unimportant.' The problem was not strange to theology, and on speculations of the kind Butler remarks, with his usual strong sagacity: 'Suppose now a person of such a turn of mind to go on with his reveries, till he had at length fixed upon some plan of nature as appearing to him the best;—one shall scarce be thought guilty of detraction against human understanding, if one should say, even beforehand, that the plan which this speculative person would fix on, though he were the wisest of the sons of men, would not be the very best, even according to his own notions of the best.'

Yet this finite capacity of the human mind was precisely what the revolutionary philosophers refused to admit. Each of them assumed that the conception of perfection he had himself formed had a positive external equivalent. Hence their reasoning was constructively valueless, for it was based on a *petitio principii*, or an assumption of what it was really necessary to prove. On the other hand, the magic of the word 'perfection,' and the natural inclination of men to overlook its essentially relative character, made it irresistible as a weapon of destruction. 'It would be advisable,' said Danton, speaking in the Girondin dialect, 'that the Convention should issue an address to assure the people that it wishes to destroy nothing, but to perfect everything; and that if we pursue fanaticism, it is because we desire perfect freedom of religious opinion.' How easy on such premises to argue that all human frailties and crimes were to be ascribed to the imperfection of existing institutions, and that if the belief in revealed religion and the fear of tyrannous authority were destroyed, the mind would re-assert its native dignity! So, at least, reasoned Condorcet, who thought that the first step towards perfection was to annihilate the idea of a personal God. And such was the dream of Madame Roland, who, in her hatred of an aristocracy socially superior to herself, conceived that the earth, relieved of such an incubus, would presently bring forth Brutuses and Timoleons with all the austere virtues of imaginary republics. No wonder, therefore, that when the first fruits of Liberty and Equality appeared in the September massacres and the rise of the Mountain, the Girondins were filled with dismay and despaired of the situation. The character of the party is well expressed in the epigram of Dumouriez, who said that the republic, as conceived by the Girondins, was like the romance of a clever woman.

Girondism has survived the Girondins. Though checked on the field of politics, Philosophy has not yielded one tittle of her pretensions to universal spiritual dominion. But she has
shifted

shifted her ground. Perfection, which was once sought in the state of Nature, is now placed in the realms of Art. The wide philosophical movement called 'Culture' has sapped the foundations of positive belief in Germany; its ideas have long been extolled by our own philosophers; it is now in the midst of society itself. 'Are not new lights,' asks one of its professors, whose doctrines we shall presently examine, 'finding free passage to shine in upon us?' They are; and the question is, whether these are mere *ignes fatui*, or proceed, as the philosophers affirm, from the beacon of eternal truth. To every one who reflects it must be plain that society in England is now being exposed to a solvent like that which operated in France before the Revolution. On the other hand, philosophy no longer occupies the same masterful position as before the downfall of the gospel of Rousseau. Her approaches against the outworks of Christianity are masked under a cautious moderation, and even under the show of a patronising friendship. It is, therefore, the interest of those who rest on the truth of an ancient tradition to bring the question to an open issue, and we shall endeavour in the present article to extract from the new Culture, of which we hear so much, a precise account of its meaning, to track it to its source, to subject it to proof, and thus to decide how far its actual powers are equal to its proposed end.

And first we are led to remark on the change in the meaning of the name. In the idea attaching to the word 'Cultivation' there are usually two main elements, society and criticism. By a cultivated age we mean an advanced state of society, recognising certain laws or standards, both moral and intellectual, to which members of the community who desire a character for refinement are expected to conform. Such was the age of Pericles at Athens, of Augustus at Rome, of Louis XIV. in France, of Anne in England. We do not call the age of Elizabeth, though in many essential points a nobler epoch than either of the two last, a cultivated age, because, in the first place, society, in the modern sense, was only in its infancy, and, next, because criticism was almost unknown. Now the meaning in our day specially attaching to the word Culture is 'self-cultivation.' The source of the movement, as we have said, is Germany, and the name of its prophet is perhaps the greatest, and certainly the most representative, in modern literature. No terms of panegyric are too extravagant for his disciples. 'Knowest thou,' says Mr. Carlyle, 'no prophet, even in the vesture, environment, and dialect of this age? None to whom the godlike has revealed itself through all meanest and highest forms of the common, and by him been
again

again prophetically revealed, in whose inspired melody, even in these rag-gathering and rag-burning days, man's life again begins, were it but afar off, to be divine? I know him, and name him, Goethe.' In his early days Goethe was an ardent apostle of the new principles of Rousseau, which he embodied in 'The Sorrows of Werter.' But his clear perception detected their inadequacy even before the catastrophe of the French Revolution.

'One of the first to perceive the faults of these works' (says Mr. Carlyle, in days before he became a Rhapsodist) 'was Goethe himself. In this unlooked-for and unexampled popularity he was far from feeling that he had attained his object: this first outpouring of his soul had calmed its agitations, not exhausted or even indicated its strength, and he now began to see afar off a much higher region, as well as glimpses of the track by which it might be attained. To cultivate his own spirit, not only as an author but a man, to obtain dominion over it, and wield its resources in the service of what seemed Good and Beautiful, had been his object, more or less distinctly, from the first, as it is that of all true men in their several spheres. According to his own deep maxim, that "Doubt of any kind can only be removed by action," this object had now become more clear to him; and he may be said to have pursued it to the present hour, with a comprehensiveness and an unwearied perseverance, rarely if ever exemplified in the history of such a mind.'

Evidently there is nothing new in Goethe's aspiration. The subjection of the flesh to the spirit is the very essence of the doctrine of St. Paul. If the culture preached by Goethe be, indeed, the new gospel that Mr. Carlyle maintains, it must possess a larger catholicity and power of being translated into life and action than is shown by Christianity. Now, we doubt if any man has ever done more to render action impossible than Goethe's first English disciple, Mr. Carlyle. Action is what he has always been preaching, and yet in the same breath he has poured contempt on present action of every kind, whether as connected with the past, or constructive of the future. As we all know, he is content that 'old sick society' should be burnt, in the faith that, somehow or other, 'a phoenix' is to arise out of its ashes. Yet who so scornful as he of the vast army of nostrum-mongers, liberals, economists, utilitarians, and other professors of the 'Dismal Science,' who make shift to put something in the place of what they desire to destroy? The reason is that Mr. Carlyle is a poet, and sees the inadequacy of these materialistic systems. But while all great poetry stimulates to action, by 'holding as 'twere the mirror up to nature,' the sphere of Mr. Carlyle's poetry is the supernatural. Posted in his 'watch-tower,'

tower,' in full sight of 'God's Facts,' 'the Immensities,' and 'the Verities,' he stimulates the intellect only to paralyse the power of action. What is his grand fundamental remedy? Self-annihilation. Does this mean more than St. Paul's words, 'I keep under my body and bring it into subjection?' If so, is the sense conveyed in the following passage?—'In fact, Christian doctrine, backed by all the human wisdom I could ever hear of, inclines me to think that Ignatius, had he been a good and wise man, *would have consented at this point to be damned*, as it was clear to him that he deserved to be. Here would have been a healing salve for his conscience, one transcendent act of virtue, which it still lay with him, the worst of sinners, to do. "To die for ever, as I have deserved; let Eternal Justice triumph so, since otherwise it may not."' Is it not plain that in this passage is nothing of significance for human nature, nothing of practical import, nothing but the intoxication of paradox? So, again, in Mr. Carlyle's social philosophy, in his crusade, for instance, against 'Downing Street,' when, after a whirlwind of invective against the Diabolus spirit of Red Tape, the reader, in a moment's breathing space, looks for the inspired advice, the oracle counsels profoundly, 'Able men! Get able men in Downing Street!' In such bewildering chances do we find ourselves in our journeys with Mr. Carlyle, at one moment transported on a celestial metaphor, the next stranded upon a barren platitude! Why is this? And how comes the serene philosophy of Goethe to be translated into the turbulent and discontented system of his disciple? For our own part, we think the reason is not far to seek. Mr. Carlyle's ideals are wholly un-English. England is not Weimar, nor is the purely literary culture, which could develop itself at liberty in a petty German Court, undisturbed by even the rumour of politics, qualified to succeed amidst the vehement political life of a great and ancient nation.

A far more systematic attempt, however, to naturalise 'Culture' in England has been made by another disciple of Goethe. No one has more persistently preached the necessity of this new religion than Mr. Arnold; but perceiving clearly the impractical nature of Mr. Carlyle's mission, he has thrown his own efforts into the form of exposition, and has in every way sought to popularise his creed by indicating how it is to be embodied in our national life. Nor has he been by any means unsuccessful in engrafting his ideas on literary society. Like all the Girondin party, he knows thoroughly the value of phrases, and the very word 'Culture' itself, 'Perfection,' 'Sweetness and Light,' 'Hebraism,' 'Hellenism,' and others now so commonly found

found in current literature, have been disseminated by his influence. And no wonder, for if any man could found a gospel on refinement it would be Mr. Arnold. Graceful and humane in his temperament, a master alike of literature and style, capable of receiving criticism with temper, and retorting it with wit, this true disciple of Goethe has received from Fortune every gift, except the power 'to see himself as others see him.' 'Culture,' he says, 'is to be recommended as the great help out of our present difficulties,' and if, after examination, the remedy seems to be something less than the philosopher's stone, it will not be for want of clear exposition and unwavering faith on the part of its apostle.

Mr. Arnold, pursuing his meritorious object of making his system precise and popular, starts with a definition: 'Culture, which is the study of perfection, leads us to conceive of true perfection, developing all sides of our humanity, and, as a general perfection, developing all parts of our society.' And he subsequently shows that the question has a religious, political, and social aspect, in which triple division of his subject we shall do our best to follow him.

To be perfectly cultivated we must, according to Mr. Arnold, be perfectly religious, and to be perfectly religious we must have a proper understanding of the Bible. A significant admission from a philosopher of that party which, in its first rise, did its utmost to annihilate Christianity as a baneful superstition! Yet, so far as regards his own end, Mr. Arnold is right; for is it not the precept of the Founder of Christianity, 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect?' The question, however, immediately arises, is the perfection thus enjoined identical with that perfection which consists in a 'harmonious development of all sides of our humanity'? We are thus led to ask for a clear definition of the common and traditional conception of Christianity, and we shall not find it better than in the words of Bishop Butler, a writer for whom Mr. Arnold professes the highest admiration:—

'The divine government of the world, implied in the notion of religion in general and of Christianity, contains in it that mankind is appointed to live in a future state; that everyone shall be rewarded or punished respectively for all that behaviour here which we comprehend under the words virtuous, morally good, or evil; that our present life is a probation, a state of trial, and of discipline for that future one; notwithstanding the objections which men may fancy they have from notions of necessity against there being any such moral plan as this at all; and whatever objections may appear to be against the wisdom and goodness of it, as it stands imperfectly made known to us at present; that the world being in a state of apostasy and wickedness,

wickedness, and the sense of their condition and duty being greatly corrupted among men, this gave occasion for an additional dispensation of Providence, of the utmost importance, proved by miracles, but containing in it many things strange and not to have been expected; a dispensation of Providence which is a scheme or system of things carried on by the mediation of a divine Person, the Messiah, in order to the recovery of the world, yet not revealed to all men, nor proved with the strongest evidence, but only to such a part of mankind, and with such particular evidence, as the wisdom of God thought fit.'

Here is a plain and manly statement of Christianity, with all its difficulties, as it has been accepted by every Church, by every sect, and by the vast majority of individual Christians, since the time of its first dispensation. 'A future state of rewards and punishments,' 'our present life a state of probation,' 'a dispensation of Providence carried on by a divine Person, the Messiah,' these are conceptions, which perhaps give a somewhat rude shock to the idea of a perfection looked for in the actual world, and consisting in the serene 'development of all sides of our humanity.' The orthodox belief, however, Mr. Arnold says, is a failure; the working classes will have nothing to say to it. Though it is hard to see how, in the sight of reason, this fact affects the question, Mr. Arnold considers it a valid argument against the truth of the popular faith, and a reason for reversing the time-honoured conclusion respecting Mahomet and the mountain. Since the working classes, he seems to argue, will not come to Christianity, we must suit Christianity to the working classes. To bring about this result he considers it will be necessary to eliminate dogma from religion; in other words, to distil out all the supposed facts on which the Christian revelation is based, and to take the residuum of Idea as the real heart and essence of the matter. For this purpose he proposes to apply to Christianity the highly popular modern doctrine of Evolution. Each age, he says, has had its own conception of Christianity, and each age has been making, slowly but surely, towards the modern professorial standpoint. Something here appears to us somewhat to savour of that *petitio principii*, which we have seen to be such a frequent apparition in revolutionary logic. Mr. Arnold, however, does not hesitate to give the names of great Christian divines as being, like himself, Evolutionists in religion. Thus he shows that Dr. Newman maintains the development of doctrine, though arguing from the premise to a wrong conclusion. Butler also speaks of truths in the Scripture which may yet be discovered. But Dr. Newman is a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and as for the passage which Mr. Arnold quotes from Butler, it is simply an argument from the analogy

of Nature to prove the impossibility of comprehending *per saltum* the whole mystery of Christianity. Butler never meant to say that the same fact could be true at one time and not at another, nor would the man who spoke of 'a divine Person, the Messiah, carrying on a dispensation of Providence,' have allowed the following theory of Mr. Arnold's to be an undiscovered 'truth':—

'The book contains all that we know of a wonderful spirit, far above the heads of his reporters, still farther above the head of our popular theology, which has added its own misunderstanding of the reporters to the reporters' misunderstanding of Jesus. And it was quite inevitable that *anything so superior and profound* should be imperfectly understood by those amongst whom it first appeared, and for a very long time afterwards: and that it should come at last to stand out clearer only by time,—Time, as the Greek maxim says, the wisest of all things, for he is the unflinching discoverer.'

Translating the word 'time,' which the writer is of course too modest to do for himself, we therefore arrive at this result, that the scheme of Christianity, as stated above in the quotation from Butler, and understood by the whole Christian world for nineteen centuries, has been one vast mistake, which has only been cleared up by the arrival of the year 1873 and the interposition of Mr. Arnold.

We do not exaggerate. Let Mr. Arnold himself state what his theory of development embraces:—

'This premature and false criticism is all of one order, and it will all go. Not the Athanasian Creed's damnatory clauses only, but the whole creed; not this creed only, but the three creeds: our whole received application of science, popular or learned, to the Bible. For it was an inadequate and a false science, and could not from the nature of the case be otherwise.'

We naturally ask, with some curiosity, What remains? 'The work of Jesus,' Mr. Arnold says, 'was to sift and renew the *idea* of righteousness, and to do this He brought a method and He brought a secret. His apostles, when they preached His gospel, preached *repentance* unto life and *peace* through Jesus Christ. Of these two great words, repentance, we shall find, attaches to the method, and the other, peace, to his secret.' Does Mr. Arnold really think this stilted paraphrase of the gospel is the revelation of an 'undiscovered truth'? By no means. 'The holders of ecclesiastical dogma,' he says, 'have always, we must remember, held and professed the Bible dogma' (*i. e.* his own exposition of it) 'too. Their ecclesiastical dogma may have led them to act falsely to it, but they have always held it. The method and secret of Jesus have always been prized.'

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Why, then, is our modern philosopher so anxious to get rid of all Christian dogma outside his own special system? 'The cause lies in the Bible being made to depend on a story, or set of asserted facts, which it is impossible to verify.' The Christian religion, as Mr. Arnold says, and the arguments in defence of it, rest on the assumption of a Personal Ruler of the Universe, and this cannot be verified. Religion, we are told, must no longer be a matter of faith, based on revelation, the evidence for which is based merely on probability, but must be made a matter of science.

'That there is an enduring power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness is verifiable, as we have seen by experience: and that Jesus is the offspring of this power is verifiable by experience also. For God is the author of righteousness; now Jesus is the Son of God, because He gives the method and secret by which alone righteousness is possible. And that He does give this we can verify again by experience; it is so! Try! and you will find it to be so!'

And this is religion in its scientific form which is to convert 'the masses'! Had Mr. Arnold been a little more accustomed to close reasoning, and rather less assured of his own infallibility, he would have perceived that the whole of the above passage is made up of assumptions quite as arbitrary as any which he deprecates in the popular theology. Take two for instance. How can it be verified that there is 'an enduring power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness'? Clearly this question is one of *metaphysics*. The origin of the moral perception in man is assigned by some to intuition, by others to education, and by Mr. Darwin to a social instinct, arising out of evolution and inheritance. Whichever conclusion a man accepts, it is plain that he must satisfy himself with reasoning which amounts to no more than probability. How, again, can it be verified that righteousness is alone possible by the method of Jesus? Was there no righteousness in the world before the Christian era? St. Paul clearly implies the contrary when he says, 'When the Gentiles which have not the law do *by nature* the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves.'

With this extraordinary facility of verification, however, it may be supposed Mr. Arnold has little difficulty in dealing with any facts that conflict with his own conclusion. Yet for a philosopher who maintains that the whole fabric of historical Christianity is based on a delusion, there is surely much to be accomplished in clearing away those 'miraculous' facts which, as Butler says, prove the divine sanction of the Christian dispensation. As, however, the position of Mr. Arnold is different

from that of philosophers who deny the whole truth of Christianity, he deals little with the quality of the evidence for the Resurrection, the cardinal point of Christian theology, and confines himself almost entirely to an elaborate demonstration that his doctrine, his whole doctrine, and nothing but his doctrine, is the actual doctrine of the Apostles. The object of his essay 'St. Paul and Protestantism' is, he says, 'not religious edification, but the true criticism of a great and misunderstood author.' And this is what St. Paul really meant by the Resurrection from the Dead:—

'All impulses of selfishness conflict with Christ's feelings. He showed it by dying to them all; if you are one with Him by faith and sympathy, you can die to them also. Then, secondly, if you die with Him, you become transformed by the renewing of your mind, and rise with Him. The law of the spirit which is in Christ becomes the law of your life also, and frees you from the law of sin and death. You rise with Him to *that harmonious conformity with the real and the eternal*, that sense of pleasing God, which is life and peace till it becomes glory. If you suffer with Him, you shall also be glorified with Him.'

There is something almost incredible in this *sang froid*. It is, of course, true that St. Paul speaks of Christ's death and resurrection in the metaphorical sense expounded by Mr. Arnold; but is it not obvious that the whole force of the metaphor is derived from a belief in the actual fact? Had St. Paul's belief been based on mere intellectual perception, what would be the meaning of the passionate cry, 'O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' Or what significance would there be in the experience of Christians of all persuasions, in the self-inflicted penance of St. Benedict, the spiritual conflicts of Luther, and Bunyan's ever-haunting remorse, if the above calm professorial statement were the real sum of the matter? But what follows is more amazing still. We are to believe that when St. Paul spoke to the facts of Christ's resurrection, and based on them the sublime argument which for countless generations has brought hope and consolation to the grave-side, he did not know the meaning of his own words.

'Very likely it would have been impossible for him to imagine his own theology without it' (viz., a belief in the actual Resurrection), 'but

"Below the surface stream, shallow and light,
Of what we say we feel, below the stream,
As light, of what we think we feel, there flows,
With noiseless current strong, obscure, and deep,
The central stream of what we feel indeed,"'

and

and in St. Paul's case this happens to coincide with the ideas of Mr. Arnold.

This is no place for theological argument. We have contented ourselves with a simple exposition of Mr. Arnold's philosophy, because we wish to show that, while surveying the popular faith with superior disdain, he does not understand its meaning. 'A perfection developing all sides of our humanity' is what everybody desires, but the real question is, How is this harmony to be attained when the very principles of our nature are in apparent conflict? To the discord between the desires and the will all philosophy, Heathen or Christian, bears testimony. The universal human experience is expressed in Plato's story of Leontius and his eyes,* in Ovid's words, '*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor,*' as well as in St. Paul's declaration, 'When I would do good evil is present with me.' What distinguishes Christianity from philosophy is its recognition of the truth that fact must be met with fact, that the radical imperfection of the human will can only be cured by the superintention of a perfect and Divine Power. The belief in this external power, exemplified either in St. Paul's conversion or the conversion of Sampson Staniforth, the Methodist soldier, by which Mr. Arnold vainly endeavours to depreciate St. Paul's, is the motive of Christian practice. But Mr. Arnold's notable scheme of culture is to cure selfishness by means of self, to oppose bare idea to hard fact, to enforce a law, of which he would abolish the sanction. It is possible that, when he goes to 'the masses,' and, after denying the Resurrection of the Dead, proves to them how necessary it is for every one who would become a cultivated person 'to rise to a harmonious conformity with the real and the eternal,' his hearers may not discover that he is discoursing platitudes. But in that case we shall next expect to hear of him lecturing to vast and eager audiences in the United States on the 'undiscovered truths,' that honey placed on the tongue produces a sensation of sweetness, or that wood when brought into contact with fire is accustomed to be consumed.

We come now to the politics of culture, and, after a general survey of the region, we find ourselves rather in the difficulty of St. Patrick, who, having to write on snakes in Ireland, could only say, 'In Ireland there are no snakes.' It is not that Mr. Arnold has nothing edifying to tell us on the subject. Far from it. Nature made him a critic, and did not indispose him to be a 'candid friend.' 'I am a Liberal,' he says, 'but a Liberal tempered by experience and reflection,' and his attitude towards

* Plato, Republic, Book iv.

popular Liberalism is all that we, who do not profess that creed, can desire. He sees plainly that the Irish Church was not disestablished in the interest of Eternal Justice, but to satisfy the political importunity of a coalition of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. He would probably admit that the Irish Land Bill sprang out of considerations not wholly dissimilar. He has no more faith in ballot-boxes, reform bills, cotton, railways, and other machinery, as means to perfection, than Mr. Carlyle. And he has also—a failing not prevalent in his party—a propensity to humour, and a genius for embodying the weak points of his friends in lively caricatures and suggestive phrases, which to the Tory mind are full of salt and savour.

Culture, however, we must remember, pretends to be something more than critical; it is to help us out of our present difficulties. One of our present difficulties, as Mr. Arnold justly says, is that we have no sound centre of authority. We have no idea, like some of the Continental nations, of a State as a centralising and directing power, and consequently our constitutional system of checks, whenever an emergency arises, is apt to leave us at the mercy of any powerful will, like Mr. Beales or Mr. Bradlaugh, who, having the courage of their opinions, can seize on the situation. All very true. Still, we cannot help feeling that this light-hearted criticism comes rather strangely from one of a party whose whole policy has been to remove power from the aristocracy, which, however imperfect, was certainly a centre, and to vest it exclusively in the middle class, which, outside the Constitution, has neither unity nor cohesion. Mr. Arnold, however, is a philosopher, and, like all his kind, can stick to his colours and separate his principles from their consequences. 'The salvation' (and he uses the word with quasi-religious unction) 'of the country is to be looked for from the middle,' or, as he calls it, 'the Philistine' class. Only this class must first get rid of its Philistinism, and adopt the means of 'salvation' which Culture points out to it. And what are these? To found the idea of a State on our best *self*.

'By our best self we are united, impersonal, at harmony. We are in no peril from giving authority to this, because it is the truest friend we all of us have, and, when anarchy is a danger to us, it is to this authority we may turn with sure trust.'

Why here is our old friend *Petitio Principii*, this time in the very thinnest disguise, and walking confidently abroad with an ingenuous good faith that is positively refreshing. For is it not obvious that, if all men obeyed their better selves, there would be no need of government at all, and that the real ques-
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tion is (the heart being 'deceitful above all things') 'What is our better self?' and 'How are we to obey it?' We confess a curiosity to learn the exact nature of that harmonious state, which would be compounded of the 'better selves' of such distinguished Liberals as Mr. Arnold, Mr. Miall, Sir Charles Dilke, and Professor Fawcett.

Mr. Arnold will not satisfy us. On the contrary, whenever he seems on the point of making a practical suggestion, he shrinks from applying it. For instance, after an eloquent description of the advantages enjoyed by those schools in Prussia which are under the patronage of the Crown, he shows, by way of contrast, the position of the Crown in England:—

'In England the action of the national guides or governors is for a Royal Prince or a great Minister to go down to the opening of the Licensed Victuallers' or the Commercial Travellers' school, to take the chair, to extol the energy and self-reliance of the Licensed Victuallers or the Commercial Travellers, to be all of their way of thinking, to predict full success to their school, and never so much as hint to them that they are doing a very foolish thing, and that the right way to go to work with their children's education is quite different.'

This is humorous and true,—but what then? Surely, if the argument is sound, it is an argument for placing the Royal centre of authority, whose action Liberals from time immemorial have been seeking to restrict, in a more independent position. Unfortunately though Mr. Arnold is 'a Liberal tempered by experience and reflection,' he is above all a Liberal.

'I do not say,' is his conclusion, 'that the political system of foreign countries has not inconveniences which may outweigh the inconveniences of our own political system; nor am I in the least proposing to get rid of our own political system and to adopt theirs. But a sound centre of authority being what in this disquisition we have been led to seek, and right reason or our best self appearing alone to offer such a sound centre of authority, it is necessary to take note of the chief impediments which hinder in this country the extrication or recognition of this right reason as a paramount authority, with a view to afterwards trying in what way they may be removed.'

It is, in fact, much easier to criticise imperfection than to define perfection. Mr. Arnold is a born critic, but not a constructive statesman, and his help towards relieving us of our present difficulties is purely negative. When asked for positive action he politely declines to commit himself, and with many fine phrases about 'our better self,' 'right reason,' and 'making the will of God prevail,' gracefully bows himself off the political stage.

'Because

'Because machinery is the bane of politics, and an inward working and not machinery is what we want, we keep advising our ardent young Liberal friends to think less of machinery, to stand more aloof from the arena of politics at present, and rather to try and promote with us inward working.'

This naturally leads us to the consideration of a question far wider and more important than Mr. Arnold's particular views—namely, the general relation between letters, for this, after all, is what Culture really means, and modern society. Here we have the deliberate advice of the most polished English writer of the day, that those of his countrymen whose tastes agree with his own should, for a time at all events, secede from politics, which, in England, is the same as saying from public life. We should like to know Mr. Arnold's authority in reason or experience for such strange counsel. Socrates, we believe, said that no wise man would meddle with politics; but Socrates was not an absolute stranger to paradox, nor are we aware that he ever explained how the world was to proceed without government. On the other hand, free society has ever been, and we believe must ever be, political, and the public spirit of a free State will always, directly or indirectly, find expression in its literature. It was so in Athens. The public instruction in the poems of Homer, the representation of the traditional mythology in the public tragedy, and the criticism of current politics on the comic stage, indicate how the noblest forms of art identified themselves with the habits and institutions of the Athenian people. It was so in Rome. Cicero, the representative of Rome's republican statesmanship, is still regarded as the representative of Latin culture. In the 'Georgics' is embodied the spirit of the ancient agriculture of Rome, as the 'Æneid' is the monument of her Imperial grandeur. And it is striking evidence of the power possessed by tradition, history, and poetry to keep alive national feeling, that the surest way Juvenal could find for revealing their vices to his degraded countrymen was to compare them with the simple virtues of their fathers.

But if we wish to see what happens where this is not so, where literature fails to incorporate itself in the national life, we have an example in the history of France. The genius of French literature is essentially critical, not creative. With the energies of society crushed by despotism, there was little scope in France for the expansion of poetry, the art above all others in which a free people loves to embody its conceptions of liberty and greatness. The graver works of the French imagination have an air of mannerism and unreality. They strike us as luxuries, purveyed by the most ingenious minds (generally arising

from the middle class, so sedulously excluded from all affairs) for the enjoyment of a select society, too haughty to provide its own pleasures by the performance of a supposed social function. In comedy, on the other hand, the French are unsurpassed. But social comedy thrives upon corruption, criticism they are unequalled. 'The French,' says Dryden, 'as much better critics than the English as they are worse poets,' and certainly the characteristic writers of France are Molière and Montesquieu, not Corneille or Racine. But criticism without poetry enervates instead of strengthening society. In the final catastrophe of French history we see the fatal results of continued analysis, the perpetual wear and tear of reflection relieved by the opportunity of free action. Art and culture, which devote themselves exclusively to search for the causes of evil, and not rather to represent examples of noble living, are certain in the end to blind men's eyes to the objects they propose to reveal.

How different have been the fortunes of literature in England! Though much behind the French in polish and critical perception, England has produced a literature more vigorous and original than her neighbour. At the same time that the elements of civil society began to form themselves under Elizabeth, art and learning struck deep root in the country. The governing classes in England have never regarded the practice of letters as a degrading pursuit; on the contrary, they have seen in literature a great conservative power. The names of Sackville, Sidney, and Raleigh are amongst the earliest refiners of our language; the name of Bacon stands pre-eminent in our philosophy; a large proportion of the names in Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets' belong to the ranks of the nobility and gentry, and, though representing mere mediocrity, serve to show the national inclination to poetry. Yet the prejudices of rank and position have not in England disturbed the true balance in the kingdom of letters. Dryden, as monarch of the Coffee-house, numbered peers among his subjects; and we venture to say that in no modern society but that of England could a man with so many social defects as Johnson have exercised the prerogative that was freely yielded to his noble genius. This freedom and equality has produced its result in the strength, the variety, and the amplitude of our literature; but, above all, in the influence it has possessed over the national affections and the character of our greatest countrymen. Marlborough avowed that he knew no history but what he learnt from Shakespeare. And what a depth of meaning lies in the pathetic anecdote of Wolfe, who, as he was being rowed towards the Heights of Abraham, repeated

repeated Gray's 'Elegy' to his companions, exclaiming at the conclusion that he would rather have been the author of the poem than be the victor in the approaching battle!

To explain, therefore, Mr. Arnold's advice, previously quoted, in the face of this public character of our literature, we must remember that we, also, have had our Revolution, which, while proceeding by due course of law, presents in a modified form precisely the same features as the Revolution in France. Liberalism, or the great upward movement of the middle against the aristocratic class, has always contained two elements, the literary and the political, though the relative importance of these is exactly the reverse of what is seen in the French Revolution. Both fractions of the Liberal party have availed themselves of the magic watch-words, Progress and Perfection, though, as usual, the words with each have had a different meaning. Perfection, as defined by the political Liberals, is of a very definite and tangible character; being simply to enjoy the most unrestrained personal liberty, and the most unlimited opportunities of creating wealth, possible under the national constitution. The aims of the literary Liberals, on the other hand, are cosmopolitan and comprehensive, aspiring, as in France, to reconstruct the entire social and moral life of the country on a basis imagined by philosophy. Between such uncongenial allies harmony, of course, could not long be preserved; a sense of disappointment has always been observable in the literary party; and they have at last come to a complete rupture with their political friends, much after the fashion of the Girondists and Jacobins, only that, while in France the quarrel was raised to the heights of tragedy, in England it wears, superficially at all events, the aspect of a broad farce.

The disappointed feelings of the English Girondists are expressed without reserve. 'I am now convinced,' says Mr. Mill, in his 'Autobiography,' 'that no great improvement is possible for mankind without a fundamental change in their constitutional habits of thought.' Mr. Carlyle, as we know, though in his rhapsodies he extols an ideal industrialism, has never ceased to inveigh against the trading classes as they are. But even his invective is nothing compared to the calm, equable, superior disdain which Mr. Arnold expresses for his quondam friends and their principles.

'Culture says: "Consider these people, their way of life, their habits, their manners, the very tones of their voice; look at them attentively, observe the literature they read, the things which give them pleasure, the words which proceed from their mouths, the thoughts which make the furniture of their minds; would any amount

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of wealth be worth having with the condition that one was to become just like these people by having it?"

On the other side the Liberal society, surveyed in this contemptuously Olympian fashion, is not slow to retort upon "people"—to quote the words of Mr. Bright—"who talk about Culture, by which they mean a smattering of the dead languages of Greek and Latin." 'Perhaps,' says Mr. Frederic Harrison, a representative Jacobin, 'the very silliest cant of the day is the cant about Culture. Culture is a desirable quality in a critic of new books, and sits well on a professor of *belles lettres*; but, as applied to politics, it means simply a turn for small fault-finding, love of selfish ease, and indecision in action. The man of culture in politics is one of the poorest creatures alive,' &c. Better matched combatants it would be impossible to find, or a quarrel more entertaining to watch, were it not for a consideration of the more serious issues it involves.

Taste, it is plain, does not enjoy the same appreciation in England to-day as under the rule of the aristocracy. Art and letters, instead of forming part of the daily life of a leisured and refined society, are regarded rather as stimulants for the imagination, which, steadily suppressed during the hours of business, is liberated for brief intervals of feverish excitement. We find, therefore, a constant tendency to depreciate the standard of taste, for, besides the want of leisure required for the mastery of classical models, there is a natural inclination of liberty to rebel against the limitations these models impose, while the feelings of thorough believers in the Manchester school of material progress are humiliated by the thought that they have anything to learn from people who lived before the Christian era. Rich men, they feel, have their intellectual desires, as well as their bodily wants, and in each case money should command the required luxury. We are, indeed, in the midst of a period, the approach of which Goldsmith long ago saw and deplored, when money, rather than honour, becomes the prime motive of literary production. The logical consequences of the law of demand and supply in literature have lately been pressed by the 'Times' in an article of extraordinary plainness:—

'If one novel in ten, or one poem in a thousand, be worth reading at all, it is as much as we can reasonably expect to find. It is certain, however, that the rest supply a want which is really felt, and give undoubted pleasure to a large class of readers. If the object of literature is to give pleasure, and to divert the mind from the unpleasant realities of life, *it is impossible to refuse some praise* to the performance which does this, for however brief a period.'

If the object of literature be what is defined by that great
journal,

journal, a single copy of which Mr. Cobden valued above the whole history of Thucydides, no doubt this reasoning is just, but in that case we cannot rightly refuse our praise to the art of the procuress or the trade of the opium-monger.

Every generous feeling revolts against this vulgar and cynical despotism. But are we to conclude because national taste is decaying, that self-culture alone is to be pursued, without consideration of the instincts, the traditions, the character of the society to which we belong? Such seems to be Mr. Arnold's advice, and it is certainly widely followed. 'Free literature' is as popular a cry in many quarters as a 'free Church' or a 'free breakfast-table.' Culture is regarded as the badge of distinction between the refined few and the rude many; Lessing and Herder are taken as the models for English criticism, rather than Johnson or Macaulay. Now to see what kind of perfection is likely to result from this 'inward working,' we must observe the effect produced upon our higher literature by its repudiation of all intercourse with existing society.

In the first place the secession develops literary sacerdotalism, a priestliness marked by all the assumption of ecclesiastics without any of their prescriptive right. Mr. Carlyle, who regards the Christian religion in its revealed sense as obsolete, writes in the following extravagant strain respecting literary influence:—

"But there is no religion," reiterates the Professor. "Fool! I tell thee there is. Hast thou well considered all that lies in this immeasurable froth-stream we name Literature? Fragments of a genuine Church Homiletic lie scattered there, which Time will assert: nay, fractions even of a Liturgy could I point out now."

This, no doubt, represents the tendency of artists, men of science, poets, and professors of polite letters generally, to form themselves into a priesthood for propagating a religion of Ideas. But what grounds are there for supposing that such a religion would ever command a popular assent? We have never heard that Euripides and the Sophists were able in any way to replace that belief in the gods and in old-fashioned morality which they found it so stimulating to question. Has the philosophy of Rousseau or Voltaire laid one stone towards reconstructing the ruined society of France? And if we consult the oracles of our own Culture what do we find? There is not one of Mr. Carlyle's leading ideas, 'self-annihilation,' 'temptation in the wilderness' (after the manner of 'Teufelsdröck'), or 'conversion,' which, when divested of its grotesque disguise, is not found to be a parody of some plain and simple precept in the New Testament. As for Mr. Arnold's revised version of Christianity we have
already

already examined its claims. May we not, therefore, argue with something like certainty that, however dissimilar in other respects the parallel may be, the moral and would-be religious schemes of our modern philosophers will have no wider influence than the doctrines of the mythological rationalists at Athens?

In the second place, the sacerdotal character of modern culture prevents all application of the very principle, 'know thyself!' on which its professors base their theology. For when did an irresponsible priesthood, nay, when did unrestrained human power of any kind, ever enjoy self-knowledge? Mr. Carlyle has truly spoken of 'the folly of that impossible precept, "know thyself," till it be translated into the possibly partial one, "know what thou canst work at."' Doubt of any sort, Goethe's disciples have always been telling us, can only be removed by action; yet, as we have seen, they have one and all hopelessly failed to show what action is possible for them apart from the society by which they are surrounded. Can anything be more impotent than the course Mr. Arnold, in one of his poems, seems to assign to himself:—

'Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born'?

In what does such a course naturally end? In universal criticism. To view an ideal perfection from the heights of an intellectual Pisgah, and, in a world where all intelligences are felt to be inferior to his own, to settle every debatable matter by reference to his 'better self,' such is the only action possible to the most distinguished professor of modern culture. And one thing is evident,—this conscious superiority has not opened to him the door of self-knowledge. Had he really known himself, could the apostle of the true 'Bible dogma,' of 'epieikeia, or the mild reasonableness of Christ,' have spoken of the doctrine of the Trinity as 'a fairy tale of the three Lord Shaftesburys'? Would he not, on the contrary, have perceived that to jest on a matter which, to nine-tenths of his countrymen, is a matter of religious belief places him for a time on a level with one whom he does not particularly admire, namely, Mr. Bradlaugh? Again, if the polite professor of Hellenism knew himself, would he, who must remember so well the exquisitely urbane humour of Theophrastus in his 'Characters'—portraits evidently drawn from the closest observation, yet without one personal touch—have thought that he was indulging his Greek taste in his highly-spiced personal descriptions of Lord Elcho, the Rev. W. Cattle, and Sir Thomas Bateson? Self-knowledge

* would

would have told him it was impossible for true taste to have written such a sentence as this: 'From such an ignoble spectacle as that of poor Mrs. Lincoln—a spectacle to vulgarise a whole nation—aristocracies undoubtedly preserve us.' For if this were really a specimen of 'that true grace and serenity of which Greece and Greek art suggest the admirable ideals of perfection,' should we not all turn in preference to those barbarous notions of courtesy and consideration for others which are inculcated by the traditions of modern society? Self-knowledge would have suggested to him that there was something slightly comical in his attempt, Protestant of Protestants and Dissenter of Dissenters as he is, to entice back the Nonconformists into the bosom of the National Church. Finally, if he, indeed, knew himself, Mr. Arnold, it may be, would have more severely questioned the propriety of his Attic irony; for he would then see that the whole point of the Socratic irony, of the philosopher's pretended inferiority to his opponents, lay in the subsequent *demonstration* of his logical superiority to them. Whereas, in Mr. Arnold's ironical descriptions of the 'Barbarians' and 'Philistines,' we find no positive standard of measurement, but mere reference to certain arbitrary ideals, 'right reason,' 'the will of God,' 'sweetness and light,' all of which phrases are only ingenious methods of contrasting the imperfection of the thing criticised with the perfection of the critic. But if the critic's whole position rests on an unproved assumption, criticisms of this sort at once fall to the ground, and leave nothing behind them but surprise at their author's assurance. Indeed, if we wished for an unimpeachable proof for the necessity of some 'centre of authority,' such as society in England once afforded, to restrain the unwarrantable pretensions of men of letters, we know not where we should so readily find it, than—spite of all his infinite grace, penetration, and accomplishment—in the works of Mr. Arnold.

But, lastly, the kind of criticism which springs from constant introspection and monastic study, lands its professors in conclusions of the purest sophistry and a repudiation of the authority of common sense. The following passage from 'Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship' appears to be a vindication of the extremest claims of individual liberty based on unqualified scepticism:—

'Life lies before us as a huge quarry lies before the architect: none deserves the name of architect except when, out of this fortuitous mass, he can combine with the greatest economy, durability, and fitness, some form, *the pattern of which originated in his spirit*. All things without us, nay, I may add, all things on us, are mere elements; but
deep

deep within us lies that creative force which out of these can produce what they were meant to be; and which leaves us neither sleep nor rest till, in one way or another, without us or on us, that same may have been produced.'

It is strange how exactly the doctrine of the great modern Sophist coincides with that of the Greek sceptic Protagoras. The above compendious manifesto of literary Liberalism is a mere repetition of the well-known paradox that the individual mind is the measure and, in a sense, the maker of all things,—a conclusion which destroys all distinction between what is true and false, while it bases knowledge on pure sensation. In this principle lies the great cardinal difference between the old and catholic, and the modern and individual, forms of literature, and in every kind of contemporary writing, religious, philosophical, poetical, critical, we see the principle applied. It is of course the justification of the critical school of poetry, originated in England by Wordsworth, which places the value and true nature of external objects in the states of feeling that these produce in the individual. It is the first principle, also, of the French school of romance, and of quasi-dramatic writers, like Mr. Browning, who construct their characters out of an analysis of abstract motive. But it was not the creative method of Homer, Shakespeare, or Sir Walter Scott, who, deriving their impressions from experience and observation of the external world, reproduced these in their natural forms, though heightened and characterised by poetic imagination and individual genius.

What we are now, however, chiefly concerned with is to observe the influence of Goethe's principle as applied to the sphere of culture or criticism. And it is curious to note how closely, and perhaps unconsciously, the modern Sophists tread in the steps of Protagoras, and how, by denying all positive distinctions between what is true and false, by maintaining that what appears true to any man is true to *him*, they press to their logical conclusion that criticism should be a matter of feeling not of judgment. The quality that is most in favour with our modern critics is 'tact.' 'Perhaps,' says Mr. Arnold, 'the quality specially needed for drawing the right conclusion from the facts, when one has got them, is best called *perception*, delicacy of perception.' Now criticism, in the old and honest acceptation of the word, can only mean the act of judging from evidence, and the judgments formed, as well as the premises from which they are drawn, must be plain and palpable to common sense. We are as much bound to apply this method to problems of taste, as to questions of science or of practical conduct, though as the subject-matter of the former is more obscure and debatable,

no

no doubt the conclusion arrived at will always have a smaller degree of certainty. The critic who forms a judgment on a matter of taste and feeling is simply required to lay his premises before his audience in the clearest possible shape, leaving the jury to consider whether his conclusion is just. But 'tact' is evidently considered by Mr. Arnold to be a peculiar gift, a spiritual insight, which enables its possessor to see farther through a stone wall than is permitted to the common reason. In point of fact, we find it to be a quality chiefly cultivated by French writers, and consisting in the ability to draw vast conclusions from almost invisible premises. This mode of judging has the advantage of being easy. Given a quick perception, a lively fancy, a wide knowledge of books, and a faculty for skipping over awkward negative facts, it is plain that a bold dogmatic affirmation is certain to impress the mind bewildered in the region of the uncertain or the unknown. It was by a remarkable exercise of 'tact' that Dr. Kenealy constructed the character of Roger Tichborne out of his own imagination. Fortunately the 'insight' of the learned counsel was unequal to contend with the weight of overwhelming evidence, marshalled against him with unrivalled clearness and precise arrangement. But when a critic, adopting the same principle, assures his readers in the most persuasive style that his 'perception' convinces him St. Paul did not understand the meaning of his own theology, the assertion is attractive, because it is a paradox, and safe, because it is beyond the region of proof.

Now, how do the modern critics seek to strengthen the sophistry of their position? In the first place, like their Greek prototypes, they have invented an art of rhetoric. If we once concede the position of Protagoras that all truth is relative to the individual, it follows, as a matter of course, that the prime object of education should be to cultivate individual perception. And this is just what Mr. Arnold wants. The great secret of life, in his eyes, is to give an air of philosophy to commonplace, 'to let,' as he says, our 'consciousness play freely round our present operations and the stock notions on which they are founded, so as to show what these are like, and how related to the intelligible law of things, and auxiliary to true human perfection.' Of course this *modus operandi* results in a science of style. All Mr. Arnold's skill is expended on giving an apparently general character to his own personal perceptions by 'crystallising them in precise forms of expression. Men naturally suppose that words represent things, and just as Gorgias caught the Athenians by his antithetical sentences and curious compounds, so are the cultivated world persuaded that Mr.

Arnold's

Arnold's literary shibboleths, numerous as those of a religious sect, have a positive novel significance. Yet it is plainly a mere device of rhetoric when he ascribes the impression which he himself derives from the New Testament to the inspiration of the 'Zeit-Geist,' or 'Time-Spirit;' and rhetoric again teaches him to conceal the purely esoteric nature of such criticisms, as that Byron was a 'Philistine,' and Pope 'provincial,' under the piquant dogmatism of his language.

This art of spiritualising language has received a curious development. As culture has turned poetry into criticism so does it transform criticism into poetry. Aristotle blamed the Sophists for making prose poetical, observing acutely that those who wrote in this manner sought to conceal the poverty of their thought by the showiness of their style.* Poetical prose, however, introduced by Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Carlyle, has made rapid advances in England. The following extract from Mr. Pater's criticism on Leonardo da Vinci's picture 'La Gioconda' is a good specimen of this epicene style:—

'The presence that so strangely rose beside the waters is expressive of what in the ways of a thousand years man had come to desire. Hers is the head upon which all the ends of the world are come, and the eyelids are a little weary. It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts, and fantastic reveries, and exquisite passions. Set it for a moment beside one of those white Greek goddesses or beautiful women of antiquity, and how would they be troubled by this beauty into which the soul, with all its maladies, has passed! All the thought and experience of the world have etched and moulded there in that which they have of power to refine and make expressive the outward form, the animalism of Greece, the lust of Rome, the reverie of the Middle Age, with its spiritual ambition and its imaginative loves, the return of the Pagan world, the sins of the Borgias.'

Now all this is plain, downright, unmistakable poetry. The picture is made the thesis which serves to display the writer's extensive reading and the finery of his style. Of reasoning in the ordinary sense there is positively none. 'The eyelids are a little weary,' therefore it is quite plain that 'all the ends of the earth are come upon her head.' The beauty is different from the Greek type. What then can be more obvious than that this particular face expresses the whole experience of mankind between the age of Phidias and Leonardo? The lady appears to Mr. Pater to have a somewhat sensual expression. A fact which fully warrants a critical rhetorician in concluding that she is an unconscious incarnation of all the vices which he has

* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. i. 9.

found preserved in the literature of the Renaissance. Judgments of this kind, we are told, are the result of 'penetrative sympathy' or 'perceptive insight.' It may be so; we cannot say that the qualities Mr. Pater discovers in this picture are not to be found there. What we can say is that, as the reasoning in the above passage assumes a knowledge in the critic of motives which are beyond the reach of evidence, there is no justification for calling that criticism which is in fact pure romance. In some cases we may go farther, and show that the freemasonry acquired by perpetual reading, uncorrected by actual observation, is really of a kind to weaken that acute sagacity which is necessary for a judge. For instance, by an error precisely resembling Winckelmann's absurd overestimate of Raphael Mengs, a critic of such natural good sense and sound judgment as Mr. Symonds, whose book we have classed with Mr. Pater's at the head of our article, has been induced to assert that an execrable American scribbler, one Walt Whitman, is the true representative of Greek life in the nineteenth century. A hundred other instances might be quoted to prove how critics who reject the natural standards of common sense in favour of private perceptions derived from books are made the dupes of quackery and imposture. Everywhere we see examples to confirm the truth of Milton's reproach:—

'The man who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior
(And what he brings why need he elsewhere seek?),
Uncertain and unsettled still remains.
Deep versed in books, but shallow in himself,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge,
As children gathering pebbles by the shore.'

We have sought to show that the results of 'inward working' in literary culture are not satisfactory. It is not every man whose *Dæmon* is so trustworthy as that of Socrates. If, then, the characteristics we have observed be in themselves unhealthy, is there not probably something unsound in the source from which they spring? Liberalism, or religion based on self-worship, of which self-culture is the last and the logical development, has been the darling creed of Europe for a hundred years, yet it has ever failed to take firm root in society. Philosophic Liberalism, the State of Nature, or the Gospel according to Rousseau, failed irretrievably at the French Revolution. Commercial Liberalism, the mercantile State of Nature, or the Gospel according to

Cobden,

Cobden, is generally discredited, and in the eyes even of its professors is at least inadequate. Academic Liberalism, the State of Art, or the Gospel according to Goethe, must also fail, for this, too, is founded on the false principle of self-worship. Proofs are not wanting that it has failed already. For whereas it proposes to replace what it considers the obsolete catholic standards of antiquity, it introduces us to nothing but the Babel of Sects. In education, in art, its effects are seen alike. Every agitator against the classics as an imperfect educational basis is certain that they could be well replaced by the particular study to which he has confined his own attention. With the innovators in poetry and criticism it is the same; 'there is no law in the land; every man does that which is good in his own eyes.' What, in a word, is the general tendency of 'Culture' but to encourage a passion for private and impossible ideals? Some wish to 'Hellenise' our public life, to recover, as they say, the Greek standard, an aspiration that appears to us to resemble Mrs. Blimber's, who declared that she could die happy if she could but see Cicero in his Tusculan villa. Others, again, desire to mediævalise our manners, and Mr. Ruskin is founding a republic on the principle of Atlantis and Utopia, to be governed by the laws of Florence in the fourteenth century. Probably most of our literary Liberals would re-echo the sense of the complaint made lately with an almost sublime egotism in 'Fors Clavigera':—

'That it should be left to me to begin such a work with only one man in England, Thomas Carlyle, to whom I can look for steady guidance, is alike wonderful and sorrowful to me. I am left utterly stranded and alone in life and in thought.'

A melancholy, but not an uncommon, experience. And who is to blame? Society, says Mr. Ruskin; but we venture to doubt.

Yet these wild visions are but irregular symptoms of the indisposition which the nation itself has lately shown to content itself with the principles of Manchester, without any scope for the exercise of its nobler powers of imagination and feeling. But if all novel schemes in pursuit of this higher end have proved futile, is it not possible that in the Christian Revelation and our national history we have still a standard of noble living in our midst? We believe Butler to be absolutely right in his argument from probability:—

'In questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, if the result of examination be that there appears any the least presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question, even in matters of speculation, and in matters of practice will lay us under

an absolute and formal obligation in point of prudence and of interest to act upon the presumption or low probability, though it be so low as to leave the mind in doubt which is the truth.'

We have been content, throughout our argument, to meet philosophy on its own ground, and the real question is this, Has, or has not the system, which for nineteen centuries has satisfied minds the wisest and most unsophisticated, which has proved intelligible alike to the hearts of rich and poor, a greater presumption in its favour than those systems which have never extended their influence beyond literary sects, and even among these are being perpetually rejected as inadequate? The constant aspiration of the human heart is towards what is higher than itself, as is shown by Mr. Carlyle's phrase 'self-annihilation,' and Mr. Arnold's phrase 'our better self,' yet no scheme of modern philosophy has suggested how we are to escape from 'the shadow of ourselves.' Christianity solves the enigma, and provides the means, as much more completely than 'Culture,' as the belief in God is larger than the idea of our better self, as much more effectually than philosophy, as the Christian exposition of our duty to God and to our neighbour is more practical than the paradox of self-annihilation. And if it be true, as in a sense it is, that doubt of any kind can only be removed by action, where is there such scope for action as in Christian liberty? Were there, indeed, an inherent repugnance between those elements of our nature which Mr. Arnold calls the Hebraic and Hellenic, as certain fanatics have urged, this, might be an argument against a religion which would tend to suppress the noblest human powers. But there is none. It cannot be said that the faith out of which modern civilisation has sprung has dwarfed the energies of mankind. The scheme under which the intellect of Bacon and Newton could expand has nothing in itself hostile to science; the atmosphere which invigorated the imagination of Shakespeare has not been fatal to letters, nor has the religion which the genius of Raffaele could glorify been unproductive of art. Great action in the sphere of art and letters is encouraged, where men are content to take for granted the first principles on which human society depends. It becomes impossible only when they spend all their intellectual energies on analysis, in the idle endeavour to solve questions which are by nature incapable of proof.

To conclude, we desire a culture that shall be social, public, national, that shall be breathed from the common air, not elaborated out of the individual mind. There is a state of nature to be found in modern society, though not, as Rousseau taught, in a return to the simplicity of the savage or the shepherd. The
praise

praise of being 'natural' we ascribe to those who, with unconscious grace, without consideration of effect, perform the duties and maintain the dignity proper to their condition in society. The standards of honour, courtesy, politeness, refinement,—all that is comprised in that sense of what is due to others as well as to ourselves, which we call by the name of good breeding, and which is the result of complex traditions, and continuous development, these qualities are as far above the manufacture of art as they are beyond the reach of analysis. Formed as they have been out of instincts and characteristics which have made society in England stable and free, the laws which enforce these virtues should not be questioned, but obeyed. We believe that no modern nation has merited better than England the noble eulogium passed by Pericles on the Athenians, when he told them they had learned how to reconcile a sense of public greatness with a toleration of individual taste. Happy will it be for ourselves if, with our passion for private liberty, we retain that public spirit without which liberty would soon cease to exist! In spite of the sectarianism which the miserable principles of the Manchester school have long served to propagate, we look on the recent judgment of the nation as a proof that the body of the people preserves a sense of true unity. We are persuaded that in our country still burns that ancient fire springing out of love of the soil and patriotic pride which animated the dying apostrophe of John of Gaunt to

'This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England!'

It is this reverence for our history which forms the public conscience, and is a pledge that we cannot be false without shame to the great actions of our fathers. To the kindling and strengthening of this conscience we desire to see all the nobler energies of our art and letters contribute. This to our mind is the groundwork of true Culture. 'Very small by the side of the Eternities!' says Mr. Carlyle. 'Very un-Hellenic!' adds Mr. Arnold. 'Old-fashioned!' cries Liberal Progress, in the spirit of Aristophanes' Unjust Argument, 'eighteenth century, smelling of stage-coaches, Magna Charta, and the Heptarchy.' 'True it is,' we reply with the Just Argument, 'that old-fashioned Culture does not consist of constant self-analysis, perpetual depreciation of our fathers, everlasting glorification of ourselves; but at any rate it is the Culture which reared the men of Trafalgar and Waterloo!'

* Α. ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμυστα
καὶ Κηκίδου καὶ Βουφονίων

Δ. ἀλλ' οὐν ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα
ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχας ἡμῇ παιδείῃσι ἔθρεψεν.

ART. V.—*La Vie d'un Patricien de Venise au Seizième Siècle.*
 —*Les Doges—La Charte Ducale—Les Femmes à Venise—*
L'Université de Padoue—Les Préliminaires de Lépante, &c.,
d'après les Papiers d'Etat des Archives de Venise. Par Charles
 Yriarte. Paris, 1874.

MARC ANTONIO BARBARO was a Venetian noble of illustrious birth, who filled successively each of the highest offices in the Republic, with the exception of the Dogeship, which he narrowly missed. He was born in 1518 and died in 1595: and adopting him as the type of the patrician of the sixteenth century, the author of the book before us has undertaken to connect or associate with his career a full description of the laws, customs, manners, and policy of the Queen of the Adriatic in the height of her prosperity and the fullness of her pride. Thus, *à propos* of Barbaro's rank, we are treated to a sketch of the patrician order, with its privileges: on his marriage, to a disquisition on Venetian women. His nomination to an embassy suggests the fertile topic of diplomacy; while his candidature for the Dogeship gives occasion for a complete account of this exalted office with its attributes. The conception is ingenious, and the execution leaves little to desire as regards learning, critical acuteness, and discriminating research. The tone, spirit, and intention of the work are excellent: but it wants life, light, colour, and illustration. The Patrician, instead of being, as we too fondly hoped, the centre of a series of animated groups, is too frequently treated as a peg on which dissertations and descriptions might be hung. Except in two or three episodes of his career, he is little better than a lay figure, slenderly draped, without expression or individuality; and as for the romance, poetry, mystery, dramatic or melodramatic interest, traditionally blended with Venetian annals, M. Yriarte's pages are as free from them as if the people under consideration were the prosaic matter-of-fact Dutch. And yet there is scarcely a prominent incident or turning-point in those annals which does not read more like a fiction than a fact; and so obscurely grand is the subject, that the simplest preface or introduction brings the imaginative faculty into play.

‘In the northern angle of the Adriatic is a gulf, called *lagune*, in which more than sixty islands of sand, marsh, and sea-weed have been formed by a concurrence of natural causes. These islands have become the City of Venice, which has lorded it over Italy, conquered Constantinople, resisted a league of all the kings of Christendom, long carried on the commerce of the world, and bequeathed to nations the model of the most stable government

government ever framed by man.* These are the reflections with which Count Daru introduces his carefully finished and well-proportioned picture of the Republic in all the vicissitudes of her fortunes. The fresh materials accumulated by recent explorers of her archives have rather stimulated than allayed curiosity.† She is still vaguely known and imperfectly understood; and we propose, with M. Yriarte's aid, to call attention to such passages in her history and peculiarities in her institutions, as may help to solve the social and political problems presented by them. We shall also show, as we proceed, how far the leading works of fiction of which the scenes are laid in Venice, agree or disagree with the facts.

The islands of the lagoon could hardly be said to be inhabited, being merely used as places of occasional resort by fishermen, until towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, when a settled population began to be formed of refugees:—

‘A few in fear,
Flying away from him whose boast it was
That the grass grew not where his horse had trod,
Gave birth to Venice. Like the waterfowl,
They built their nests among the ocean waves.’‡

The oldest document extant relating to Venetian history, is a decree of the Senate of Padua, A.D. 421, ordering the construction of a town on Rialto, the largest of the isles, with the view of bringing together in a single community the scattered inhabitants of the rest for the purposes of mutual protection and support. They appear to have been left free to choose their own form of government; for we find that each island had at first its own magistrate: the magistrates of the most considerable being

* ‘Histoire de la République de Venise,’ &c. Par P. Daru, de l’Académie Française. Seconde édition, revue et corrigée. Paris, 1821. In eight vols.

† An enduring debt of gratitude is owing from all recent students of Venetian history to M. Armand Baschet. We particularly refer to ‘Les Archives de Venise, Histoire de la Chancellerie Secrète, &c., par Armand Baschet. Paris, Henri Plon, l’imprimeur-éditeur, Rue Garancière, 1870’: a book full of curious information and interesting details.

‡ Rogers’s ‘Italy.’ These lines are paraphrased, without acknowledgment, from Gibbon. ‘It is a saying worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trod. Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a republic which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry. . . . The minister of Theodoric compares them, in his quaint declamatory style, to waterfowl who had fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves.’—(‘Decline and Fall,’ chap. xxxv.) In his ‘Italy,’ Rogers has throughout treated the historians and chroniclers as Byron accuses ‘sepulchral Grahame’ of having treated the scriptural writers:

‘Breaks into blank the Gospel of St. Luke,
And boldly pilfers from the Pentateuch.’

called

called Tribunes Major, the others, Tribunes Minor, and the whole being equally subject to the council-general of the community; which thus constituted a kind of federal republic. This lasted nearly 300 years, when it was found that the rising nation had fairly outgrown its institutions. Dangerous rivalries arose among the tribunes. Their divided authority weakened the common action, and their administration became a general subject of complaint. At a meeting of the Council-General in A.D. 697, the Patriarch of Grado proposed the concentration of power in the hands of a single chief, under the title of Doge or Duke. The proposition was eagerly accepted, and they proceeded at once to the election of this chief. 'It will be seen (remarks Daru) that the Dogeship saved independence and compromised liberty. It was a veritable revolution, but we are ignorant by what circumstances it was brought about. Many historians assert that the change was not effected till the permission of the Pope and the Emperor was obtained.'

The first choice fell on Paolo Luca Anabesto. It was made by twelve electors, the founders of what were thenceforth termed the electoral families. The Doge was appointed for life: he named his own counsellors: took charge of all public business; had the rank of prince, and decided all questions of peace and war. The peculiar title was meant to imply a limited sovereignty, and the Venetians uniformly repudiated, as a disgrace, the bare notion of their having ever submitted to a monarch. But many centuries passed away before any regular or well-defined limits were practically imposed; and the prolonged struggle between the people and the Doges, depending mainly on the personal character of the Doge for the time being, constitutes the most startling and exciting portion of their history.

The first Doge proved a wise and sagacious ruler. He reigned twenty years. The second, Marcello Tegaliano, did equally well. The third, Urso, elected in 726, was restless and ambitious. He seized the first opportunity to engage in warlike operations, and it was under him that the Venetians made their first essay as a military power by land. He took Ravenna by assault, and based such pretensions on his victory, that, after Heraclea (then the capital) had been distracted and split into factions for two years, the people rose, forced their way into his palace, and cut his throat. He had reigned eleven years; long enough to sicken them of Doges for the nonce, so, not wishing to revert to tribunes, they appointed a chief magistrate to be elected annually, under the title of *maestro della milizia*. Five such magistrates were named, and ruled in succession, when the institution came to an untimely end with the fifth. For some unexplained

reason

reason or possibly caprice, the populace rose again, deposed him, and put out his eyes. The Dogeship was then restored in the person of Theodal Urso (son of the last Doge), who quitted Heraclea for Malamocco, which thus became the capital. Unluckily he excited suspicion by constructing a fort at the mouth of the Adige; and a demagogue, named Galba, got a troop of armed men together, fell upon him as he was returning from the works, and subjected him to the same treatment as his predecessor in the magistracy. It thenceforth became the received custom in Venice to put out the eyes of deposed Doges; and Galba, who had contrived to usurp the sovereignty, and hold it for eleven years, found himself deposed, blinded, and an exile in the end. The next but one obtained such an amount of popularity that he was enabled to get his son Giovanni associated with him in the ducal dignity, which ran considerable risk of becoming hereditary; for Giovanni had *his* son, Maurice, similarly nominated, and the descent might have continued unbroken had they conducted themselves with common prudence or decency. But no sooner were they firmly established, than both father and son threw off the mask, and rivalled each other in the worst and most insulting forms of tyranny, cruelty, and profligacy. A conspiracy was formed. The Emperor Charlemagne and the Pope threatened to interfere; and eventually Giovanni and Maurice, having sought safety in flight, Obelerio, the head of the conspiracy, was proclaimed Doge.

This was in 804. The events of the next five years are involved in obscurity. One thing is clear. Pepin, King of the Lombards, either under the pretence of a request for aid from the new Doge or to enforce some real or assumed rights of his own, declared war against the Republic, and waged it with such impetuosity that his fleet and army, after carrying all before them, were only separated from Malamocco, the capital, by a canal. In this emergency, Angelo Participazio, one of those men who are produced by great occasions to mark an era, proposed that the entire population should remove to Rialto, which was separated by a broader arm of the sea from the enemy, and there hold out to the last. No sooner proposed than done. They hastily embarked their all; and when Pepin entered Malamocco, he found it deserted. After losing a large part of his fleet in an ill-advised attack on Rialto, he gave up the enterprise, and Angelo Participazio was elected Doge in recognition of his services, with two tribunes for counsellors.

One of his first acts was to make Rialto the capital, instead of Malamocco or Heraclea, which had each been the seat of Government at intervals. 'There were round Rialto some sixty islets, which

which the Doge connected by bridges. They were soon covered with houses. They were girt with a fortification ; and it was then that this population of fugitives gave to this rising city, which they had just founded in the middle of a morass, the name of Venetia, in memory of the fair countries from which their fathers had been forcibly expatriated. The province has lost its name, and become subject to the new Venice.* This public-spirited Doge could not resist the temptation of perpetuating the dignity in his race. He had two sons, Justinian and John ; and during the absence of the eldest on an embassy, he, of his own mere motion and authority, made the youngest co-ruler with himself. But so vehement were the remonstrances of the elder, backed by public opinion, that the junior renounced in favour of the senior, who, moreover, contrived to make his own son Angelo a co-partner, so that the Republic was actually subjected to a triumvirate belonging to three generations. The grandson died first, and the son becoming sole Doge by the death of the father in 872, generously shared his power with the brother who had been superseded to make room for him. The most remarkable event in their joint reign was the translation of the body of St. Mark, and the adoption of that saint as the patron saint of the Republic. The original story, as related by the oldest of the Venetian chroniclers, runs thus :

' The King of Alexandria, who was building a magnificent palace, had ordered the most precious marbles to be procured, without sparing even the churches. That of Saint Mark was not excepted, and two holy men, Greek priests, who had the care of it, were groaning over the threatened profanation, when two Venetians, captains of vessels in the port, observed and asked the cause of their distress. On ascertaining it, they pressed to be entrusted with the body of Saint Mark, pledging themselves for its befitting reception by their countrymen. The priests refused till the work of demolition began, then they consented ; but it was necessary to keep the transaction secret from the people, who had a great veneration for the remains on account of the daily miracles they worked. The priests carefully cut open the envelope in which the remains were wrapped, and substituted the body of Saint Claudian. Such a perfume was instantly diffused through the Church, and even in the neighbouring places, that the crowd collected about the sacred reliques. There remained the difficulty of conveying them to the ship.

' The historians would not be believed if there was not still to be seen in our Church of Saint Mark a marvellous image which attests the fact. They placed the corpse in a large basket covered with herbs and swine's flesh which the Mussulmans hold in horror, and the

* Daru, vol. i. p. 79. There are 72 islands connected by between 350 and 400 bridges.

bearers were directed to cry *Khawzir* (pork) to all who should ask questions or approach to search. In this manner they reached the vessel. The body was enveloped in the sails and suspended to the mainmast till the moment of departure, for it was necessary to conceal this precious booty from those who might come to clear the vessel in the roads. At last the Venetians quitted the shore full of joy. They were hardly in the open sea when a great storm arose. We are assured that Saint Mark then appeared to the captain and warned him to strike all his sails immediately, lest the ship, driven before the wind, should be wrecked upon the hidden rocks. They owed their safety to this miracle.'

The arrival of these sacred remains was the signal for a succession of fêtes. The people were wild with enthusiasm, the general belief being that the presence of the Saint guaranteed the lasting prosperity of the Republic; and on many trying occasions this belief or superstition, by inspiring confidence, proved a genuine source of strength. Many a time has the cry of *Viva San Marco* revived the drooping courage of the Venetians when powerful States and monarchs were leagued for their destruction, or kept them true to their banner on battle-fields strewn with their dead. Yet far from relying exclusively on their patron saint, they established fêtes and ceremonies in honour of several others; and failing to induce the lawful possessors of the body of a much venerated one, Saint Tarasio, to part with it on reasonable terms, they resorted to the strong measure of stealing it, like the old lady mentioned by Fielding, who stole Tillotson's sermons for the sake of religion.* The objects of plunder most in request at the sack of Constantinople, in 1204, were the relics; and it is recorded that the Doge Dandolo transmitted (*inter alia*) to Venice a portion of the true Cross, an arm of Saint George, a part of the skull of Saint John the Baptist, the bodies of Saint Luke and Saint Simeon, a phial of the Blood of Christ, a fragment of the pillar at which He was scourged, and a prickle of the Crown of Thorns. The only monuments of art deemed worth transporting were the famous bronze horses.

Another notable epoch in early Venetian history is the grant on which she based her claim to the sovereignty of the Adriatic. In the course of the fierce struggle between Alexander III. and Frederic Barbarossa, the Pope, when his fortunes were at the lowest, took refuge with the Venetians, who, after a vain effort at reconciliation, made common cause with him, and in a naval

* 'Amongst the pieces of good fortune which increased the reputation of the new Venice in all the Christian world, as well as in the other, was the acquisition of the body of St. Tarasio, stolen from a convent of monks, who refused to sell or part with it.'—*Marin*, quoted by *Daru*.

encounter obtained so signal a victory that the Emperor was compelled to sue for peace and submit to the most humiliating terms. The crowning scene of his degradation has been rendered familiar by the pencil, the chisel, and the pen. Before entering Venice he was met by six cardinals, who received his oath of submission, gave him absolution, and reconciled him with the Church. He was then conducted by a procession of priests to the Place St. Mark, where, at the door of the cathedral, sat his Holiness, arrayed in his pontifical robes, surrounded by cardinals, prelates, representatives of foreign Powers, and high officers of state. The Emperor, as soon as he came into the sacred presence, stripped off his mantle and knelt down before the Pope to kiss his feet. Alexander, intoxicated with his triumph and losing all sense of moderation or generosity, placed his foot on the head or neck of his prostrate enemy, exclaiming, in the words of the Psalmist, '*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*' &c. ('Thou shalt tread upon the asp and the basilisk: the lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot'). '*Non tibi, sed Petro*' ('Not to thee, but Peter'), cried the outraged and indignant Emperor. '*Et mihi et Petro*' ('To both me and Peter'), rejoined the Pope, with a fresh pressure of his heel.*

In return for the good offices of Venice on this occasion, the Pope conferred on the Doges the privilege of being preceded by a lighted taper, a sword, a parasol, a chair of state, a cushion of cloth of gold, banners, and two trumpets. In addition to these barren marks of dignity, Alexander presented the reigning Doge, Ziani, with a ring, saying, 'Receive this ring, and with it, as my donation, the dominion of the sea, which you, and your successors, shall annually assert on an appointed day, so that all posterity may understand that the possession of the sea was yours by right of victory, and that it is subject to the rule of the Venetian Republic, as wife to husband.'†

* The spot on which this scene took place was indicated by a marble slab with an inscription in brass:—

'. . . . in that temple-porch
Did Barbarossa fling his mantle off,
And, kneeling on his neck, received the foot
Of the proud pontiff.'

Sismondi (following a contemporary chronicler) narrates the interview without any circumstance of insult, and describes it as concluding with the kiss of peace. There are writers who contend that Alexander was never at Venice, and that the Venetians obtained no victory on his behalf. But the weight of evidence adduced by Daru strikes us to be quite conclusive in favour of his version.

† The reported words, which hardly admit of a literal translation, run thus:—
'Hunc annulum accipe et, me auctore, ipsum mare obnoxium tibi redditum; quod tu tuique successores quotannis statuto die servabitis; ut omnia posteritas intelligat maria possessionem victoris jure vestram fuisse, atque uti uxorem viro, ita illud imperio reipublice Venetæ subiectum.'

The

The Republic ruled the Adriatic (so long as she did rule it) much as Britannia rules the waves—by dint of naval superiority. Her right was stoutly resisted by the other maritime Powers of Italy, especially by the Neapolitans and Genoese; and its real nature was virtually admitted by the celebrated reply of the Venetian ambassador to Julius II., when asked where the deed or instrument containing the concession was to be found: 'On the back of the donation of the domain of St. Peter from Constantine to Pope Sylvester.'

The well-known ceremony of wedding the Adriatic, religiously observed with all its original pomp and splendour during six centuries, was in itself a proclamation and a challenge to the world. It was regularly attended by the papal nuncio and the whole of the diplomatic corps, who, year after year, witnessed the dropping of a sanctified ring into the sea, and heard without a protest the prescriptive accompaniment: *Desponsamus te, mare, in signum veri perpetuæque domini* (we espouse thee, sea, in sign of true and perpetual dominion).

'The spouseless Adriatic mourns her lord,
And annual marriage now no more renewed;
The Bucentaur lies rotting unrestor'd,
Neglected garment of her widowhood.'

The last Bucentaur, a splendidly-gilt and equipped galley, had been repaired or renewed till the identity might have been made a topic of metaphysical dispute like that of Sir John Cutler's stockings in 'Martinus Scriblerus;' but it could hardly have lain rotting when Childe Harold mourned or philosophised over its departed glories, for it was broken up in 1797 by the French.

'In youth she was all glory,—a new Tyre,
Her very byeword sprung from victory,
The "Plauter of the Lion,"* which through fire
And blood she bore o'er subject earth and sea.'

* 'Plant the Lion, that is, the Lion of St. Mark, the standard of the Republic, which is the origin of the word pantaloons—*pianta-leone*, *pantaleon*, *pantaloons*.'

Historians have failed or omitted to fix the precise period when this ensign of the lion was first adopted by the Republic. But when the two granite columns, still the conspicuous ornaments of the Piazzetta of St. Mark, were erected in or about 1172, a winged lion in bronze was placed on one of them, and a statue of St. Theodore, a patron of earlier standing, on the other. These columns, trophies of a successful raid in the Archipelago, had remained prostrate on the quay for more than fifty years, the engineering difficulty of raising them being pronounced

pronounced insuperable, when a Lombard architect undertook the task, stipulating that he should name his own recompense if he succeeded. Nothing is known of his method except that he wetted the ropes. The recompense he claimed was that games of chance, then prohibited by severe penalties, might be played in the space between the columns. The authorities kept faith, and this anomaly was tolerated for more than four centuries, when it was removed by another and (many will think) a worse. The same locality was devoted to capital executions; so that, rather than break an obsolete pledge, or discontinue a time-honoured custom, these grave and reverend signors established the frequently recurring spectacle of dead or dying malefactors hanging by one leg in the principal square of their city under the windows of their chief magistrate.

Another ceremony, 'The Brides of Venice,' deeply tinged with romance and celebrated in song, carries us back to a still remoter period, when it was the custom for the marriages of the principal citizens to be celebrated together in the patriarchal church of San Pietro di Castello on the eve of the feast of the Purification:—

'Two and two
The richest tapestry unrolled before them,
First came the brides, each in her virgin veil,
Nor unattended by her bridal maids,
The two that, step by step, behind her bore
The small but precious casket that contained
The dowry and the presents.'

The rite is ending, and the entire congregation are on their knees to receive the blessing, when a band of pirates, who had landed the night before and lain in ambush, rush in, and before the bridegrooms, with their 'best men,' had time to take to their weapons—

'Are gone again—amid no clash of arms
Bearing away the maidens and the treasures.'

According to Daru and Sismondi, it was the Doge in person who hastily equipped an armament, overtook the pirates, exterminated them to a man, and brought back the brides. Rogers adopts the more romantic version, that they were rescued by the bridegrooms:

'Not a raft, a plank,
But on that day was drifting—in an hour
Half Venice was afloat. But long before,
Frantic with grief and scorning all controul,
The youths were gone in a light brigantine,
Lying at anchor near the arsenal.'

Even

Even the date of the adventure is uncertain. Daru, on a review of the authorities, is clear that it occurred in the tenth century; but Morosini places it in A.D. 668, and it must have occurred when the neighbourhood of the church (now the site of the arsenal) was uninhabited, or the pirates could hardly have landed unobserved.

It was a wonderful advance, allowing even two centuries for its accomplishment, from a state of things in which such an outrage was possible to that in which Venice was able to find means of transport for the whole invading army of the Fourth Crusade, and co-operate in the conquest of the Greek empire on equal terms with the chivalry of Western Europe. The story of this crusade has been admirably told by Sismondi and forms the subject of one of Gibbon's most celebrated chapters. We shall, therefore, merely recall attention to circumstances which have a marked bearing on the position and resources of Venice at the time. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, the contemporary chronicler of the expedition, relates that he formed one of a deputation of six, empowered to treat with the Venetians for the transport of the troops, estimated at 4500 knights with two mounted esquires each, and 20,000 foot soldiers; in rude numbers, about 30,000 men and 13,000 or 14,000 horses. When it is remembered that the French were unable to transport a numerically inferior force to the Crimea in 1854 without leaving their cavalry behind, some notion may be formed of the marine of a country which could not only supply vessels for such an armament, but fit out an auxiliary force to act with it.* The terms settled with the Doge, and ratified by acclamation at a grand council or assembly of the people, were four marks per horse and two marks per man, including keep and provisions for nine months, making a sum total of 85,000 marks. It was also stipulated that, on condition of the Venetians joining the expedition with fifty galleys, they should equally share in its fruits.

'Oh, for one hour of blind old Dandolo!' He was past ninety-four when he volunteered to take the command in person, but he makes no allusion to his blindness in the speech in which he mentions his age and feebleness, and doubts have been raised whether he was totally deprived of sight, although one of his descendants, amongst other annalists, states distinctly that his eyes were put out when he was ambassador at Constantinople by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, who is said to have applied the hot

* 'The French embarked 24,000 infantry and 70 pieces of field artillery; but since they were straitened in their means of sea transport, the number of horses they allotted to each gun was reduced from six to four. The French embarked no cavalry.'—*Kinglake, 'The Invasion of the Crimea,'* vol. ii. p. 141.

iron with his own hands. Villehardouin, also, in his account of the first assault, says: 'Wonderful prowess must now be told. The Duke of Venice, who was old and saw not at all (*goutte ne voyait*), armed at all points on the prow of his galley, the standard of St. Mark before him, was heard crying to his men to put him on shore.' He was landed accordingly, and was carrying all before him, when his victorious course was arrested by the necessity of supporting the French. He was nominated to replace the dethroned Emperor, but declined or was set aside for reasons of policy which the Venetian electors were the first to appreciate, and he died in little more than a year after the completion of the conquest (June 14, 1205), having lived long enough to be proclaimed 'Despot of Romania'—a title annexed to that of Doge, and used by his successors till the middle of the fourteenth century with what Gibbon terms the singular though true addition of 'Lord of one-fourth and a half of the Roman empire.'*

The difficulty of maintaining such an extent of dominion became so pressing that, according to two chroniclers, a project was actually brought forward by the Doge, in 1223, for abandoning the city and transferring her household gods to Constantinople. His argument in support of this proposal, with those of Angelo Faliero in reply, are reported in the manner of Thucydides; and we are assured that it was only negatived by a majority of one voice, which was termed the voice of Providence. The Venetians wisely abandoned, or granted as fiefs, such of their acquisitions as were not available for ports or commercial depots. 'If, then,' concludes Daru, 'it be asked what was the fruit of this conquest, we must acknowledge that the result was most important for the Venetians, since it assured the splendour of their republic in giving it the empire of the seas; but for Europe this result was the useless loss of many brave men, the burning of Constantinople, the destruction of precious monuments, the fall of an empire, and a dismemberment which facilitated its speedy conquest by barbarians. The only fruit that Europe appears to have derived from this great revolution is the introduction of millet, some grains of which were sent by the Marquis of Montferrat to his Italian States.'

It is not exactly correct to say that the Fourth Crusade assured the empire of the seas to Venice: during more than two hundred years that empire was bravely contested by the Genoese, who more

* *Dominus quartæ partis et dimidiæ imperii Romani.* The correct reading is, *imperii Romanicæ*—of the empire of Romania. Daru, Siemond, and the able author of 'Sketches of Venetian History,' have fallen into the same mistake as Gibbon. A quarter of Constantinople, and half of the rest of the imperial dominions, were, in fact, allotted to Venice.

than once reduced the Venetians to the same humiliating position in which the English were placed by the Dutch when Van Tromp sailed up the Thames with the typical broom at his mast-head. When, in the war of Chiozza (1378-1381), the Genoese admiral, Doria, reviewed his fleet whilst waiting for orders, he was received in passing from ship to ship with shouts of '*To Venice! To Venice! Viva San Giorgio!*' Nor was this a vain-glorious boast, like the French cry of '*To Berlin! To Berlin!*' The Genoese fought their way victoriously to the verge of the chief lagune, when the Doge hastened in person to sue for peace, bringing with him some Genoese prisoners, whom he proposed to deliver without ransom, presenting at the same time a blank paper to be filled up with any terms, provided the independence of the Republic was respected. 'You may take back the prisoners,' was the haughty reply of Doria; 'ere many hours I hope to deliver both them and their companions. By God above, ye Signors of Venice, you must expect no peace from the Lord of Padua or from our Republic till we ourselves have bridled the horses of your St. Mark. Place but the reins once in our hands and we shall know how to keep them quiet for the future.'*

Driven to desperation, the Venetians made good their defence, and after various alternations of fortune consented to a peace which left them entirely denuded of territory on the mainland. Yet it was Genoa, not Venice, whose decline was accelerated by the contest. The Doge of Venice was bearing himself as bravely as ever amongst monarchs, when the Doge of Genoa was giving up his sceptre and sword to the ambassadors of Charles VI. of France in token of vassalage.

During the interval between the decline of Genoa and the rise of the other maritime Powers, Venice very nearly monopolised the carrying trade between Europe and the East, and had become the greatest commercial emporium in the world. Besides a mercantile marine of more than three thousand vessels, the private property of the citizens, the Government sent annually squadrons of five or six large galleys each to call at all the principal ports within the known range of navigation. In the sixteenth century, the arsenal of Venice contained 16,000 workmen and 40,000 sailors. It could turn out a fleet of 85 galleys at the shortest warning. One of the spectacles with which Henry III. of France was entertained, was the building, launching, and equipping of a galley in one day. At the battle of Lepanto,

* '*Sketches of Venetian History*' (Murray's 'Family Library'), vol. i. p. 314. The writer relies on the authority of Chinazzo. Daru has divided the speech between Doria and the lord of Padua (Carrara), who was in league with the Genoese.

the Venetians had 134 ships, of which 70 were galleys and 6 galleasses. The galley carried from 15 to 20 guns: the galleasse from 60 to 70 of very heavy calibre. It was the six galleasses that decided the battle. So overpowering did the Venetians esteem this class of vessel that the captain's instructions were not to decline an engagement with 25 ordinary ships of war. Their land forces were considerable. The army which they set on foot in 1509, when menaced by the League of Cambrai, amounted to 30,000 foot and 18,000 horse. There were 5000 soldiers on board their Lepanto fleet. The population of the city never amounted to 200,000; and the question arises where they got men enough for fleets, armies, colonies, commerce, and manufactures. The islands supplied sailors; Dalmatia, soldiers. Italy abounded in mercenary troops who flocked to the standard of the most liberal paymasters: high wages lured the best workmen, as high profits attracted and accumulated capital.

The Venetian system was protective and restrictive. They were no believers in free trade, and their duties on exports and imports by foreigners were in effect prohibitory. We are told of a King of Servia, who, on his departure from Venice, was so startled by the sum he was required to pay for export duty on his purchases, that he solicited the citizenship in order to be excused from paying them. As regards the carrying trade of the Adriatic, when the patriarch of Aquila requested permission to import in a ship of his nation a quantity of wine which he had bought at Ancona, the Republic refused, but offered to carry his wine for him gratis. The Venetians had become so necessary to the Italians, that Robert, King of Naples, was obliged to make peace with them, because his subjects declared themselves too impoverished to pay taxes since the Venetians had discontinued their trade. When, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the English began to trade direct with the Levant, the Venetians took alarm, and requested the interference of the French ambassador at Venice, who writes: 'These Signors are excessively displeased that the Queen of England should establish herself in this quarter, since their traffic will be much diminished, as well in the commodities they export as in those they bring back in exchange.'

' Thus did Venice rise,
Thus flourish, till the unwelcome tidings came,
That in the Tagus had arrived a fleet
From India, from the region of the Sun,
Fragrant with spices—that a way was found,
A channel opened, and the golden stream
Turned to enrich another. Then she felt
Her strength departing.'

This

This is historically true. It was from their ambassador at Lisbon that the Venetians received the first intelligence of the discovery of the new passage (1497), and the arrival round the Cape of Good Hope of vessels loaded with the richest products of the East. 'On hearing this news,' says Cardinal Bembo, 'the Republic saw that the most important branch of her commerce was slipping away. When she learned that the Portuguese were forming establishments on these coasts, and that they, becoming masters of all the merchandise of Asia, would soon deliver them in Europe at a lower rate than those which arrived by the Red Sea, by the Euphrates, or the Tanais, this jealousy was converted into fury.' They soon afterwards received another heavy blow from the Emperor Charles V., who imposed a duty of 25 per cent. on their imports and exports throughout his dominions, and formally closed his ports against them except on condition that they abandoned their direct trades with Africa, and brought to his town of Oran all the merchandise they had to sell to the Moors. In fact, before the end of the sixteenth century, they were no longer able to exert the right of the strongest; they were driven from market after market by the rising maritime Powers of the North; and, jostled between the powerful monarchies into which Europe had settled down, they could only maintain a precarious independence by adroit trimming. The doctrine of the balance of power was thenceforth the sole salvation of the proud Republic till she fell.

We must not forget to mention that the Bank of Venice, which dates from the twelfth century (1157), was by much the oldest establishment of the kind, and that its operations included loans to foreign nations and princes as well as the ordinary business of a national bank. Here, again, its close imitator and rival was Genoa.* The Jews were permitted to establish a bank at Venice—which, by the way, broke—but their condition was pretty nearly such as it is described by Shakespeare. They were compelled to wear a badge, to pay exceptional taxes, to inhabit a particular quarter, to be shut up in it from sunset to sunrise, and might be spat upon with impunity by a patrician.

The palaces and public buildings show that the patricians of Venice, collectively and individually, were amongst the earliest

* "It is very singular," I replied, "that the mercantile transactions of London citizens should become involved with revolutions and rebellions." "Not at a', man, not at a'," returned Mr. Jarvie; "that's a' your silly prejudications. I read whiles in the lang dark nights, and I hae read in 'Baker's Chronicle,' that the merchants o' London could gar the Bank of Genoa break their promise to advance a mighty sum to the King of Spain, whereby the sailing of the Grand Spanish Armada was put off for a hail year."—*Rob Roy*. The Bank of Genoa was established in 1407.

and most munificent patrons of the fine arts. The country seat of the Barbaro family was built by Palladio, and the walls and ceilings were painted in fresco by Paul Veronese. With the exception of Florence, no Italian State did more for the revival and encouragement of learning, literature, and science. Venice was one of the claimants of the invention of printing, and, within a few years after it became known, 160 printing presses were at work in the city alone. Giving her credit for the University of Padua, of which she became mistress in 1405, she could boast of having protected and pensioned Galileo, besides employing Sarpi as her advocate and Bembo as her historiographer: Petrarch was residing at Venice when Boccaccio came to visit him: and although Tasso was born in the kingdom of Naples, he was the son of a Venetian citizen and educated at the Venetian university. Freedom of thought was rigidly proscribed: no political allusion was safe: Dante, banished by Florence, would have been drowned or strangled at Venice; but she was tolerant of religious speculation and permitted no tyranny except her own. Even the Inquisition was kept within bounds; very fortunately for art, as may be collected from one of M. Baschet's discoveries,—the *procès-verbal* of a sitting (July 18, 1573) at which Paul Veronese was interrogated touching one of his pictures of the Last Supper:

‘Q. In this picture of the Supper of our Lord, have you painted people?—A. Yes. Q. How many have you painted, and what is each doing?—A. To begin,—Simon, the master of the hotel; then, below him, an upper servant, whom I suppose to have come there for his amusement and to see after the disposition of the table. There are several other figures of which I have no distinct recollection, considering that it is a long time since I painted this picture. Q. What is the meaning of the figure whose nose is bleeding?—A. It is a servant whose nose has been set bleeding by an accident. Q. And those men armed, and dressed in the German fashion, with halberds in their hands?—A. It is here necessary that I should speak a score of words. Q. Speak them.—A. We painters take the same license as the poets and the jesters, and I have represented the halberdiers eating and drinking at the bottom of the staircase, all ready, moreover, to discharge their duty; for it appeared to me becoming and possible that the master of the house, rich and magnificent, as I have been told, should have such attendants. Q. And that one dressed as a buffoon, with a parrot on his wrist,—with what view have you introduced him into the picture?—A. He is there as an ornament, as is customary. Q. Who are those at the table of our Lord?—A. The Twelve Apostles. Q. What is St. Peter, who comes first, doing?—A. He is carving the lamb to be passed to the other part of the table. Q. And the one next to him?—A. He is holding a plate to receive what St. Peter
may

may give him. Q. And the third?—A. He is picking his teeth with a fork. Q. Who are really the persons whom you admit to have been at this Supper?—A. I believe there were none besides Christ and his apostles; but when I have a little room left in a picture, I adorn it with figures of invention.'

He escaped with a reprimand and a command to substitute a Madeleine for a dog.

M. Yriarte devotes a chapter to the magnificent reception of Henry III. of France, in June 1574. But he has omitted the detail which most fastened on the imagination of the author of 'Vathek':—

'When Henry III. left Poland to mount the throne of France, he passed through Venice and found the Senate waiting to receive him in their famous square, which by means of an awning stretched from the balustrades of opposite palaces was metamorphosed into a vast saloon, sparkling with artificial stars, and spread with the richest carpets of the east. What a magnificent idea! The ancient Romans in the zenith of power and luxury never conceived a greater. It is to them, however, that the Venetians are indebted for the hint, since we read of the Coliseum and Pompey's theatre being sometimes covered with transparent canvas to defend the spectators from the heat or sudden rain, and to tint the scene with soft agreeable colours.'

Whatever may have been the case in more modern times, the early prosperity of Venice was in no respect owing to her form of government, which was of the rudest and most fluctuating kind. 'We have now,' says Daru, arriving at 1172, 'run over the history of fifty Doges. We have seen five abdicate, nine exiled or deposed, five banished with their eyes put out, and five massacred. Thus nineteen of these princes had been driven from their thrones by violence. If there was ample room for complaints of their abuse of their power, there was no less subject for regret and shame at the manner in which it had been overthrown.' The early constitution of Venice might have been described, like that of Russia, as a monarchy tempered by assassination. The method of election was no more subjected to fixed rules than the authority conferred by it. Some Doges, as we have seen, nominated their successors. Others were elected by a voluntary assembly of the people. At the election of Domenico Silvo by the people on the shore of San Nicolò del Lido, 1069, a great number came armed in their boats and, without landing, began shouting vociferously '*Vogliamo il Silvo, e lo approviamo*—(We will have Silvo, and we approve of him). When the election was not the direct act of the people, the Doge was presented for popular approval in St.

* 'Italy,' &c. By the author of 'Vathek' (Beckford), vol. i. p. 113.

Mark's.

Mark's. It is passing strange, therefore, to find M. Yriarte so carried away by enthusiasm for his subject as to exclaim: 'We may almost say that, for the Venetians, the age of indispensable struggles, of barbarism, of inevitable disorders, has not existed. They will be a people almost without transition, and one of the most powerful in the world. Their magistracies will be already instituted, whilst the greater part of the people of Europe are still sunk in barbarism. Their collection of laws will give evidence from the first of their love of justice, and their rapid instinct of civilisation.'

The first of their laws for regulating the authority of the Doge was that of 1032, which assigned him two counsellors, whose assent was necessary to his acts, and required him on important occasions to convoke such of the citizens as he might think proper to deliberate on the interests of the State. These were called the *pregadi*. The nomination being discretionary with the Doge, they exercised no practical control: and, according to Sismondi, the formation of a much more important body, of that which was to assume the sovereignty and contain the whole Republic in itself, was posterior by one hundred years to this first limitation of the ducal authority. 'After the unfortunate expedition of the Doge Vital Micheli, after he had exposed his fleet to contagion and lost the flower of his soldiers, a sedition broke out against him on his return, and he was killed by a plebeian. An interregnum of six months preceded the election of his successor; and this time was employed in laying the foundations of a government which should prevent the public weal from being again endangered by the misconduct of one man. Without abolishing the assemblies, a Council of 480 members was formed and invested (conjointly with the Doge) with the entire sovereignty.'*

They were elected annually by twelve tribunes or electors representing the six sections or divisions of the city, who were originally chosen by the people; but the Grand Council first usurped the right of choosing their own electors, and then passed a succession of decrees, the general effect of which was to render ineligible all who, or whose ancestors, had not already sat in it. The change was gradual. The first Council was elected in 1172: the decree called 'The Closing of the Great Council,' was passed in 1296; and this was followed up in 1319 by one making the privilege personal and hereditary; it being, moreover, provided that the son might take his seat in the lifetime of the father on attaining his twenty-fifth

* 'Histoire des Rép. Ital.,' vol. ii. p. 345.

year. A register was then opened in which the names of the duly qualified persons were enrolled. This was the famous Golden Book, *Il Libro d'Oro*, which, at its commencement, was simply a list of the governing body ; and included some who were not nobly born, whilst excluding others whose influence or position was inferior to their birth. Indeed, invidious distinctions were sedulously discountenanced, and wholesale additions to the privileged body were occasionally made without regard to pedigree or blood. When the Republic was hard pressed for money, inscriptions in the Golden Book were sold at the current price of 100,000 ducats ; and amongst the thirty heads of families who were admitted after the war of Chiozza, in 1381, as a reward for their services or patriotic sacrifices, we find artisans, wine-merchants, grocers, and apothecaries. Illustrious foreigners were admitted, as they are made free of a corporation amongst us. The form of address to the new member was : *Te civem nostrum creamus*. The honour was not disdained even by crowned heads. Henry IV.'s application for it was accepted as a compliment. Not so that of the Pope Gregory XIII. for one of his illegitimate sons, who passed for a nephew. After long deliberation, he was admitted as a near relative (*stretto parente*) of his Holiness. There was always a wide difference between the members of the Great Council in point of rank : the bearers of historic names, like *gli Elettorali*, being invested with a prestige which secured them a priority in high office as well as social precedence ; but all equally belonged to the privileged class : to that aristocracy whose iron yoke, once riveted, neither Doge nor people were ever able to shake off.*

In all the other Italian republics, the nobles had been contemporaneously losing ground. 'During the last twenty years of the thirteenth century,' says Sismondi, 'not only were they compelled to share the prerogatives they desired to monopolise : they were absolutely and completely stripped of them. The Priors of Florence were all required to belong to a trade or calling, and exercise it personally. The nine Signors and defenders of the community of Sienna must be merchants and people of the middle class.' 'At Pistoia,' says Daru, 'the nobles were permanently disqualified for office, and the penalty of the non-noble who incurred degradation was to be inscribed in the book of nobility.' At Modena there was a register, called the Book of the Nobles, in which all the *gentlemen* (in the continental sense) were inscribed, along with some of the *roturier* class whom the tribunals had associated with them as guilty of the same dis-

* The original *Libro d'oro* was publicly burned in 1797, but extracts, registers, and other documents are extant, from which its contents might be ascertained.

orders ;

orders; and all the inscribed were disqualified for office in the lump. The same legislation was afterwards carried out at Bologna, Padua, Brescia, Pisa, Genoa, and in all the free cities.* The popular hatred, embittered by fear, was especially directed against the feudal or territorial nobility, which never existed in Venice; and the success of the Venetian aristocracy in constituting themselves the sole governing body, was mainly owing to the fact that they were, in the first instance, a genuine and (so to speak) natural aristocracy, comprising nearly all the citizens or heads of families distinguished by birth, public services, personal influence or hereditary wealth. On finding that some families with undeniable claims had been excluded, the Council speedily corrected the error by admitting them.

Prior to the closing of the Council, the principal check on the Doge was the *Promisso Ducale*, or Coronation Oath. To increase its restrictive force, and watch over its observance, the Council named five of their own body, called 'Correctors,' whose general instructions were to see 'that the Doges are the chiefs of the Republic, and not its masters or its tyrants.' They ended by making the Doges its passive instruments or slaves. The Doge was forbidden to open any letter or despatch except in the presence of a certain number of counsellors, or to write any letter, public or private, without showing it to them. He was liable to a penalty of 100 ducats if he left the city for an hour: if his health required change of residence, they were to designate the place to which he might go, and fix the time he might remain. It was provided in 1462 that, if the ambassadors on the day of their reception attempted to touch on any question of State, he must turn the conversation, and in 1521—apropos of some real or alleged indiscretion of Antonio Grimaldi—that the Doge must always confine himself to evasive expressions or words of mere courtesy in the reception of ambassadors. His sons were excluded from taking any active part in the Council or filling any of the principal offices. The officers attached to his person were similarly excluded from public employments during his reign, and for one year afterwards. The title of Monsignore was proscribed; and he was to suffer no one to bend the knee to him or to kiss his hand. His portrait was not to be hung up in the ducal palace, nor his armorial bearings to figure on public buildings or standards. He was forbidden to marry a foreigner, or to possess fiefs beyond the limits of the State. In 1400, the correctors enacted:—

'The advocates of the Commune may prosecute the chief of the

* Sismondi, 'Hist. des Rép. Ital.' vol. iii. pp. 164-165. Daru, vol. i. pp. 503-506.

State either for a public act or an act of his private life. In the council held by the college, the Doge can never oppose the conclusions of the advocates of the Commune.'

The Doges were paid quarterly. Jacopo Tiepolo, 1229-1249, received eight hundred lire *veneti*; Reniere Zeno, 1253-1268, two thousand; Giovanni Dandolo, 1280-1289, three thousand. They had also rents from lands specially assigned for their personal expenses, and other tributary payments. 'In 1329,' adds M. Yriarte (from whom we copy these figures) 'when all this was computed and the times had grown more expensive, the Grand Council fixed the annual appointments at 5200 lire. This figure was maintained down to the fall of the Republic. Till 1312 the "Book of Ducal Promises" contains the clause regulating the appointments; but, dating from this epoch, the chapter relating to the emoluments is suppressed.'

Besides the narrowest scrutiny into the conduct of the Doge in his lifetime, a sort of coroner's inquest was held over his body after death by commissaries appointed by the Council to inquire how he had managed his fortune, whether he had contracted debts or injured the interests of any one; in which case they acted as liquidators. 'There was a law requiring the Chief of the State to pay within eight days for the objects of which he had become the purchaser, but this was almost always a dead letter. The greater part of the inquisitions proved that the Doges had ruined themselves in the service of the State. Twice only the Council were on the point of refusing the public honours to the deceased. Marco Fornarini (1762-1763) who was only a year in power, was so magnificent that he died insolvent; and Paolo Raineri (1779-1789), who had made an immense fortune at Constantinople, left debts to the amount of six millions of ducats. But both instances occurred when the restrictions on expenditure had also become a dead letter.'

No qualified person could refuse the Dogeship or resign it without the permission of the Council. In 1368 Andrea Contarini, being elected in spite of his earnest entreaties to be excused, fled to Padua, and sought refuge with an obscure dependant. The Senate instantly took the decisive step of notifying to him that he must return and accept the office, or expect to see his property confiscated, his name stigmatised, and himself declared a traitor to his country. He came back, submitted to his elevation, and occupied the ducal throne during fifteen years.

Yet the form of election, with its multiplicity of checks, would justify an assumption that the Dogeship was the grand object of ambition, to obtain which all sorts of undue influences would be employed. Thirty members of the Grand Council, chosen
by

by lot, were reduced by lot to nine. The nine chose forty provisional electors, who were similarly reduced to twelve. The twelve chose twenty-five, who were again reduced to nine. Each of these nine proposed five, making a new list of forty-five, which was reduced to eleven; and these eleven produced a list of forty-one, who were to be the definitive electors after each had been submitted to the Grand Council. If any one failed to obtain the absolute majority of suffrages, the eleven were to name another, and so on. When forty-one were approved, they passed into an apartment in which they were shut up till they had elected a Doge. But, unlike our English jury in an analogous position, they were magnificently regaled at the expense of the public: everything they chose to call for was supplied; and, to prevent the semblance of bribery, any article called for by one was scrupulously supplied to the rest. Thus an elector having asked for a rosary, forty-one rosaries were sent in; and another having asked for 'Æsop's Fables,' the whole city was ransacked till forty-one copies were procured. In 1709 the conclave sate for thirteen days, and the expenses amounted to 59,325 lire (francs); in 1789 the expenses of the same number of electors for six days came to 378,387 lire. Corruption was evidently undermining the fabric which was so speedily to be overthrown by force.

The numbers, seldom under 1200, of the Great Council unfitted it for the direct exercise of its executive powers, which therefore were delegated to the Senate, a body composed of 120 members of the Council, the Doge, the Council of Ten, the judges, and other high officials invested with executive or administrative authority.* This constituted the real government, which acted independently of the Great Council, except when new taxes were to be imposed.

We now come to the most remarkable of Venetian institutions, the Council of Ten, which was the unpremeditated result of exceptional events, instead of being the masterpiece of Machiavelian policy which it passes for. The closing of the Great Council was not effected without producing a good deal of popular indignation, besides exciting the jealousy of the excluded nobles; and the Doge, Pierre Gradenigo, the principal author of the new system, was marked out as the peculiar object of their machinations. Overthrow him, and they would regain the rights and liberties of which they had been robbed. One

* St. Didier traces the Senate to the *Pregadi*, citizens specially requested to advise the Doge on occasion. M. Baschet estimates the average number of regular members at 220, without including the functionaries who might attend without taking part in their deliberations.

conspiracy formed by a democratic leader, Marin Bocconio, whilst the obnoxious changes were still in progress, was discovered before the time fixed for its execution, and all engaged in it, or suspected, were arrested, put to the question, and drowned or strangled off-hand. Another, of a later date, proved much more formidable. The ringleaders were patricians; the chief was Tiepolo, who counted two Doges amongst his ancestors, and the numbers engaged were large enough to contend with the whole armed force at the disposal of the State. The opposing factions were fighting hand-to-hand on the place of Saint Mark, each waving the same standard and shouting the same cry, when the Doge came upon the scene with fresh troops, which ought to have been encountered by Tiepolo, who accidentally arrived too late to co-operate with his friends. The force he brought with him was strong enough to enable him to make good his retreat to Rialto, where, having secured the boats and broken down the bridges, he held out for some days: when, despairing of the enterprise, he embarked and took refuge beyond the territories of the Republic.

The Doge, who had saved the State by his courage and energy, declared that he only heard of the plot in the course of the night preceding the execution; yet it had been maturing for months; there had been frequent meetings of the conspirators, whose speeches are reported; application had been made to Padua for help, and several hundred persons of all ranks must have been more or less cognizant of what was meditated. The sense of insecurity was such that a kind of dictatorship was created by the nomination of ten members of the Council charged to watch over the safety of the State. 'It was armed with all the means, emancipated from all the forms, relieved from all responsibility, and held all heads dependent upon its pleasure.' It is true that it was to last only ten days, then ten more, then twenty, then two months; but it was prorogued six times successively for the same time. At the end of one year, it was confirmed for five. Then it found itself strong enough to declare the continuance of its authority for ten years more. At last, in 1325, this terrible magistracy was declared perpetual. What it had done to prolong its duration, it did to extend its attributions. Instituted simply to take cognizance of crimes against the State, it usurped the entire administration.

Giving substantially the same account of it as Daru, Sismondi says that it established despotism, and preserved nothing of liberty but the name; and Hallam, after describing the uncontrolled authority of the Ten in the conduct of affairs, remarks that they were chiefly known as an arbitrary and inquisitorial tribunal,

tribunal, the standing tyranny of Venice. 'Excluding the regular court of criminal judicature, not only from the investigation of treasonable charges, but of several other crimes of magnitude, they inquired, they judged, they punished, according to what they called reason of State. The public eye never penetrated the mystery of their proceedings; the accused was sometimes not heard, never confronted with witnesses: the condemnation was secret as the inquiry, the punishment undivulged like both.'* Yet M. Baschet insists on treating the traditional impression of the Council of Ten as a vulgar prejudice, and thinks he has made out a defence for it by showing that it was steadily upheld by the Great Council on whose authority it had encroached. But this shows merely that the instinct of self-preservation was stronger in the Venetian oligarchy than the love of freedom or the hatred of injustice; and after saying that the State Inquisitors were never anything more than the delegates (*mandataires*) of the Council of Ten, he adds:—

'Their ministry has always been considered with terror, not without reason. The most absolute mystery prevailed in their procedure. The means at their disposal were unlimited, and the reason of State led to the most terrible expedients as well as to the most cruel necessities. Very much dreaded by the patricians, this tribunal was more than once attacked by them with vehement eloquence in the bosom of the Great Council. The most opposite views were entertained. Some wished its destruction, others its preservation. For some it was the tyranny in the Republic, for others the safe-guard. The great debates of March 1762 have continued memorable. The numbers of votes which were the result placed the Conservative party in the right, and it only fell with the Republic.'

The Council of Ten consisted, in reality, of seventeen: ten members of the Great Council, the Doge, and his Privy Council of six. The ten were chosen by a complicated system of ballot: they were elected for a year, and could not be re-elected. Their first duty was to elect three chiefs. The Inquisitors, three in number, were chosen two amongst the Ten, one amongst the councillors of the Doge. The two were robed in black, and called the Black Inquisitors; the third in red, and called the Red Inquisitor. They did not act in their own name, nor was the very existence of the tribunal manifested by any outward or visible sign. Their summonses and orders of arrest were signed by one of the regular magistrates. An important part of the business at each meeting of the Council of Ten or the Inquisitors was the examination of the denunciations and complaints found

* 'View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages,' chap. iii. part 2.

in the Lion's Mouth—M. Daru says there were several of these receptacles—and M. Baschet is confident that the greatest caution was observed in dealing with them, especially when they were anonymous, as, no doubt, the greater part of them were. M. Cantu, who takes the same indulgent view of their proceedings as M. Baschet, cites a decree of September 11, 1462, requiring the Chiefs to lay the grounds of complaint before the Council within three days, but neutralises it by a later document, showing that the accused were often kept in prison for months and years without any proceedings being taken.*

The accused was never confronted with the witnesses, who were sworn to secrecy. 'Certain interrogatories were administered in the dark. Was this to inspire terror in the accused, or to prevent his being troubled by the sight of his judges?'† M. Baschet is silent as to interrogatories on the rack. Of punishments, he says: 'Most of them were terrible; some moderate.' Amongst the first, the obscure prison, hanging between the columns of St. Mark, cutting off the hand, beheading, strangling. The most dreadful was the punishment of death mysteriously inflicted and thus pronounced: 'That this night the condemned . . . be conducted to the Canal Orfano,‡ where, his hands being tied and the body weighted, he shall be thrown in by an officer of justice, and that he die there.' No net was to be cast in this canal under penalty of death; and if any one exhibited any troublesome curiosity touching the fate of a missing friend, the chances were that he would share the same fate. The recorded sentences found in the Archives are silent as to the crime, e.g.:—

'Considering what has just been read in this Council, and for reasons of State which can be amply justified, the Chiefs of this Council provide that, with the greatest and most secret precautions, the Turk Soliman be deprived of life either by poison or by drowning.'

The execution of this judgment is proved by a memorandum:—

'The Chief Captain has vouched for the execution of the annexed order, and the men employed are those whose names are here inscribed. He has given them on the part of the Chiefs of the Council the severest admonition never at any time to reveal this execution under penalty of death.'

It appears from another document that the Turk Soliman

* 'Histoire des Italiens.' Par M. César Cantu. Paris, 1861. Vol. x. p. 29.

† In the torture chamber of Ratisbon is still shown the lattice screen behind which the judge or judges sat during the interrogatory.

‡ A deep channel behind the island of S. Giorgio Maggiore.

was drowned. From a document, dated January 15th, 1595, it appears that the Captain Cesar Capuzzimadi had received a hundred ducats from the Venetian Resident at Milan. Then, in less than a month, February 9th, there is a decree of the Ten:—

‘That to-morrow morning, Captain Cesar Capuzzimadi, Albanian, when he shall present himself before the Chiefs of the Council, be arrested, and that for things which have just been said and read.’

On the 15th the Captain is required to produce his defence, which was put to the vote on the 19th, when sentence was passed by fifteen to two:—

‘It is our will that in the night of Wednesday to Tuesday, which will be the 22nd of the current month, he be strangled in his prison, as secretly as possible, and that his body be buried with the greatest secrecy also by the care of the Chiefs.’

The decrees and regulations of the Ten touching State matters were deposited in the Secret Chancery, and carefully guarded. ‘Greater precautions,’ observes M. Baschet, ‘could not be taken to secure the darkest political adventure from indiscretion. The Doge could not enter unattended. Giovanni Rossi relates that a common man used to be chosen as material guardian of these Archives. The last known was Giovanni Polacco, who discharged his duty to perfection. The Government, according to others, were in the habit of seeking out some one who, though faithful and judicious, was grossly ignorant, and who, for greater security, could neither read nor write. The story goes that one day some senator, seeing Polacco writing very near the *Secreta*, expressed the utmost astonishment, and said to him, ‘What! you know how to write!’ To which the guardian with ready wit replied, ‘No, Excellence, I am drawing.’

A decree of August 8, 1594, shows how the State Inquisitors were employed by the Ten:—

‘That plenary powers be given to the Inquisitors to find a person who by some prudent means can take away the life of Frà Cipriano of Lucca.’

Fra Cipriano was a Venetian monk, who had taken refuge in the Austrian dominions, and was constantly intriguing against the Republic. That poison was frequently employed by the agents of the tribunal in obedience to its orders, and even supplied to them, is beyond dispute. A register has been found in the Archives, entitled *Secreta Secretissima del Consiglio dei Dieci*, containing two documents: one, dated December 14, 1513, relating to a Brother John of Ragusa, who proposes with the greatest secrecy to the three Chiefs ‘some admirable methods

of

of mysteriously causing death :’ the other, April 27, 1527, showing that the Council of Ten had resolved to remove the Constable Duc de Bourbon by poison, if he had not saved them the trouble by getting killed in the assault of Rome.

On the 10th March, 1630, Pier Antonio, Venetian Resident at Florence, writes :—

‘ Most excellent and most revered Signors,—I have at length obtained with the greatest secrecy the recipes of two sorts of very potent poison from a person highly skilled in chemistry, who has copies of the greater part of the secrets of the deceased Don Antonio Medici, famous in the same profession, amongst which secrets are these recipes. I transmit them for greater circumspection to the ordinary address of your secretary, under the description of salubrious essences required by him.’

So late as 1767, the Provéditeur-General of Dalmatia received a packet of poison from the Council of Ten, with directions for its secret and cautious use in ridding them and the world of a person reported ‘ dangerous.’

According to the written statutes of the Inquisitors, if a person had committed any action that it was inconvenient to punish juridically, he was to be poisoned. The patrician who spoke, however slightly, against the Government, was to be admonished twice, and the third time drowned as incorrigible. The vigilance and severity of the tribunal extended over the members of the Council, the Doge, the Inquisitors themselves : only it was provided that such criminals should be proceeded against with the deepest mystery, and that, in case of condemnation to death, poison should be preferred to any other means.

Moore, apostrophising Venice in ‘ Rhymes on the Road,’ exclaims :

‘ Thy perfidy, still worse than ought,
Thine own unblushing Sarpi taught.’

He refers to a set of Maxims drawn up in 1615 by the famous Fra Paolo for the guidance of the Venetian Government, some of which for atrocity throw the ‘ Prince ’ of Machiavel into the shade, *e. g.* :—

‘ Those who in the municipal councils shall show themselves either bolder or more devoted to the interests of the people must be destroyed or gained at any price. Lastly, if any party leaders are found in the provinces, they must be exterminated under some pretext or another, but there must be no recourse to ordinary justice. *Let poison do the work of the executioner. This is less odious and more profitable.*’

The axioms from which he starts are these :—

‘ Tho

'The greatest act of justice the Prince can perform is to maintain himself.'

'I term *justice* every thing that contributes to the maintenance of the State.'

Machiavel relates that, on the return of a Venetian squadron, a conflict arose between the people and the crews. The interference of the magistrates had proved nugatory, when a retired officer, who was much respected by the sailors, succeeded in calming the tumult. The influence of which he had given so marked a proof became a subject of alarm: a short time afterwards he was arrested and carried to a prison, where he died. A Cornaro was sent to prison for distributing corn to the poor during a famine, his charity being attributed to ambitious views. What can be said of a Government under which public or private virtue was a crime?

A foreigner of distinction, having had his pocket picked, indulged in some harsh expressions against the police. Some days afterwards he was quitting Venice, when his gondola was stopped, and he was requested to step into another. 'Monsieur,' said a grave personage, 'are you not the Prince de Craon?'—'Yes.' 'Were you not robbed last Friday?'—'Yes.' 'Of what sum?'—'Five hundred ducats.' 'Where were they?'—'In a green purse.' 'And do you suspect any one of this robbery?'—'A valet de place.' 'Should you recognise him?'—'Without doubt.' Then the interrogator pushes aside a dirty cloak, discovers a dead man holding a green purse in his hand, and adds, 'You see, Sir, that justice has been done: there is your money; take it, and remember that a prudent man never sets foot again in a country where he has underrated the wisdom of the Government.'

A Genevese painter, working in a church at Venice, had a quarrel with two Frenchmen, who began abusing the Government. The next day he was summoned before the Inquisitors, and on being asked if he should recognise the persons with whom he had quarrelled, he replied in the affirmative, protesting that he had said nothing but what was in honour of the Signory. A curtain is drawn, and he sees the two Frenchmen with the marks of strangulation round their necks. He is sent away half dead with fright, with the injunction to speak neither good nor evil of the Government: 'We have no need of your apologies, and to approve us is to judge.' The religious orders were allowed no exemption. Some monks having been accused of irregularities towards their female penitents, their convent was first made acquainted with their crime, their trial, and their execution, when their bodies were brought to be interred.

In 'Marino Faliero' and 'The Two Foscari,' Lord Byron has faithfully dramatised two episodes of Venetian history which strikingly illustrate the irresistible power and the stern unrelenting spirit of the tribunal. One chief magistrate, full of years and honours, is proclaimed a traitor and executed on the steps of his own palace: another dies degraded and broken-hearted, after being thrice compelled to gaze on a beloved son writhing on the rack. Yet the wheels of the State machinery revolve without a check, and no more account is made of a deposed or decapitated Doge than of a strangled mechanic or a missing gondolier. Another great poet, Manzoni, has portrayed with equal truth and force the manner in which the Republic managed to combine perfidy and ingratitude with cruelty, in their treatment of his hero, one of the most renowned soldiers of Italy, who had brought victory to their side.*

Bearing these things in mind, it is anything but reassuring to be told by M. Baschet that the average number of prisoners was small. 'The examination of the *Informazioni*, which the secretary presented at the end of every year, enables us to establish the truth as to the number of prisoners of the Inquisitors. We see how restricted was the number if, with these authentic pieces before our eyes, we are willing to seek and accept the truth. It rarely happened that the prisons called *pozzi* (the wells), and those called *piombi* (under the leads), were all occupied at the same time. In 1717 there is a single prisoner under the leads, two in the wells, and four in the *camerotti*. . . . The more we penetrate into the history of this extraordinary tribunal, the more are we convinced that it was still more appalling by the really impenetrable mystery with which it surrounded itself than terrible by its acts.'

We arrive at a diametrically opposite conclusion. It was an inevitable result of this impenetrable mystery that the details of many current stories or traditions should be disproved by the Archives, when brought to light and carefully collated; but, on the other hand, these Archives teem with proofs of the guiding spirit and detestable character of the tribunal: nor can we place implicit faith in their secretaries as to the facts. When Howard visited the Venetian prisons in 1778, he found between three and

* '*Il Conte di Carmagnola. Tragedia.*' Manzoni makes no allusion to the torture inflicted on Carmagnola, deeming it probably too revolting for dramatic treatment. He states in his preface that the death of Carmagnola proved the salvation of the Republic in the way the Venetians least anticipated. Their first suspicion of the secret League of Cambray was excited by the report of an agent at Milan, to the effect that a Piedmontese, known to be in communication with the French Government, was going about saying that the time had come when the death of his countryman Carmagnola would be amply avenged.

four hundred persons confined in them, some of whom told him they would have preferred the galleys for life. When M. Cantu states that only one prisoner was found when the prisons were thrown or broken open in 1797, he proves too much. How many were found in the Bastille? But granted the occasional paucity of prisoners, may not the summary methods of gaol delivery pursued by the Inquisitors account for this supposed anomaly?

‘ Few houses of the size were better filled,
Though many came and left it in an hour,
Most nights—so said the good old Nicoli—
For three and thirty years his uncle kept
The water-gate below, but seldom spoke
Though much was on his mind—most nights arrived
The prison boat—that boat with many oars,
And bore away as to the Lower World
Disburdening in the Canal Orfano,
That drowning place where never net was thrown,
Summer or winter, death the penalty.’

The Ten and the Inquisitors uniformly acted on the maxim that dead men tell no tales. To demonstrate their cold-hearted calculated cruelty and utter recklessness of proof we should be content to rely on the affair on which the ‘*Venice Preserved*’ of Otway is based. On the 25th of May, 1618, Sir Henry Wotton, then English Ambassador at Venice, writes : ‘ The whole town is here at present in horror and confusion upon the discovery of a foul and fearful conspiracy of the French against this State ; whereof no less than thirty have already suffered very condign punishment, between men strangled in prison, drowned in the silence of the night, and hanged in public ; and yet the bottom is invisible.’ And so it remained, and remains still ; nor is Muratori far wrong in asserting that nothing is clear except the fact that several hundreds of suspected persons were tortured and put to death. The supposed object of the alleged conspiracy—projected, it was said, by the Duke d’Ossuna, Spanish Viceroy of Naples, in concert with the Marquis of Bedemar, Spanish Ambassador at Venice—was neither more nor less than to seduce the foreign troops in the pay of the Republic, set fire to the arsenal, upset the government, and reduce the entire State under subjection to Spain. The first information was obtained from one Jacques Pierre, who had begun life as a pirate, and after being for some time in the service of the Duke d’Ossuna, had fled from Naples and obtained employment in some subordinate office in the arsenal. The notes or minutes of his disclosures, written by him in French, were translated at his request
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into Italian by a friend named Renault, with the view of their being laid before the Council. He declared himself the main agent in the plot, and represented his quitting the Duke's service as an overt act.

The first arrests were made on the unsupported evidence of this man, and we know of no other direct or indirect proofs but confessions and accusations extorted by the rack, or such as the Lion's Mouth was pretty sure to supply in such a contingency. Daru, who has devoted more than a hundred pages to the elucidation of the mystery, comes to the conclusion that the conspiracy was a myth, and that the executions were a blind to conceal from Spain a secret understanding between the Duke, the Court of France, and the Signory; nor does the terrible charge against the Venetian authorities, implied in this conclusion, startle him, although the arrests and executions extended over ten months, and he dwells on the paucity of information 'collected from many hundred accused, who all underwent the question, and of whom one only was fortunate enough to make his judges pause on his condemnation.' The atrocities committed to keep the whole transaction involved in darkness may be inferred from the so-called justificatory Report of the Ten and the recorded Procedure:—

'A long discussion took place whether they should spare the life of Captain Brushart, but for many considerations, and in pursuance of the line they had taken to put to death all those who were implicated in this affair, he was strangled on the night of St. Peter and St. Paul, which agrees with the 29th June; fifty of his co-accused were strangled, and a still greater number secretly buried.

'Two artificers, brothers, accused of having held communication with Pierre, were subjected to the torture during several hours; the one persisted in his denial, the other merely repeated his confessions; both were hanged the next day, and twenty-nine prisoners were drowned the same night in the Canal Orfano, "*pour ne point ébruiter l'affaire.*"'

These are the very words of the Report. Besides those put to death in the city, two hundred and sixty officers and soldiers, arrested in the towns of the mainland, perished by the hands of the executioner. An artisan, who happened to be at Zara, was killed by shots from an arquebus, together with a soldier and a child who were attending on him. Pierre, who was with the fleet, was flung into the sea, the officer being especially enjoined not to give him time for confession, so that, according to the prevalent belief, his soul might perish with his body. Forty-five men, suspected of having had relations with him, were drowned without noise (*sans bruit*). Renault, a notorious gambler and drunkard, was seven times interrogated on the rack without uttering any-

thing but imprecations against his judges, who, finding nothing more to be got from him, ordered him to be strangled in prison, and then exposed on the gibbet hanging by one leg. Antoine Jaffier was a French captain, who had vaguely deposed to a communication with Pierre. He received 4000 sequins as a reward, and was ordered to quit the Venetian territory within three days; but in passing through Brescia, he was arrested for having held communications with French officers, brought back to Venice, and drowned. Another witness, to whom a pension of 50 ducats per month and a gratification of 300 ducats had been assigned, was ordered to repair to Candia, where, immediately on his arrival, he was killed in a quarrel forced on him, *querelle d'Allemand* as it is termed.

‘Thus, accused, accusers, all were judged equally guilty—those who had spontaneously given the first information, and those who later revealed a plot which the Government knew already, and those who owned themselves accomplices in a conspiracy in which they had been initiated without knowing the real object, and those who denied having had anything to do with it—all, without exception, perished, that no witness might remain who could depose to the circumstances. Five months afterwards the Doge, accompanied by all the nobles, might be seen going to the cathedral of Saint Mark to offer solemn thanksgivings to Providence.’*

We need hardly add that there is little in Otway’s play corresponding with the actual characters or occurrences besides the names, but he has partially followed the popular, though inaccurate, version of St. Real.

It not unfrequently happens that an individual case of cruelty or injustice makes more impression than an indiscriminate mass of cases, and it so happened that the Venetians, who had remained quiet during these wholesale tortures and executions, were suddenly aroused to a sense of the common danger by the untimely fate of one man. Antonio Foscarini had been four years ambassador to England, after filling the same dignity in France, when he was secretly accused by his secretary of having revealed the despatches of the Signory to foreign ambassadors. He arrived in Venice in March 1616; was arrested and interrogated, and remained in prison till July 1618, when he was declared innocent, and set at liberty. He lays the Relations of his two embassies before the Senate, of which he subsequently becomes a member. All of a sudden he is denounced in April 1622, as having had a mysterious understanding with the Nuncio

* Daru, liv. xxxi

and other Ministers in the house inhabited by Lady Arundel at Venice; he is arrested on the 8th, called before the Inquisitors, condemned on the 20th, and strangled in prison on the 21st. On the 20th of the following August, his accusers were re-examined, admitted the falsehood of the charge, and were executed. 'These formidable judges,' says M. Basehet, 'who, however, might have relied on public policy and reasons of State as their justification, did not keep silence, and by an admirable decree, that all magistrates, present and to come, should see written in letters of gold on the wall of the place where they sit, re-established in the face of the world the honour and reputation of the citizen whom, in their soul and conscience, under the weight of proofs that appeared overwhelming, they had condemned to the most infamous as well as most cruel of punishments.'

A widely different account of their conduct is given by Sir Henry Wotton, who professes to have made 'research of the whole proceeding, that his Majesty (James I.) may have a more due information of this rare and unfortunate example.' The proofs that appeared overwhelming, consisted of the depositions of three informers, to the effect that Foscarini had been in secret communication with the Spanish secretary, to whom no reference was made till after the execution. It was his positive denial and circumstantial disproof that led to the conviction of the informers; and the application of Foscarini's family for a revision of the sentence was actually refused on the ground that the false witnesses, being convicted of falsehood, were incompetent. But their confession preparatory to their final plunge into the canal being obtained through the priest, and published, the Council of Ten, after a delay of nearly five months, issued this hypocritical decree:—'Since the providence of our Lord God, by means truly miraculous and inscrutable to the human understanding, has brought to pass that the very authors and ministers of the falsehood and impostures fabricated against our late beloved noble, Antonio Foscarini, &c., it consorts with the justice and piety of this Council, on whom above all things it is incumbent to protect the honour and reputation of families,' &c. 'Surely,' adds Wotton, 'in the three hundred years that the Decemviral Tribunal hath stood, there was never cast upon it a greater blemish, which is likely to breed no good consequences upon the whole.'

The exposure having failed to correct the abuse, a proposal for abolishing the tribunal, or modifying its powers, was brought before the Great Council, and led to a series of animated debates, at one of which several of the members appeared, contrary to a standing regulation, in arms. Things came to such a pass, that at the annual election of the Ten the voting was partially suspended;

pended ; there was no election, and consequently there was no longer any Council of Ten. At the next sitting, however, so complete a reaction was produced by the speech of a grave and dignified orator of advanced years, Baptist Nani, that not only was the tribunal confirmed, but Nani was named its chief, and the service he had just rendered to the republic was entered in the Minutes.

The most convincing argument advanced for the preservation of the Council of Ten was that it was the mainspring of the system, and that the whole machinery of government would be dislocated by its abolition. Its paramount authority embraced foreign as well as domestic affairs. Thus in 1538, the Ten, without communication with the Senate or Doge, gave private instructions to the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople to make peace with the Turks at any sacrifice, and were obeyed. They had spies in every Court ; and annexed to an ambassadorial despatch, and addressed to their signories, is a billet, signed *Chiara, schiava della Gran Sultana* (Clara, the slave of the Grand Sultana). Their diplomatic servants were expected to be as unscrupulous as their masters. The ambassador, Daniel Dolfin, at Constantinople, having received orders to make away with the celebrated Comte de Bonneval as an enemy of Christianity and the Republic, replies that 'the orders of the most illustrious and most excellent Signors are, and always will be, received with the highest consideration, and will be executed with the most rapid submission whenever there shall be means.' In spite of their precautions, and the terrible fate that awaited an agent on the slightest symptom or suspicion of treachery, their own arts were successfully employed against them. In the Archives is a note, dated January 30, 1647, of a private interview between their ambassador at the French Court and Cardinal Mazarin, in the course of which Mazarin drew from his pocket and read a series of extracts from the recent dispatches of the self-same ambassador relating to the Cardinal himself.

The eagerness of foreign Courts to become acquainted with the Venetian dispatches was owing in no slight measure to the knowledge that they were not confined to formal matters of business, an ambassador of the Republic being especially instructed to keep the Signory minutely informed of all that was passing at the Courts to which he was accredited ; including the intrigues of courtiers and mistresses, the conflict of parties, and the secret influences at work. When he had fulfilled his mission, it was customary for him to present himself to the Senate within fifteen days after his return, and pronounce a discourse which, under the name of *Relazione*, was a comprehensive report
upon

upon the country which he had just quitted. On leaving the hall, he deposited in the hands of the Grand Chancellor the original text of his 'Relazione,' which was immediately placed in the drawers of the *Secreta* reserved for diplomatic documents.

'Transport yourself to that noble locality of the senatorial hall. See it illustrated throughout with the splendours of the Venetian school. The ceiling, the walls, covered by the works of the great masters, recall the glories of the country; on every sides are the memorable images of illustrious ancestors. The Doge, clothed in the rich tunic of gold brocade which distinguished him: the sages and the councillors with their violet tunics: all the senators in purple robes; the Chiefs of the Ten, in tunics of a bright red, are there: a rumour had got abroad the evening before of a more than common interest for the morrow. The ambassador to France has returned: his reputation is great amongst the senators: he is a statesman, a fine speaker to boot.'

The scene, the audience, the occasion, were certainly well fitted to call out the full powers of the diplomatist, and the Venetian ambassadors were carefully selected from amongst the ablest and most accomplished of the nobles. No wonder, therefore, that the 'Relazioni' form an inestimable collection of materials for history. The only wonder is that they remained so long unappreciated except by a few men of letters; and that their real value is only just beginning to get recognised in this country.

M. Yriarte's 'Patrician' is a perfect type of the Venetian ambassador, and his diplomatic career (clearly and spiritedly narrated) enables us to form a tolerably precise estimate of the man. He was nominated to the French Court on June 11, 1561,

* 'La Diplomatie Vénitienne. Les Princes de l'Europe au XVI^{me} Siècle: François I^{er}, Philippe II, Catherine de Médicis, les Papes, les Sultans, &c. D'après les Rapports des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens.' Par M. Armand Baschet. Paris: Henri Plon. 1862. This work is distinguished by the same high merits as his 'Archives.' Several volumes of 'Relazioni' have been published in France and Italy, and they have been turned to good account by many foreign writers. See 'Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il Secolo XVII^o. Edite dal Cav. Eug. Alberi. Firenze': in fifteen volumes, of which two are devoted to England. Lord Macaulay made a journey to Venice in 1856 for the purpose of consulting the archives. By the kindness of the Earl of Orford we have now before us a collection (in fourteen folio volumes, MS.) of the Despatches of the Venetian ambassadors at the Court of London from 1715 to 1739 (both inclusive), and, after an unexplained break, during 1744, 1745, and 1746. They were copied, by his direction, with the view to a meditated Life of his celebrated ancestor, the first Earl of Orford, which no one is better qualified to write. The 'Relazioni' best known in England are those published by Mr. Rawdon Browne in 1854: 'Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.:' 'Selection of Despatches written by the Venetian Ambassador, Sebastian Giustiniani, and addressed to the Signory of Venice. 1515-1519.' See the 'Quarterly Review' for March 1855: Art. 'Venetian Despatches.'

during

during the regency of Catherine de Medicis. His appointments are specified at the end of his instructions.

'You will receive for your expenses two hundred ducats of gold per month, without being obliged to render an account to any one. You are bound to keep eleven horses, including those of the secretary and his servant, and four couriers. We have ordered to be given you for your four months' subvention eight hundred ducats of gold; you will have a thousand ducats of gold for the present, according to the decree of the Senate of June 2nd; and to cover the expense of your purchases of horses' harness and trappings, three hundred ducats (at six livres our gros the ducat). We remit to your secretary, as gratification, one hundred ducats, and to the couriers who accompany you twenty ducats each.'

In May 1568 he was named ambassador to Constantinople, the most important and lucrative of the embassies. It is filled by the Grand Council instead of the Senate, and twelve hundred members at least must be present when the appointment is made. It was a current opinion in Venice, says Daru, that when the Bailo (as this particular ambassador was called) departed for the embassy of Constantinople, he was presented with a casket of sequins and a box of poisons. On this M. Yriarte remarks: 'Certain historians, whom we cannot read without laughing now that we write with the original documents before our eyes, affirm that the Council of Ten, at the departure of the Bailo, solemnly presented him with a box full of sequins and another full of poisons. Even under these melodramatic exaggerations the truth appears, and the sentiment which has dictated them is even tolerably just. The sequins would symbolise the duty of not shrinking from expense in the service of the State, and of purchasing, if necessary, both the Seraglio and the Jews of the faubourgs of Stamboul. The poison would represent the duty of not recoiling from death, if it was necessary to serve the State and suppress a traitor or conspirator.' But, the alleged solemnity apart, does not this admit that the historians were substantially correct? Was not the ambassador supplied with an unlimited amount of secret service money to be spent in bribery? Does it not appear from original documents that he was frequently directed to employ poison supplied by the Ten or their subordinates?

The legitimate or permitted profits in the shape of dues and privileges were such, that M. Yriarte compares the position to that of the Captains-General of Cuba, who were sent there to make their fortunes when they were illustrious and poor. It was computed that the Bailo could lay by a hundred thousand crowns in three years; and Mark Antonio remained Bailo for

six. The whole of his dispatches, four hundred in number, as well as his two 'Relazioni,' have been preserved, and abound in striking traits and incidents. The period was eventful. The main object of the mission was to conciliate the Sultan, Selim II., who was known to be hostilely disposed; and no means were left untried to reach him through the Grand Vizir, the Sultanas, and the favourite ladies of the hareem. Their common method of exaction, after receiving the usual presents in money and rich stuffs, was to commission the ambassador to procure for them European articles of ornament or use for which they never meant to pay. An entire page of a dispatch is filled with the design of a large mosque lamp, of which nine hundred are to be made for the Grand Vizir. The vizir wants an organ: the Aga of the Janissaries, who is building a house at the Sweet Waters, some painted glass windows; and one of the sultanas a thousand basins of steel. This last order staggered the Senate, who, after grave deliberation, direct the Bailo to say that the metal is not a Venetian product or they should be most happy to oblige the lady.

The year after his arrival, December 13, 1569, a destructive fire broke out in the arsenal of Venice, and no sooner has the news, with an exaggerated estimate of the loss in ships and material, reached Constantinople, than the exactions are redoubled: the Grand Vizir demands another supply of lamps, and it becomes clear that the Turks are only watching for a pretence to declare war. This is found in the refusal of the Republic to concede Cyprus, which the Sultan sends a special envoy to demand. On the very day when the refusal is received by the Divan, Marc Antonio Barbaro is arrested and shut up in a fortress: an embargo is laid on all Venetian vessels in Turkish waters, and all Venetian subjects within reach are treated like their ambassador. The Republic retaliated by seizing an ambassador of the Porte returning from France, who, being also charged with a mission to the Doge, had stopped at Venice on his way. They thus secured a hostage for the safety of their representative; but the Turks had too little regard for life to be stopped by reprisals, and in the course of the following year they gave a terrible proof of their profound indifference to faith, honour, and humanity.

The defence of Famagosta, the principal city of Cyprus, was one of the most heroic exploits of the age: the combined conduct and valour of the Venetian governor, Bragadino, were the theme of universal praise: honourable terms were granted to the garrison; and when he notified his intention to be in person the bearer of the keys, the Turkish commander replied in the most courteous
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and complimentary terms that he should feel honoured and gratified by receiving him. Bragadino came attended by the officers of his staff, dressed in his purple robes, and with a red umbrella, the sign of his rank, held over him. In the course of the ensuing interview the Pasha suddenly springing up, accused him of having put some Mussulman prisoners to death: the officers were dragged away and cut to pieces, whilst Bragadino was reserved for the worst outrages that vindictive cruelty could inflict. He was thrice made to bare his neck to the executioner, whose sword was thrice lifted as if about to strike: his ears were cut off: he was driven every morning for ten days, heavy laden with baskets of earth, to the batteries, and compelled to kiss the ground before the Pasha's pavilion as he passed. He was hoisted to the yard-arm of one of the ships and exposed to the derision of the sailors. Finally, he was carried to the square of Famagosta, stripped, chained to a stake on the public scaffold, and slowly flayed alive, whilst the Pasha looked on. His skin, stuffed with straw, was then mounted on a cow, paraded through the streets with the red umbrella over it, suspended at the bowsprit of the admiral's galley, and displayed as a trophy during the whole voyage to Constantinople. The skin was afterwards purchased of the Pasha by the family of Bragadino, and deposited, with a commemorative inscription, in an urn in the Church of Saints Giovanni and Paolo.

Marc Antonio was not ill-treated, nor could he have been subjected to a very rigorous confinement, for he managed to keep up a constant correspondence with the Republic; and when, after the battle of Lepanto, the Turks showed an inclination to negotiate, it was through him. 'He was engaged five months in settling the terms, with such secrecy and such prudence, that this peace, so advantageous, was not known at Venice till the moment when the treaty was signed.' It was so far from advantageous, that, as Montesquieu says, one would have thought it was the Turks who had gained the battle of Lepanto. The Grand Council, however, ratified it, and named Marc Antonio, in token of their approval, to the second dignity in the State. It was at his own pressing instance that he was recalled in March 1574, and his principal 'Relazione' was delivered in the May following. It contains a complete account of the Turkish empire, its resources, and its mode of government, with sketches of the Sultan and his ministers.

In 1543, the Patrician married the daughter of Marc Antonio Giustiniani, one of the family which, in the expedition of 1171 against the Greek emperor, furnished a hundred combatants all bearing the name. They perished (like the Fabii) to a man, and
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the race was only saved from extinction by taking the sole surviving member from a convent, and marrying him. M. Yriarte is obliged to own that he can learn nothing of the lady, or indeed of any of her fair contemporaries. He cannot even say whether she accompanied her husband on his embassies. 'In France at this epoch, the woman is revealed by the part she plays, whilst at Venice she only appears in the fêtes—brilliant, dazzling, adorned to please the eyes of the princes or the illustrious travellers who pass through, and never revealed by her moral influence or civilising action.' May it not have been owing to the part women had been playing in other countries that they were purposely kept in the background at Venice, where, moreover, manners had contracted somewhat of an Oriental tinge? 'At Rome,' says Sismondi, 'the women whilst seeking to please, wished also to exercise power; they attempted to rule, through their lovers, the State, and with it the Church, which made part of the State; and they acquired more authority over the Romans in the tenth century than they were ever known to exercise in any other government. Two famous patricians, Theodora and her daughter Marozia, disposed during the space of sixty years, of that tiara which the Henrys, at the head of German armies, a few years later, could not tear from their enemies.'*

Venice differed widely from Rome, and indeed from every other Italian State, in this respect: we never find a woman playing a prominent part on the political arena there; and if Vidocq had been engaged to unravel any one of the complicated conspiracies which abound in Venetian annals, he would have derived little or no aid from his favourite maxim: *trouvez-moi la femme*.

The story of Bianca Capello can hardly be considered an exception, for the scene of her principal adventures was Florence. The daughter of an illustrious family, beautiful, accomplished and quick-witted, she had engaged in an intrigue with a good-looking young Florentine, named Pietro, the cashier of a bank. On her return from one of the nightly interviews with which she favoured him, she found the door of her father's house, which she had left open, closed against her—accidentally, it was supposed, by a baker's boy. Dreading discovery, she eloped with her lover to Florence, and threw herself upon the protection of Francesco dei Medici, the son of Cosmo, the reigning Duke, and virtual sovereign as his representative. Francesco fell in love with her, assigned her a magnificent establishment as his avowed mistress, and handsomely provided for Pietro, who passed for her

* 'Hist. des Rép. Ital.' vol. i. p. 95.

husband.

husband. He was found murdered: in the course of time Francesco's wife died, and the Prince, now Grand Duke, privately married Bianca. Getting more and more infatuated, he resolved to follow up the private by a public union, and sent an embassy to Venice to demand her in marriage, not as the daughter of Bartolomeo Capello but as the daughter of St. Marc. The laws of Venice forbade the marriage of any female scion of a noble house with a foreigner, but in the case of foreigners of distinguished position, the difficulty was got over by the adoption of the lady by the Republic. This was the formality observed when the Kings of Cyprus and Hungary accepted brides from Venice.

The conduct of the Venetian Government on this occasion is a striking example of their utter insensibility to elevated or honourable considerations of any kind when their interests were involved. Bianca's character was notorious: she was more than suspected of having two or three times resorted to assassination to remove obstacles from her path: she had been repudiated by her family as a blot on their escutcheon, and the Council of Ten, at their request, had pronounced a sentence of perpetual banishment on Pietro and set a price of 2000 ducats on his head. Yet, in a full and brilliant assemblage of the authorities, Bianca was adopted as 'the true and particular daughter of the Republic, on account and in consideration of the many eminent and distinguished qualities which rendered her worthy of every good fortune, and in order to meet with corresponding feelings the esteem which the Grand Duke had manifested towards Venice by this his most prudent resolution.' There was one person who watched these proceedings with very different feelings. Francesco's brother and heir-presumptive, the Cardinal dei Medici, was well acquainted with the character of his sister-in-law and hardly dissembled his hate. He accepted an invitation to a retired ducal residence, or hunting-seat, where he was residing as the guest of the Duke and Duchess, when they both fell ill and expired within a few hours of each other. The Medici were as apt and as unscrupulous in the use of poison as the Borgias; and opinion was divided between two theories of the catastrophe: one, that the illustrious pair were poisoned by the Cardinal; the other, that Francesco inadvertently partook of a dish seasoned by Bianca for his Eminence, and that, seeing the fatal effects on her lord, she swallowed the remainder. The popular belief was that the Cardinal had detected the poison by the change in the colour of his ring. On his accession to the dukedom, he not only denied the funeral honours due to the rank of his alleged victim, but caused her titles to be
erased

erased from all public documents, and *la pessima Bianca* to be substituted.*

Judging from old pictures and engravings, it would certainly appear that, excluded from intellectual pursuits, the Venetian ladies led a somewhat frivolous life. As M. Yriarte, referring to the works of Paulus Furlanus in 1572, observes: 'We find nothing but attitudes, collations, displays of costumes: the little dogs are always reposing on the knees of their mistresses: we never see a woman occupied with a serious duty, or even an artistic pastime.' It is to be feared that the little dogs on the knees or in the arms of their mistresses, may lead to equally unfavourable inferences in illustrations of the manners and customs of the English of 1874.

One principal occupation of the Venetian ladies was giving their hair the golden or auburn tint which is so much admired in Venetian portraits and not long since was brought into temporary fashion in Paris and London by the *demi-monde*. The process required that the hair, after being wetted with the prescribed mixture, should be dried in the sun; and the Venetian beauties might be seen sitting for hours together in open balconies, wearing wide-brimmed hats, with the crown out, to protect the complexion.† One of their strangest fashions was the patten or stilt, which they used of such an extravagant height—eighteen inches or two feet—that a woman of rank could not go abroad without leaning on the shoulders of her maids. Acting on the true Chinese and Oriental principle, the Venetian husbands and fathers seem to have favoured this fashion. In a conversation which arose in a distinguished company before the Doge whose daughters were the first to discard the pattens, on some one saying that the ordinary shoes were incomparably more convenient, an elderly member of the Council exclaimed—'*Pur troppo comodi! pur troppo*'—(very much too convenient! very much).

The sumptuary laws, in restriction of female extravagance in dress, were severe, and particularly directed against pearls, for which enormous sums were given. But in anticipation of the public entry of the Duke of Savoy in 1608, it was resolved that, 'notwithstanding any decree to the contrary, every lady who shall be invited to the said fête shall be permitted to wear all the vestments and jewels of whatever nature that may seem to

* 'Sketches,' vol. ii. pp. 331-341. The story, glossed over by Daru, forms the basis of two of Malespini's novels, in which, of course, the most romantic colouring is thrown over it.

† 'Les Femmes Blondes selon les Peintres de l'École de Venise.' Paris, 1865. Edited by M. Feuilles des Conches. Various recipes are given, and the process is minutely described.

her most favourable to the adornment of her person.' The same permission was granted on the reception of Henry III.

'The middle of the hall of the Great Council was left empty, and two hundred noble ladies, chosen amongst the noblest and most beautiful, entered and took their seats on benches ranged against the walls under the large pictures representing the history of the feasts of the Republic. Clothed in white stuffs, adorned with diamonds and pearls, they presented an unequalled spectacle, at which the King was evidently surprised, despite his recollection of the magnificence and gallantry of the court of the Valois. A rich throne was raised at the bottom of the room, on which the King was seated, having on his right the Doge and the Dukes, on his left the Nuncio, the Grand Prior, and the lords of his suite. Gallantly remarking that he wished to breathe this parterre of flowers, he descended the steps of the throne followed by his suite, and advanced as if to pass in review all these noble ladies, who saluted gracefully in return. He allowed his gaze to rest for a moment on each, and from time to time let drop an exclamation whilst looking for a confidant at his side to whom he might express his admiration. Little by little the young nobles came to make their selections: then slowly, in cadence, the groups were formed to the sound of instruments, and passed successively before the throne, stopping to pay their homage.'

A French ambassador at Venice in 1735, pressed by his Court to obtain intelligence, writes thus:—

'The access to nobles and secretaries is more difficult than formerly. The Abbé de Pomponne (ambassador in 1705) had at his command a courtesan, who was well paid, and kept him well informed. The principal nobles were in the habit of supping with her; they carried on their intrigues at her house, and spoke of public affairs. But we have no longer the same advantage: the nobles pay only passing visits to the courtesans. They now live familiarly with the ladies (*dames*). The young ladies who might be gained over are too ill-informed, seeing only young people and few good heads. The better-informed old ladies are difficult of approach.'

It would be a mistake to suppose that this change in the habits of the nobles implied any improvement in morals. The women of condition could only obtain a divided empire with the courtesans by imitating them. 'The parlours of the convents,' says Daru, 'in which the daughters of noble families were placed, and the houses of courtesans, although the police kept a watchful eye on them, were the sole points of union of the society of Venice, and in the two so contrasted places all were equally free. Music, collations, gallantry, were no more forbidden in the parlours than in the casinos. There were a great number of public casinos where play was the principal object.'

* *'In Vle d'un Patricien,'* p. 289.

At one of these, the Ridotto, as many as eighty gaming-tables have been counted, with a patrician presiding at each; the privilege of holding the bank being confined to the patrician order. In strange contrast to the regulation by which they evaded their promise to permit gambling between the columns, the Republic now openly encouraged it along with every sort of dissoluteness. 'There was no doubt a moment,' continues Daru, 'when the destruction of fortunes, the ruin of families, domestic discords, determined the Government to depart from the maxims they had laid down as to the freedom of morals they allowed their subjects. They banished all the courtesans from Venice. But their absence was insufficient to reform a population brought up in the most shameful licentiousness. Disorder penetrated into the interior of families, into the cloisters; and they were obliged to recall, to indemnify, to coax back the women (*nostre bene merite meretrici*, as they are called in the decree) who sometimes surprised important secrets, and could be usefully employed to ruin men who might otherwise become dangerous by their wealth.'

The same detestable policy was continued to the end, and that end was fast approaching. 'Be at ease,' said Napoleon to Bourrienne, 'those rogues shall pay for it; their Republic has lived.' Having recently called attention to the manner in which this ominous intimation was acted upon,* we shall merely add that their cowardice and meanness were on a par with his cynical contempt for international obligations and his bad faith. Cantu admits that they had ample resources, naval and military, for a stubborn and prolonged defence; but they were enervated to effeminacy; the Republic, rotten to the core, was ready to go down with a push; and when the question of resistance or non-resistance was put to the vote at the last sitting of the Great Council, the unqualified and instant surrender of their liberties, of their very existence as an independent people, was carried almost by acclamation, by 512 votes against 12.

The Venetian Republic, dating it from the closing of the Council in 1296, had lasted five hundred years; it was not merely the only European constitution that had successfully resisted revolutionary change during anything like that length of time, but it was the only modern aristocracy or oligarchy that ever held the supreme power long enough to constitute a settled government at all; for Mr. Disraeli's favourite theory that, during a large part of the last century, the English constitution resembled that of Venice, is an amusing paradox at best. But the durability of an institution is only a merit or a good when the institution

* The 'Quarterly Review' for April, 1870: Article on Lanfrey's 'Napoleon.'
contributes

contributes to human happiness or intellectual progress—when it helps to make men wiser or better; not when it degrades and corrupts with a view to enslaving them, systematically undermining or stamping out every notion or sentiment of honour, generosity, virtue, and patriotism, lest that very durability should be weakened or destroyed. The chief glories of Venice were won under her ancient Doges: her few illustrious men flourished in despite of her laws; and if she had lived only half her life, her reputation would stand better with posterity.

That, then, the Republic was a model of perverted ingenuity is undeniable, but to call it, as has been the fashion amongst historians, a masterpiece of political wisdom is tantamount to maintaining that the highest political wisdom consists in the successful application of the maxims laid down by Machiavel in ‘The Prince.’ Far from regretting the catastrophe, we feel irresistibly impelled to exclaim with the poet,—

‘Mourn not for Venice—though her fall
Be awful as if Ocean’s wave
Swept o’er her—she deserves it all,
And Justice triumphs o’er her grave.
Thus perish every King and State
That run the guilty race she ran,
Strong but in fear, and only great
By outrage against God and man.’

ART. VI.—*Life of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands.* By Charlotte Mary Yonge. In two volumes. London, 1874.

THIS is a large, but not a bulky, Biography. For the word bulk insinuates the idea of size in excess of pith and meaning. But if there be a class of human lives deserving a copious record, to that class unquestionably belongs the life of Bishop Patteson. Indeed, the only complaint we have to make with reference to the first aspect of the work is, that it conveys the idea of a Biography properly so called, whereas by far the greater part, probably four-fifths of the whole, presents to us the Bishop’s life in the Bishop’s own most living words; and the work might perhaps be more accurately entitled ‘The Letters and Life of Bishop Patteson.’ If we are to find a fault with the distinguished authoress, it is not that she observes, as might have been anticipated, a graceful modesty with respect to the munificence with which it is known that she devoted to holy purposes the fruits of her mental power, but that she might with advantage have been more copious on some heads of information

information respecting either the Bishop himself or the scene of his labours, which she presupposes rather than supplies.

Biographies, like painted portraits, range over an immense scale of value: the highest stand at a very elevated point indeed, and the lowest, in which this age has been beyond all others fertile, descend far below zero. Human nature is in itself a thing so wonderful, so greatly paramount among all the objects offered to our knowledge, that there are few pieces or specimens of it which do not deserve and reward observation. But then they must be true, and must breathe the breath of life; they must give us, not the mere clothes, or graveclothes, of the man, but the man himself. For this reason it is that autobiographies (unless when a distinguished man is unfortunately tempted, as appears to have been the case with Lord Brougham, to write his own life from old newspapers) are commonly of real interest, for every man does his best to make his own portrait a likeness. And for this reason also it may be that, in so many cases, the personal memoirs of men of religious celebrity are flat, stale, and unprofitable to a degree, because they are, beyond all others, unreal and got up. Sometimes, with a good deal of excuse, feelings of natural piety, and sometimes, with no excuse at all, the supposed interests of sect or clique, withhold altogether from view the faults, errors, or inequalities, through some or all of which it was that the man was indeed a man, a being of mixed character, to be remembered usefully for warning, and for caution, as well as for imitation, or for pious unreasoning wonder. In the case especially of missionaries we fear that there is a special danger of this want of reality and truth. For here the begging bore is continually in the mind of the writer; and probably there is, on the whole, no description of running story which is told with so much unconscious or half-conscious falsification as theirs. For, were the whole truth to be given, what would be the effect on the collection after this or that sermon, or on the subscription list after this or that meeting, where the Rev. Blank Blank appeared specially as a deputation on the part of 'the parent society'? Of these, and of all falsifications, studious or careless, the transparent man, whose Biography we are commending to notice, had a perfect horror. More than this; he had a horror of the pretentious and theatrical, nay of the merely public, exhibition even of the truth. His pastoral work with the Melanesian Islanders was too intensely spiritual in its detail to bear presentation periodically to the common eye, without a reflected influence of self-consciousness on the principal agent, which would have marred its delicacy, its purity, its simplicity. A passage of the volumes casts upon this subject a casual ray of

light, which reveals much of the inner nature of the man. His friend and coadjutor, Mr. Codrington, says :—

‘ It is characteristic of Bishop Patteson that I never heard him say a word, that I remember, of religion to one of the sick. On such things he would not, unless he was obliged, speak except with the patient alone.’—Vol. ii. p. 320.

And again, in September, 1868 :—

‘ The Bishop then began a custom of preaching to his black scholars alone after the midday service, dismissing his five or six white companions after prayers, because he felt he could speak more freely, and go more straight to the hearts of his converts and catechumens, if he had no other audience.’—Vol. ii. p. 322.

To some this may sound little less than shocking. He ought, it would perhaps be said, in the spirit of modern religionism, to have ‘ let his light shine ’ more fully ‘ before men,’ and to have sought the edification not only of the coloured islander but of the literary European bystander. Such was not Patteson’s conception of his very arduous work. It had at once to open the minds, to mould the ideas, and to enter into the inmost souls of beings just extricated from a singularly inartificial and child-like barbarism ; in the case of the sick, to deliver them over, or prepare for so delivering them, into the unveiled presence of the Eternal. This was ever for him an absolutely absorbing task ; and no particle of himself, no jot or tittle of energies which he knew to be when undivided still insufficient, would he suffer to be diverted by any side issue, or regard to thing or person other than the human soul he was endeavouring to rear to its maturity.

How, it may well be asked, how, under such circumstances, can we attain to any full, real, inward knowledge of this great Missionary Bishop, and of his work ? The answer is that, with that wonderful multiplying force which is the gift of affectionate natures, while he carried his heart to the zone of the South Pacific, he left it also in England. The singular warmth of his domestic affections stands, as to certain points, in a touching strife with his devotion to his duty. He does not encourage, he even refuses, the visit of his sisters after their father’s death, lest they should at once suffer hardship and draw him off from his daily, hourly, prosecution of his work (vol. ii. p. 18). But to the beloved members of his family he was able to make an effusion of himself, in constant letters by every mail, which, for its warmth and its completeness, as to all except the absolutely inward sphere of his religious life, has, perhaps, never been excelled, and to which we are indebted for a record worthy, in
our

our judgment, of the Apostolic office ; and of the Christian religion, even in the bloom and glow of its prime. But as to all he wrote to them, he was most jealous lest it should be unveiled.

‘ I can’t write brotherly letters, if they are to be treated as public property. I would not trust my own brother to make extracts from my letters. No one in England can be a judge of the mischief that the letters occasion printed contrary to my wish by friends.’—Vol. ii. p. 175.

‘ I like,’ he writes at Easter, 1869, ‘ to tell you what I think, and I know you will keep it to yourselves.’ Thus it is that we come to have before us the fervent outpourings of a singularly reflective and introspective, as well as active, mind, like flowers caught in their freshness, and perfectly preserved in colour and in form.

No mere review can do justice to this book, but we hope to supply what may incite some readers to obtain for themselves an acquaintance with its contents.

The name he bore, John Coleridge Patteson, indicated the combination in his blood of two honoured families, second to none in the contributions they have made to the intellectual and moral wealth of the nation.

He was born on the 1st of April, 1827 ; and he was incomparably happy in his parents, both of whom so stamped themselves upon his mind and heart that, down to the very last, when they had been long called to their rest, he is ever reverting to them. His mother appears to have been as excellent in the rearing of her children, as his father was distinguished among the sages of the law. But Judge Patteson, a lawyer unsurpassed in his day (which was a great day), was also no common Churchman ; in feeling and opinion a thorough and loyal child of the Church of England ; in knowledge far from a mean theologian, and one whose direct guiding influence is constantly acknowledged by his son during his lifetime, and longed for after his death.

We will not dwell on the incidents of his childhood, beyond observing that he was (i. 7) deeply and warmly affectionate, but not free from occasional outbreaks of will and temper, the fiery material of future activity and energy under holy discipline. But his religious history is without crisis, shock, or start : there seems to have been from the first a central principle of life, which gradually brought under its sway every part and faculty of the man. ‘ Consideration for others, kindness, and sweetness of nature, were always his leading characteristics’ : and when a foundation is thus broadly laid in a radical unselfishness there is little to fear for the final result.

He went through the normal course of an Eton and Oxford education. At twelve years old, his powers of self-reproach were already active: and it is to be observed that throughout life, when blaming himself, he never attenuates the blame, or shifts any portion of responsibility upon others. He was profoundly impressed by a farewell sermon which Bishop Selwyn preached in October, 1841, at Windsor, where the Bishop had acted as curate; and when calling on his mother to bid farewell, that eminent Prelate and Missionary said, with a kind of prophetic anticipation, 'Lady Patteson, will you give me Coley?' (i. 29). The youth also told her it was his greatest wish to go with the Bishop. Meantime the whole tone of his life seems to have been thoroughly healthy. In the prime article of Eton school-work, his verses, he was—like Bishop Selwyn—highly distinguished: he was among the Select for the Newcastle Scholarship in 1844: he spoke remarkably well in the Debating Society; and at cricket he attained to the highest honours of the Eleven. Even in these early days, he combined the widest popularity with an uncompromising adherence to what was right (i. 40). Success did not beget conceit: and failure, which was the exception, only roused his energies (i. 46). At Oxford, where he entered with deep interest into the religious movement of the day, he obtained, in 1849, a classical second-class, and subsequently a Fellowship of Merton. His examination for his degree was followed by a tour in Germany and Italy, which served to develop alike his strong love of Art, and his remarkable turn for languages. He was in due time presented to the Pope: but what a contrast between the two episcopal careers! In 1852, he studied Hebrew at Dresden; and he made himself a thorough German scholar. In questions connected with the administration and government of his College, he was a decided reformer (i. 133). His mind had undergone rapid development, and he had largely surveyed the religious dissensions of the day, when he was ordained in 1853, and took the curacy of Alfington. In this village, where a church with a parsonage and school had been built by his distinguished uncle, Sir John Coleridge, he had already served an apprenticeship while he was preparing for holy orders. His course here was a short one, but he prosecuted it as the work of his life: and the sweet smile and musical voice which were afterwards to win their way in the far islands of the south, powerfully helped to open his access to the hearts of the people of Alfington. Nearly all the items of the varied experience of daily life, at all times, he took most kindly. But general society he never loved: small talk, he declares, he could not manufacture; and morning callers were the plague of his life.

Ordained

Ordained on the 14th of September, 1853, he joined, on the 19th of August, 1854, in welcoming the Bishop of New Zealand, who came to visit England after twelve years of work, during which he had founded his church, organised its government, and planned his system of missionary aggression on the five groups of islands which he combined under the collective name of Melanesia: the Solomon Islands in the north-west, the Banks and Santa Cruz clusters in the midst, and the New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands to the south-west and south. After greeting him, Patteson retired to seek relief for his emotion in a 'great burst of tears.' Bishop Selwyn was in all ways qualified to become the hero of his imagination, and to impart the main impulse of his life. Of a commanding presence, of frank and manly character, distinguished both in mental and bodily pursuits, and universally beloved, he was, as it were, reflected in his young friend as to all these points: and in quitting a career of prosperity and promise, already well begun at home, for the charge of an unformed church in an unformed colony at the Antipodes, it had been the Bishop's happy lot to lift the standard of self-sacrifice to a more conspicuous and a more generally felt and acknowledged elevation than it had heretofore reached among us. But we feel confident that a Selwyn claims, and can claim, no higher honour than to have had a Patteson for his pupil.

The Bishop now followed up the thought of 1841, 'Will you give me Coley?' His words fell upon a mind, in the young man himself, already charged with the subject. Sir John Patteson, who had become a widower in the interval, determined to offer freely his large share of the sacrifice. And his son, in accepting the invitation, acted upon a feeling which had been 'continually present with him and constantly exercising an increasing influence over him' (i. 173). He left all his villagers deploring his departure, and on March 29, 1855, he sailed from Gravesend, with the Bishop, for New Zealand.

As early as 1848 and 1849, Bishop Selwyn had visited the Islands. His resolution was never to preach in a place already occupied by missions: and Melanesia was almost entirely open ground. He rapidly perceived that it was vain to think of dealing with this host of islands by planting a resident English clergyman in each of them. He likewise believed that no church could take effectual root without a native clergy, and he accordingly determined upon his plan; which was, to bring boys from the Islands to New Zealand, to educate them there in St. John's College, near Auckland, which he had founded for the colonists, and so to return them home to be the teachers of their countrymen.

countrymen. This plan, which bears so clearly the stamp of an organising mind, has been in action ever since: with only some change in its form. For the climate, first of St. John's College and then, as experience taught, of New Zealand in even its most suitable spots, was found too cold for the constitutions of the islanders. Hence it came about that the headquarters of the Mission were in course of time removed, on that account, to Norfolk Island, which is half-way between the colony and the nearest points of Melanesia. Still later, and in correspondence with the progress of the work, a permanent establishment was founded on the Island of Mota, a central point for the whole of Melanesia. From the time of its beginning, Bishop Selwyn had never intermitted the prosecution of his enterprise. Thus the field, into which he carried Mr. Patteson, was one now made ready for extended cultivation. In that field he wrought earnestly, until December, 1859, with and under the senior Bishop himself, who led the way in all responsibility, effort, and exposure; and cast, and exhibited to his younger eye, the mould wherein his work was to be shaped.

In 1860, when the Melanesian company was transported to the more genial site of Kohimarama, near Auckland, he took charge of it; and here he lays down the proposition which was the guide of his missionary life to the last. 'The school is the real work.' Only by patient, searching, personal, and sole persuasion did he think it possible to perform that double operation, which has now come into the place of the single one confided to the Apostles: that is to say, the conversion of savages into civilised men, and of, at the same time, in the same persons, of heathens into Christians. There is no labour more intense than that of teaching, when the instructor throws his whole heart into it; it was enhanced by an endless variety of languages and dialects; and this, as it was in quantity the greatest, was also in quality the most exhausting of Mr. Patteson's occupations.

He was, however, to be Mr. Patteson but little longer. In despite of his modest reluctance, he obeyed the urgent requisition of Bishop Selwyn, and agreed to undertake the Episcopal office. In this year, 1860, he assumed the direction of the Melanesian voyage, and founded a Mission House at Mota. 'the first station' of the Church's tabernacle planted in all Melanesia' (i. 459). In February, 1861, came the time of his consecration. On the eve of it, there was a special and private meeting for worship, ending with the *Gloria in excelsis*.

'Then the dear Bishop (of New Zealand) walked across to me, and taking my hand in both of his, looking at me with that smile of love
and

and deep, deep thought so seldom seen, and so highly prized, "I can't tell you what I feel," he said, with a low and broken voice. "You know it; my heart is so full."—Vol. i. p. 488.

He was consecrated on the 24th of February, the Feast of St. Matthias; and from this time, for ten and a half years, remained in sole charge of the missions of the Church in the islands. Lady Martin supplies the following brief notice of the service:—

'I shall never forget the expression of his face as he knelt in the quaint rochet. It was meek, and holy, and calm, as though all conflict was over, and he was resting in the Divine strength. It was altogether a wonderful scene; the three consecrating Bishops, all such noble-looking men, the goodly company of clergy, and Hohua's fine intelligent brown face among them, and then the long line of island boys, and of St. Stephen's native teachers and their wives, were living testimonies of mission work.'—Vol. i. p. 492.

He was now formally installed in the Chapel of St. Andrew as Head of the College; and from this time he directed and conducted the annual voyages and all the missionary operations, though, of course, with the full counsel and support of Bishop Selwyn, both as his Primate, and as the original pioneer. His domestic life, continually exercised in the most affectionate correspondence; his intellectual life, maintained by eager reading at those spare times which he contrived to find; his scientific life, in the study and construction of the languages; his pastoral life, in the varied functions of teaching, training, and public ministrations; and his life of external energy in organising, and in manual work—all proceeded in equable and harmonious activity, interrupted only by the sad crises of dysentery and fever, when day and night were alike absorbed, and by the great grief of a murderous attack on his party at Santa Cruz in 1864. During all this time he seems never to have had a thought for himself, but only for his people, and for his office with a view to his people. One force he largely employed to draw and win men, and to bind them to himself—the force of love:—

'It was in those private classes that he exercised such wonderful influence; his musical voice, his holy face, his gentle manner, all helping doubtless to impress and draw even the dullest.'—Vol. i. p. 398.

Putting down his natural fastidiousness, not avoiding the very humblest of duties, he gave dignity to those duties, instead of disparaging his office in his own person by performing them; and his authority over white and black alike, which was never compromised, maintained itself by a gentle tact, even as the most complete control over spirited horses is achieved
by

by the most delicate hand. But now we will try to let him speak a little for himself.

Some idea of his many-sidedness may be conveyed by the following passage:—

‘I can hardly tell you how much I regret not knowing something about the treatment of simple surgical cases. If when with W— I had studied the practical—bled, drawn teeth, mixed medicines, rolled legs perpetually, it would have been worth something. Surely I might have foreseen all this! I really don’t know how to find the time or the opportunity for learning. How true it is that men require to be trained for their particular work! I am now just in a position to know what to learn, were I once more in England. Spend one day with old Fry (mason), another with John Venn (carpenter), and two every week at the Exeter Hospital, and not look on and see others work—there’s the mischief, do it oneself. Make a chair, a table, a box, fit everything, help in every part of making and furnishing a house, that is, a cottage. Do enough of every part to be able to do the whole. Begin by felling a tree, saw it into planks, mix the lime, see the right proportion of sand, &c., know how to choose a good lot of timber, fit handles for tools, &c.

‘Many trades need not be attempted, but every missionary ought to be a carpenter, a mason, something of a butcher, and a good deal of a cook.’—Vol. i. pp. 378–9.

In a letter to his brother and sister he describes the dysentery at the New Zealand College in 1863:—

‘Hospital, St. Andrew’s

‘Saturday night, 9 P.M., March 21, 1863

‘MY DEAREST BROTHER AND SISTER,—I write from the dining-hall (now our hospital), with eleven Melanesians lying round in extremity of peril. I buried two to-day in one grave, and I baptized another now dying by my side.

‘God has been pleased in His wisdom and mercy to send upon us a terrible visitation, a most virulent form of dysentery. Since this day fortnight I have scarce slept night or day, but by snatching an hour here and there; others are working quite as hard, and all the great points of our Melanesian staff are brought out, as you may suppose.

‘The best medical men cannot suggest any remedy. All remedies have been tried and failed. Every conceivable kind of treatment has been tried in vain.

‘There are in the hall (the hospital now) at this moment eleven more in the little quadrangle, better, but in as anxious a state as can be; and two more not at all well.

‘I have sent all the rest on board to be out of the way of contagion. How we go on I scarce know. . . . My good friend, Mr. Lloyd, is here, giving great help; he is well acquainted with sickness, and a capital nurse.

‘I have felt all along that it would be good for us to be in trouble. We could not always sail with a fair wind, I have often said so.

God has sent the trial in the most merciful way. What is this to the falling away of our baptized scholars!

‘But it is a pitiful sight! How wonderfully they bear the agony of it. No groaning.

‘When I buried those two children to-day, my heart was full, I durst not think, but could only pray and believe and trust in Him. God bless you.

‘Your loving Brother,
‘J. C. P.

‘O Lord, correct me, but with judgment!’

—Vol. ii. pp. 42–3.

His day in Mota was thus partitioned :—

‘At daylight I turn off my table and dress, *not elaborately*,—a flannel shirt, old trousers, and shoes; then a yam or two is roasted on the embers, and the coffee made, and (fancy the luxury here in Mota!) delicious goat’s milk with it. Then the morning passes in reading, writing, and somewhat desultory talking with people, but you can’t expect punctuality and great attention. Then at one, a bit of biscuit and cheese (as long as the latter lasts). Mr. Palmer made some bread yesterday. Then generally a walk to meet people at different villages, and talk to them, trying to get them to ask me questions, and I try to question them. Then at 6 P.M., a tea-ation, viz., yam and coffee, and perhaps a crab or two, or a bit of bacon, or some good thing or other. But I forgot! This morning we ate a bit of our first full-grown and fully ripe Mota pine-apple (I brought some two years ago), as large and fine as any specimens I remember in hot-houses. If you mention all these luxuries, we shall have no more subscriptions, but you may add that there is as yet no other pine-apple, though our oranges, lemons, citrons, guavas, &c., are coming on. . . .

‘Then after tea—a large party always witnessing that ceremony—there is an hour or so spent in speaking again to the people, and then I read a little with Wadrokala and Carry. Then Mr. Palmer and I read a chapter of Vaughan on the Revelation, then prayers, and so to bed.’—Vol. ii. pp. 142–3.

His day in New Zealand is described in a letter to Professor Max Müller, intended to excuse him for not making more rapid progress in his philological labours :—

‘I get in the full summer months an hour for reading by being dressed at 5:30 A.M. At 5:30 I see the lads washing, &c., 7 A.M. breakfast all together in hall, 7:30 chapel, 8–9:30 school, 9:30–12:30 industrial work. During this time I have generally half-an-hour with Mr. Pritt about business matters, and proof sheets are brought me, yet I get a little time for preparing lessons. 12:45 short service in chapel, 1 dinner, 2–3 Greek Testament with English young men, 3–4 classics with ditto, 5 tea, 6:30 evening chapel, 7–8:30 evening school with divers classes in rotation, or with candidates for Baptism or Confirmation, 8:30–9 special instruction to more advanced scholars,
only

only a few, 9-10 school with two other English lay assistants. Add to all this, visitors interrupting me from 4-5, correspondence, accounts, trustee business, sermons, nursing sick boys, and all the many daily unexpected little troubles that must be smoothed down, and questions enquired into, and boys' conduct investigated, and what becomes of linguistics? So much for my excuse for my small progress in languages! Don't think all this egotistical; it is necessary to make you understand my position.'—Vol. ii. p. 186.

It is the same tenor of life in Norfolk Island:—

'I am just finishing a translation of St. John, and have written many Psalms, &c., besides some four and a half or five hours teaching daily: not much, yet more than I did at Kohimarama, where I had a good deal of English Sunday work, and many interruptions. Here I can write from 6 A.M. to 10 P.M., and have really no distractions to speak of. Chapel at 7 A.M., breakfast (all together, of course) 7.30, school 8-9.30, work 9.30-1, dinner over in twenty minutes or so (not very elaborate), school 2-3, tea 6, school 7-8, chapel 8, when I catechise, and to my delight, at last, the Melanesians freely, as a regular thing, ask me all kinds of questions. I leave them about 9, but my room opens into the chapel, and they sit there, many of them, till 10 talking over points; sometimes come in to me, &c., and so the day ends. Codrington and I don't pledge ourselves to out-door work from 9.30-1; and I have lessons to prepare for candidates for Baptism, Holy Communion and Orders (three Englishmen). You would like to be with us for a day; and I think you would be touched by the reverence of young men and lads and boys in chapel, of whom I could tell strange stories indeed, and by hearing the *Venite* chanted to "Jacob" in a strange tongue, and other music. There are times when my heart feels very full.'—Vol. ii. pp. 287-8.

The incessant labours and occasional dangers of his life were relieved by his vivid interest in the work, by his giving and taking the pleasures of domestic affection, and by his enjoyment of a climate which was to him highly genial. But the most marked characteristic of his life in its passive part was, without doubt, this, that even when grief was absent, and care was at its highest, it was a daily enduring of hardness. Quite casually he mentions his expenses for six months at about 20*l.* (ii. 333). But it is just this feature of hardness, that he is ever endeavouring to throw into the shade. We have seen the use he makes of the solitary pine-apple in Mota. From Norfolk Island he describes and dwells upon the comforts of his room; a print, a photograph, books, and flowers, though no carpet or curtains, which 'only hold dust and make the room fusty' (ii. 397). 'Such are missionary comforts; where the hardships are, I have not yet discovered.' The 'perfect cup of coffee,' or 'a four-pound tin of Bloxam's preserved meat from Queensland,' half of which had

lasted

lasted him for twelve days, and which served to season his 'yam deliciously cooked' (ii. 258), is ever carefully recorded against himself, and to satisfy his loving correspondents. But never except once, so far as we are able to discover, did his mode of living, in bed or board or clothing, rise even to the modest standard of clerical life at home; then, indeed, he found himself amid the comforts and even luxuries of a European gentleman. The occasion was a voyage to Australia, for an active and laborious circuit there with the purpose of giving information and obtaining aid. He records his condition on board the steamer from New Zealand to Sydney on February 6, 1864, with a child-like wonder and freshness:—

'Fancy me on board a screw steamer, 252 feet long, with the best double cabin on board for my own single use, the manager of the Company being anxious to show me every attention, eating away at all sorts of made dishes, puddings, &c., and lounging about just as I please on soft red velvet sofas and cushions.'—Vol. ii. p. 82.

And his biographer thankfully mentions the benefit he derived from this one involuntary backsliding into comfort and fairly good living; such, at least, as they could be to one who, with all his cheerful acceptance of sea-life, never loved the sea:—

'Generally, he shrank into himself, and became reserved at once if pressed to tell of his own doings. He spoke one evening quite openly about his dislike to ship life. We were laughing at some remembrance of the Bishop of Lichfield's satisfaction when once afloat, and he burst into an expression of wonder, how anyone could go to sea for pleasure. I asked him what he disliked in particular, and he answered, everything. That he always felt dizzy, headaching, and unable to read with comfort; the food was greasy, and there was a general sense of dirt and discomfort.'—Vol. ii. pp. 447-8.

This habitual reserve about himself was based upon his profound humility, the proof of which bristles, or to speak more appropriately softly plays, upon every page of the volumes.

The spirit of fun, which had had free play in his boyhood, did not depart from him during his episcopate, and it found most fit openings in the innocent festivities (ii. 328) with which, after the religious office, he celebrated those marriages between his Melanesian converts, which were among the social first-fruits of his work. Nothing conveys a higher idea of his moral force, than the way in which he brought these people to a life of strictness in the point, in which the customs and tradition of the islands were most relaxed. Once we hear of a lapse from purity, in which he commuted the wrath, that a harsher man would have felt, into a sympathetic pain. He treated the case, however,
according

according to the rules of a sound and considerate Church discipline. The following detail will give an idea of his tenderness of hand:—

‘His own words (not suggested by me) were, “I tempted God often, and He let me fall: I don’t mean He was the cause of it, it is, of course, only my fault; but I think I see that I might have gone on getting more and more careless, and wandering further and further from Him unless I had been startled and frightened.” And then he burst out, “Oh! don’t send me away for ever. I know I have made the young ones stumble, and destroyed the happiness of our settlement here. I know I must not be with you all in chapel and school and hall. I know I can’t teach any more, I know that, and I am miserable, miserable. But don’t tell me I must go away for ever. I can’t bear it!”

‘I did manage to answer almost coldly, for I felt that if I once let loose my longing desire to let him see my real feeling, I could not restrain myself at all. “Who wishes to send you away, U—?” It is not me whom you have displeased and injured.”

‘“I know. It is terrible! But I think of the Prodigal Son. Oh! I do long to go back! Oh! do tell me that He loves me still.”

‘Poor dear fellow! I thought I must leave him to bear his burden for a time. We prayed together, and I left him, or rather sent him away from my room, but he could neither eat nor sleep.

‘The next day his whole manner, look, everything made one sure (humanly speaking) that he was indeed truly penitent; and then when I began to speak words of comfort, of God’s tender love and compassion, and told him how to think of the Lord’s gentle pity when he appeared first to the Magdalene and Peter, and when I took his hand in the old loving way, poor fellow, he broke down more than ever, and cried like a child.’—Vol. ii. pp. 347–8.

By degrees restoration to full Christian standing was granted.

Considerate in such matters, we might be sure he was not less considerate in regard to the sometimes difficult questions arising in heathen lands out of the divisions of sect. He set up, as we have seen, no rival missions. He corresponded with a Wesleyan missionary on a subject of common interest to both. He declined applications for pastoral care from the people of Lifu, where the agency of the London Missionary Society had existed but had for some time been suspended, on learning that two missionaries were on the way from Sydney (i. 419–20). In that same island he had (in 1858) attended the service conducted by a native teacher acting under the Society, and only officiated himself when he had found, from good authority, that there would be no objection. His costume on this occasion was no other than a black coat and white tie, and he pursued the manner of service common among Presbyterians and Dissenters.

though employing freely the language of the Prayer Book in his extemporary prayer (i. 363-6). 'I felt,' he says, 'quite at my ease while preaching, and John told me it was all very clear; but the prayers—oh! I did long for one of our Common Prayer Books.'

His early promise as a speaker would seem to have been amply fulfilled in his preaching and speaking faculty. But without doubt what preponderated in his sermons and addresses was the intensity of their ethical character. Listen to the description of Lady Martin. At the critical period when he was about finally to part from Bishop Selwyn in 1868, he said the prayers in the private chapel.

'After these were ended (Lady Martin says), he spoke a few words to us. He spoke of our Lord standing on the shore of the lake after His resurrection; and he carried us, and I think himself too, out of the heaviness of sorrow into a region of peace and joy, where all conflict and partings and sin shall cease for ever. It was not only what he said, but the tones of his musical voice, and expression of peace on his own face, that hushed us into a great calm. One clergyman, who was present, told Sir William Martin that he had never known anything so wonderful. The words were like those of an inspired man.'—Vol. ii. pp. 338-9.

It is, however, also plain that perhaps his most notable pastoral gifts lay in the closeness, clearness, and affectionateness, of his addresses in personal conference with the Melanesians; his rare faculty of language enabling him to combat the difficulties of so many foreign tongues, and his deep reverence preserving him from the great risk of caricaturing sacred things by inapt use of his instrument. And observe how skilfully, with the one great idea of converting islanders through islanders was in his mind, he conducts the instruction of a class on the 9th chapter of the Acts, and leads his scholars up to the act of self-dedication.

"Did our Lord tell Saul all that he was to do?"

"No."

"What! not even when He appeared to him in that wonderful way from Heaven?"

"No."

"What did the Lord say to him?"

"That he was to go into Damascus, and there it would be told him what he was to do."

"What means did the Lord use to tell Saul what he was to do?"

"He sent a man to tell him."

"Who was he?"

"Ananias."

"Do we know much about him?"

"No,

"No, only that he was sent with a message to Saul to tell him the Lord's will concerning him, and to baptize him."

"What means did the Lord employ to make His will known to Saul?"

"He sent a disciple to tell him."

"Did He tell him Himself immediately?"

"No, he sent a man to tell him."

"Mention another instance of God's working in the same way, recorded in the Acts."

"The case of Cornelius, who was told by the angel to send for Peter."

"The angel then was not sent to tell Cornelius the way of salvation?"

"No, God sent Peter to do that."

"Jesus Christ began to do the same thing when He was on earth, did He not, even while He was Himself teaching and working miracles?"

"Yes; He sent the twelve Apostles and the seventy disciples."

"But what is the greatest instance of all; the greatest proof to us that God chooses to declare His will through man to man?"

"God sent His own Son to become man."

"Could He not have converted the whole world in a moment to the obedience of faith by some other way?"

"Yes."

"But what did He in His wisdom choose to do?"

"He sent His Son to be born of the Virgin Mary, to become man, and to walk on this earth as a real man, and to teach men, and to die for men."

"What does Jesus Christ call us men?"

"His brethren."

"Who is our Mediator?"

"The *Man*, Christ Jesus."

"What means does God employ to make His will known to us?"

"He uses men to teach men."

"Can they do this by themselves?"

"No, but God makes them able."

"How have *you* heard the Gospel?"

"Because God sent you to us."

"And now, listen. How are all your people still in ignorance to hear it? What have I often told you about that?"

Whereupon the scholars looked shy, and some said softly, "We must teach them."

"Yes, indeed you must." — Vol. ii. pp. 178-80.

Among the many remarkable points in this very eminent life not the least noteworthy of all is its many-sidedness. There seems to have been no office or function, however high or however humble, to which Bishop Patteson could not turn, and turn effectively, his mind or hand. There is one characteristic of the

the old-fashioned public school and college education of England, in cases where it has been heartily and genially received, for which, in our judgment, it has never yet had sufficient credit: its tendency to give suppleness and elasticity of mind; to produce the readiest and surest learners of the various occupations of life in all their shapes. In the case of Bishop Patteson, the difficulty really is to point out not all the things he did, but any things which he was not able and wont to do. An adept in early life at games, exercises, and amusements, he turned his gift of corporal versatility thus acquired to handicraft and labour of all kinds. Saint Paul, the tent-maker, lived in a civilized age and in civilized countries, and never could have been put under the straining tests of this class which were constantly applied to Bishop Patteson. Almost amphibious as between land and water, he became, while disliking the physical conditions of sea-life, a hardy seaman and an accomplished navigator. When ashore he was farmer, gardener, woodman, porter, carpenter, tailor, cook, or anything else that necessity demanded and his large experience taught. In higher regions of exertion he was, amidst the severest trials of epidemic dysentery or typhus, or in the crisis of some dangerous visit to an untried island, physician, surgeon, and the tenderest of nurses, all in one; without ever intermitting his sleepless activity in the most personal duties of a pastor, or the regular maintenance of the more public offices of religion, or abating his readiness to turn to that which was evidently the most laborious and exacting of all his duties, the duty of the schoolmaster, engaged upon the double work of opening the understanding of his pupils and of applying the mental instrument thus improved to the perception, and reception, of Christian truth.

Of his purely intellectual gifts, there can be little doubt that one was pre-eminent. He possessed, in a degree that must have placed at his command the highest distinction had he remained in Europe, the gift of languages, both in its practical and in its scientific sense. In the first eighteen months, or thereabouts (ii. 581), as he reports to his friend Professor Max Müller, he had become acquainted in various degrees with five of the Oceanic languages; but in his closing years, we are assured on the high authority of Sir W. Martin, himself no mean philologist, he spoke no less a number of them than twenty-three (ii. 590). He had prepared and printed, it appears (ii. 529), elementary grammars of thirteen, and general vocabularies of three; had executed considerable translations from portions of the Scripture, and had rendered hymns in the tongue of Mota, which, remarks Sir W. Martin, 'are described to me by competent judges as of singular

singular excellence' (ii. 590). Also Psalms; of which Mr. Codrington observes that they are 'as lofty in their diction, and as harmonious in their rhythm, in my judgment, as anything, almost, I read in any language' (ii. 416). And he had comprehensively considered, as appears from many passages in his letters, the principles, on which the numerous tongues of that region might be placed in mutual relation. Mr. Max Müller has himself borne warm testimony to the great attainments and capacities of his friend. It is, we fear, too true, that much knowledge not to be reclaimed, and much hope for the progress of the important science of comparative philology, lie buried with him in the silent depths of the Pacific.

But 'onward' and 'upward' were the inseparable laws of his life; and through his great gift of tongues his mind passed on to consider the general relations of thought and language, the law of growth in power of expression to which language itself is subject, and its necessary imperfection as the medium through which truth is commonly presented to the human understanding. This tendency of his mind gives an additional interest to the views which he took of current ecclesiastical affairs, and of the controversies of the day beyond his own immediate sphere. In approaching this part of our subject, it may be right to begin with an endeavour to apprehend his own standing-point.

Bishop Patteson was eminently, and entirely, an English Churchman. He believed in the historical Church of Christ, in the foundation by the Redeemer of a society of men, which was to endure throughout all time, and was to be, and to be known as, the grand depositary of religious truth and grace, and the main instrument for their communication to mankind. The Church is 'a Divine institution, the mystical Body of the Lord, on which all graces are bestowed, and through whose ministrations men are trained in holiness and truth' (ii. 387). Not less firmly did he believe that the English Reformation was a reform and not a revolution, lying within the proper competency of the local Church, and aiming, in the matters wherein it departed from current usage and opinion, at an honest recurrence to the principles and practice of the primitive and not yet disunited Christian Church. In this important respect Bishop Patteson precisely corresponded with another great Bishop of the English Church, Bishop Wilberforce, whose character and services we recently endeavoured to portray, and whose name never can grow pale upon the page of our Church History.

But while he was thus, in the best and truest sense of the word, an Anglican, like his distinguished father the Judge, and while he must rank among the prime honours of the name, the
ductile

ductile and thoughtful character of his mind preserved him from all rigidity and narrowness. His indulgence in judgment of men would, we have no doubt, have overleapt all boundaries of opinion. With books and thoughts his sympathies, as was right, had their limits: but in his appreciation of our living writers on Scripture, we find him combining the names of Pusey, Ellicott, Lightfoot, Vaughan, Trench, Wordsworth, Alford, and others, as men from whom he drew copious and varied instruction in the main subject of his theological studies, the text of Holy Scripture. But further, on the performances of what is called modern thought in religion he looked with a wise circumspection and jealousy, yet also with a considerate sympathy, and while he deplored the precipitancy and levity of the age, he recognised, and even could enjoy and commend, its earnestness. The following passage is extracted from a letter to his brother:—

‘I read very little indeed, except books on theology, and critical books on the Bible and on languages. Of course I am following with more and more interest the theological questions of the day. I quite see that much good may (D.V.) result from the spirit of enquiry. It is recklessly and irreverently conducted by many. But no one can deny that great misconceptions prevail as to the Bible—the object, I mean, with which it was given, the true use of much of it, the necessity of considering the circumstances (political, social, &c.) of the people to whom at different periods of their national life portions of it were given.

‘The proportion and analogy of the Divine revelation are often overlooked. A passage applicable to the old state of rude Jewish society is transferred *totidem verbis*, and in the same application, to the needs of Christian men; whereas the principle is, indeed, the same, because God is ever the same, and the spiritual needs of man, and the constitution of man's nature the same, but the application of the principle must needs vary.

‘It requires constant prayer and guidance from above to bring out of one's treasure things new and old. And it is most difficult, because men rashly solve the difficulty by introducing the notion of a “verifying faculty” in each man, by which he is supposed to be competent to discriminate between what is of universal and what is of partial value in the Bible.

‘All these questions have, naturally, an exceeding interest for me, and I read with eagerness all such books as I can get hold of which bear on such matters.

‘The movement is not one which ought to be, if it could be, suppressed. There is an element of good in it; and on this the true Churchman ought to fasten, thankfully recognising and welcoming it, and drawing the true inference. We can't suppose that men in the nineteenth century will view the questions as they did in the sixteenth or seventeenth. No one century exactly resembles another. We must

not seek simply to reproduce what to any of us may appear to be a golden age of theological literature and thought. Men must be dealt with as they are.'—Vol. ii. pp. 147–8.

As the Colonial Church, since the movement commenced by Archbishop Howley in 1840, has on one side done so much to exhibit true vitality in the English Church, so it has on the other given occasion to perhaps its greatest pain and scandal in the publications and proceedings of Bishop Colenso; whose case stands in such a startling contrast with that of his neighbour, Bishop Mackenzie, a too early victim of fondly devoted zeal. We do not presume to weigh each of Bishop Colenso's particular opinions; but it is difficult to doubt from his writings that he has unconsciously passed under the dominion of what may be termed the destructive spirit. Most unhappily, he only discovered in conference with a Zulu what he ought, as a Christian teacher and a Bishop, to have known long before; and, fluttered and surprised, he thought it his duty to deliver to the world in all their crudity those notions of a neophyte in criticism which a trained and instructed theologian would have been able to purge, limit, and reduce, and then to find their proper place for. With himself it is probable that the unseemly schism he has created will pass away. But to Bishop Patteson his works, and the notoriety they had attained through his Episcopal title and office, were a sore and standing affliction. 'Sadder, far sadder than aught else, is the case of Bishop Colenso' (ii. 22). This was in 1862. He frequently recurs to the subject: * and he forms a very mean estimate of Bishop Colenso's critical acumen and fidelity. But even here he derives thoughts of solace from the reason of the case:—

'Of course it will do great harm. At the same time the Church of the last century, in a state of lethargy, could not have produced the men of active thought, energy, and boldness, which must sometimes, alas! develop themselves in a wrong direction.'—Vol. ii. p. 32.

Nor can there be a better example of considerate handling in these delicate matters than the following passage, drawn from him by the unfortunate volume known as '*Essays and Reviews*':—

'I hope that men, especially Bishops, who don't know and can't understand Jowett, won't attempt to write against him. A man must know Jowett, be behind the curtain, know what he means by the phraseology he uses. He is answerable, perhaps, for not being intelligible to the world at large; but I am sure that not above one out of fifty readers will have much notion of what he really means to say.

* Vol. ii. pp. 31, 69, 78, 117, 171, 192–3.

and only that one can do any good by entering into a discussion. I confess it strikes me that grievous as are many opinions that I fear he undoubtedly holds, his essays are eminently suggestive—the essays appended to and intermixed with his Commentaries, and that it needs delicate handling to eliminate what is true and useful from the error with which it is associated. Anyhow he deals with questions openly and boldly, which men wiser or less honest have ignored, consciously ignored before. And I pray God some one may be found to show wisely and temperately to the intellectual portion of the community the true way to solve these difficulties and answer these questions. Simple denunciation, or the reassertion of our own side of the question, or the assigning our meaning and ideas to his words, will not do it.—Vol. i. p. 542.*

But he was as fearless as he was considerate: and that he was no slave to merely popular modes of statement, may be shown by a very interesting passage on the Atonement; one written, too, within that last period of his life, during which he seems to have attained to a yet clearer insight into the world he was so soon to enter. It is dated July 31, 1871:—

‘There is no doubt that Matthew Arnold says much that is true of the narrowness, bigotry, and jealous unchristian temper of Puritanism; and I suppose no one doubts that they do misrepresent the true doctrine of Christianity, both by their exclusive devotion to one side only of the teaching of the Bible, and by their misconception of their own favourite portions of Scripture. The doctrine of the Atonement was never in ancient times, I believe, drawn out in the form in which Luther, Calvin, Wesley, and others have lately stated it.

‘The fact of the Atonement through the Death of Christ was always clearly stated; the manner, the “*why*,” the “*how*” man’s Redemption and Reconciliation to God is thus brought about, was not taught, if at all, after the Protestant fashion.

‘Oxenham’s “History of the Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement” is a fairly-written statement of what was formerly held and taught. Such words as “substitution,” “satisfaction,” with all the ideas introduced into the subject from the use of illustrations, *e.g.*, of criminals acquitted, debts discharged, have perplexed, perhaps, rather than explained, what must be beyond explanation.

‘The ultra-Calvinistic view becomes in the mind and language of the hot-headed ignorant fanatic a denial of God’s Unity. “The merciful Son appeasing the wrath of the angry Father,” is language which implies two Wills, two Counsels in the Divine Mind (compare with this John iii. 16).’—Vol. ii. pp. 535-6.

The opinions and feelings of such a man with reference to the particular contentions at home, of which the din is ever in our ears, cannot but be full of interest. His gentle voice, which

* Compare vol. ii. p. 297

never sounded in the tones of wrath or bitterness, cannot but soothe and soften us when whispering from his grave. Unfortunately, with the methods of partial investigation and extravagant interpretation, which are in vogue, it would not be impossible to convict Bishop Patteson, from isolated passages, either of Ritualism or its direct reverse. One of the commonest of all vulgar errors is to mistake warmth of heart and feeling, and that directness of impression which is allied with sincerity of character, for violence of opinion. All that Bishop Patteson loved, he loved fervently. And he loved the old Cathedral service (ii. 200). He loved Church-ornamentation, such as he could practise it.

‘Our chapel is beautifully decorated. A star at the east end, over the word Emmanuel, all in golden everlasting flame, with lilies and oleanders; in front, of young Norfolk Island pines and evergreens.’—Vol. ii. p. 436 (*compare pp. 200, 291, 345*).

It is to be borne in mind that the structural baldness of the rude edifices, in which he had to officiate, rather urgently demanded the use of embellishment to establish that severance of character which most would admit to be requisite in a religious edifice. His aspirations, however, went farther than his practice.

‘Sometimes I have a vision—but I must live twenty years to see more than a vision—of a small but exceedingly beautiful Gothic chapel, rich inside with marbles and stained glass and carved stalls and encaustic tiles and brass screen work. I have a feeling that a certain use of really good ornaments may be desirable, and being on a very small scale, it might be possible to make a very perfect thing some day. There is no notion of my indulging such a thought. It may come some day, and most probably long after I am dead and gone. It would be very foolish to spend money upon more necessary things than a beautiful chapel at present, when in fact I barely pay my way at all. And yet a really noble church is a wonderful instrument of education, if we think only of the lower way of regarding it.’—Vol. ii. p. 79.

But besides his having, as is plain, a very true and strong æsthetic faculty, Bishop Patteson was a man whose intensely devotional spirit entitled him, so to speak, to desire beauties both of edifice and ritual, which to common men might be dead forms, but which for him would only be well-proportioned appendages and real aids. ‘I see and love the beauty of the outward form, when it is known and felt to be no more than the shrine of the inward spiritual power’ (ii. 373). At the same time it is undeniable, that of what is known in England by the name of Ritualism he distinctly disapproved. In 1866, he writes to a sister as follows:—

‘It

'It is all wrong, Fan. Functions don't promote the Catholic spirit of the Church, nor aid the Eastern and Western Churches to regard us as Catholic. Oh! how we need to pray for the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, and counsel, and knowledge! And even if these things are right, why must men be so impatient? Fifty years hence it may be that to resist some such movement might be evidently "to fight against God." But that a vestment, or incense, or genuflections, albeit once in use, are of the essence of Christianity, no one ventures to say. . . .

'There is a symbolism about the vestments, I admit, possibly of some value to about one in every thousand of our Church people, but not in such vestments as men now are using, which, to 999 in every 1000, symbolise only Rome. The next is Mediævalism: and if the Church of England accepts Mediæval rather than Primitive usage, I, for one, don't know how she is to answer the Romanists.'—Vol. ii. p. 214.*

Neither indeed, in the high matter of Eucharistic doctrine, did he completely accompany the man for whom, of all living men, he seems to have had the deepest and most affectionate reverence. We do not wish to enter into the theological details of this lofty subject. As far as we are able to understand and harmonise the numerous references to it, he appears to have detected a decided tendency to materialism in the idea of a localised presence (ii. 409), and thinks he finds in Mr. Keble's 'Eucharistical Adoration,' a foreign rather than an English tone (ii. 472). He hesitates, even at the idea and phrase of the 'continuation' of the sacrifice of the Cross: while, on the other hand, he regrets that the 'sacrificial aspect of the rite has for a length of time been almost wholly lost sight of' (ii. 430). He speaks favourably of the teaching of Dr. Waterland. But what is most touching to observe is the strife in his mind between the desire, on the one hand, to walk in the tradition of his fathers, and maintain a healthy tone together with the balanced order of the truth; and, on the other hand, his constantly recurring reluctance to believe that such a man as John Keble could be wrong (ii. 265, 299), and the strong action of his habitual self-mistrust.

To the position of the Colonial Church in its independence of the State, and its dependence on voluntary alms, he had thoroughly wedded and fitted himself, and this not as matter of necessity, but apparently with full contentment of heart and understanding. He saw in its actual play the machinery of Church government, such as it had been organised by Bishop Selwyn: he nowhere charges it with insufficiency or inconvenience. Indeed he looks with what may be described as a

* Compare pp. 234, 244, 298.

generous compassion upon the difficulties of the Church in England. 'I can well see how we in New Zealand should deal with such difficulties, as are presented by Ritualism, *e.g.*; but in England the Church seems powerless' (ii. 233). He speaks with as much severity as his kindly nature would allow of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council under the guidance of Lord Westbury. 'We have no desire to send appeals to Lord Westbury and Co.' 'We accept the Supremacy, as Wesleyans, Baptists, &c., accept it. I don't see in what other sense we can accept it' (ii. 235). Excesses in the Church at home he thinks are due to the want of a government, which in the Colonies they have. The Privy Council, in his opinion, exercises no moral influence. But with Diocesan Synods, including lay and clerical representatives in equal numbers, he thinks a mere fraction would be found to vote in the sense of Ritualism (ii. 245), so that free self-government would heal the sore.* The experience of the Colonial Churches may, he thinks, be supplying precedents for the authorities at home in the great change that must come (ii. 236).

Thus strong in faith and love, happy in a balanced mind, and armed at all points against evil, did this manly and truly English Bishop exercise his mind continually on the problems of the day during those hours which were not appropriated to some of the multifarious duties of his own sphere; and prove himself to be 'the man of God, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.'

Even on common affairs he would appear to have been a shrewd and gifted observer. In January, 1867, when nothing had occurred to give token of any great coming change, he boldly prophesies 'Ireland,' *i.e.* the Irish Church, 'will soon be disestablished' (*ibid.*). So, speaking of France. 'The Empire seems almost systematically to have completed the demoralisation of the people' (ii. 498). And of all important events reported to him from home, however morally remote from his own sphere of action, he never fails to take a truly human and sympathetic notice.

Again, but shortly after the agonising distress of the Santa-Cruz massacre, he learns from a sister that she is going to Ger-

* It is certainly remarkable, and is very little to our credit, that while Parliament and the country have been so much excited during the present year on the subject of clergy discipline, and we are told that this excitement has been but a sample and foretaste of what is to follow in future years, the Anglican Church in New Brunswick, under the excellent Bishop Medley, has been able quietly and with general satisfaction to adjust a method for trying all complaints and causes against clergymen; and has even added provisions for repelling from the Holy Communion lay-people of notoriously evil life. See the very interesting 'Journal of the Third Session of the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton.' Fredericton, New Brunswick, 1873.

many, and is at once touched in his domestic sympathies. 'So, old Fan, you are again in Germany, at Aix, at Dresden. Oh, how I should like to be with you there' (ii. 113).

We shall now pass to the last division of the work, and the last period of the Bishop's life. It is marked, as regards himself, by severe pain and protracted uneasiness, with depression of vital force; and it is lightened up by previsions of some coming crisis, and by glimpses into the future that awaited him beyond the grave. It also presents to us in a marked manner the real growth of his missionary work, the increasing ripeness of his coadjutors, the larger numbers and greater vitality of scholars and of converts. But along with this is now opened to us more fully another and a hideous picture, on the features of which it is no less necessary than it is painful for us to dwell.

Scarcely had the West African slave-trade been suppressed, and the death-knell of slavery itself sounded in America and the West Indies (it having there now no legal existence except in Cuba), when a fresh call was made upon the philanthropic energies of Great Britain, in order to deal with a like evil on the coast of Eastern Africa. That call has not been unheeded; and both diplomacy and force have been employed with some success in the prosecution of the work of repression. In this instance, the Empire of the Queen has provided many or most of the guilty carriers; but the demand at least, which has called forth the supply, has not been British.

The last few years have developed a new mischief, to which we are more nearly related. The climate of the young colony of Queensland has created a demand for coloured labour in order to develop the great capacities of that region for raising tropical or semi-tropical productions. And the reckless cupidity, or dashing enterprise, or both, of our countrymen, has poured British settlers, now some thousands in number, into the Fiji Islands; not less than seventy of which (out of a total number which has been stated at 200), are inhabited by a race who were, until a few years ago, reputed to be fiercely cannibal, but of whom a very large number have been brought within the pale of a Christian profession by the efforts of Wesleyan missionaries. But here also, with a view to the production of sugar and coffee, a desire for coloured labour has arisen far beyond what the islands can supply. And this circumstance opens to us the darkest part of the whole prospect. In Queensland, the Colonial Government (ii. 425) has made local laws for the purpose of checking that portion of the grievous evils engendered by the labour traffic, which have their seat within the colony. In Fiji

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we much fear the prevailing tone is lower, the settlers of an inferior stamp: there is no Government which can be held really responsible; and what is worst perhaps of all, the immensity of the territory, the abundance of secluded sites (ii. 445), and of waters difficult or impossible of access to Queen's ships, will probably offer insurmountable obstacles to the enforcement of stringent regulations with respect to the admission of imported labour. It may be recollected, that in the single island of Mauritius, the introduction of slaves was practised for years and years after the legal abolition of the slave-trade; as was virtually admitted by Mr. Irvine, the representative of the Mauritian planters at a later date, in his place in Parliament.

To make provision for good government, and for the purposes of philanthropy, in the Fiji Islands, it has been seriously proposed by Mr. Macarthur, M.P., a fervid Wesleyan, that the British people shall, from the other extremity of the globe, undertake their government and police; and the Administration are engaged, with no light responsibility, in considering whether there are conditions on which this can be done. In the time of the late Ministry, the Australian Colonies recommended the measure, but when it was pointed out that this was rather a duty for them, under the circumstances, to undertake, that they had greatly superior facilities for its performance, and that the full countenance and moral support of the Home Government would be afforded them, the suggestion was rather warmly repudiated: so the political problem remains, awaiting its solution.

And a very arduous problem it is. But its difficulties are light as air, compared with those which this mischievous traffic is, we fear, certain to create beyond the borders both of Queensland and of the Fiji Islands. From this point of view, indeed, the case is not merely serious but, possibly or even probably, hopeless. And its constantly disturbing features clouded the last years of Bishop Patteson, and extinguished the bright light of his presence among the Melanesian Islands.

Should the islands become part of the British Empire, settlers will multiply, new capital will be invested, and more labourers will be required. The labour traffic will be extended; the police of those seas will also be enlarged, at great cost to the people of this country; but it will be for the regulation, not the extinction, of the enlarged traffic, and of that enlargement no improved police can possibly neutralise the mischief.

From the tragical connection of this subject with Bishop Patteson, it comes about that the concluding portion of Miss Yonge's work is largely occupied with the painful topic, and it is also the subject of two able papers in the Appendix by the
Bishop's

Bishop's valued friend and able coadjutor, Mr. Codrington. We proceed to collect from the work before us a general statement of the case.

A traffic of this kind does not begin in an abstract love of violence and cruelty, but in designs of gain, prosecuted under circumstances which present incessant and strong temptation, with feeble and rare restraint. Thus, full of lubricity at the best, it is certain to deviate and degenerate into the most fearful mischiefs; and the very efforts of police made for its regulation, and requiring rough and summary methods, often tend at once to drive the trade into the worst and most reckless hands. The Bishop, whose practical turn is as remarkable as the elevation of his ideas on every subject, proposed that only licensed vessels, with proper agents on board, should be allowed to convey labourers at all, and that every vessel not so licensed and provided should at once be confiscated (ii. 439, *et alibi*). Why no such measure has been adopted we are unable to say.

As the matter stands, we are first encountered by the fact that the Melanesian Islander does not live in an organised political society, but in what is termed the savage life. He is thus deprived of the natural protection which anything like a government would afford him in making an agreement which is to narrow his liberty, and pledge his labour. Then it is admitted that no labourer should go except under contract; but can the term contract be other than an impenetrable mystery to such a man, invited to leave his country and enter into what is for him an unknown existence in an unknown land, and to bind himself during a term of years, when his thoughts have scarcely gone beyond the passing day? There are no interpreters, that is, no persons comprehending the two languages, from which and into which they interpret. No European who has studied the languages of the islands is ever employed in the trade (ii. 443). The native interpreters are 'invariably untrustworthy,' 'ready with any lying story to induce natives to leave their homes.' The vast majority know neither where they are going, nor among whom, nor for what (ii. 438). The very best that can happen is that they should go willingly, and return at the end of their term. But what then? What experience have they had in the interval? Hear Mr. Codrington (ii. 596):—

'These Melanesian labourers have in very many cases been taken away from direct missionary teaching; are still heathen, because carried into a Christian land! Very many others would now be approached by the Gospel, which is ready to spread among their former homes, but does not reach them, because they are living among a Christian people.'

And

And we see the consequences, described by the Bishop :—

‘ Any of these natives that may be taken back to his island will be sure to do harm. Under such circumstances, the South Sea Islander acquires all the low vulgar vices of the worst class of white men, and becomes of course demoralised, and the source of demoralisation to his people. Any respectable traveller among ignorant or wild races will tell you the same thing.’—Vol. ii. p. 501.

Probably no great number will thus return; even a few, however, will be so many centres of mischief. What, then, is the other alternative? The depopulation of the islands. In this instance, very large drafts are made, from a very large field of demand, upon an extremely narrow field of supply. Mr. Codrington points out (ii. 600) that the population is (there appear to be some rare exceptions) already insufficient to keep up the cultivation; that from the withdrawal of the able-bodied, follows the contraction of the area, and then, through an insufficient supply of food, the death of the aged, the weak, and the children. ‘ From this cause, as your Excellency has been informed, large tracts in Melanesia have already returned to the primitive wilderness.’

All this is apart from the outrages and abuses by which this traffic and the names of England and of Christendom have been and are disgraced. Where the limited number of those really willing to go is exhausted, others must be had. When, in some of the islands, the people gradually come to an inkling of what they are about, and begin to raise their terms, the ship-masters go ‘ further north ’ (ii. 599). Now comes the turn of fraud and force. The natives are inveigled on board to look at axes or tobacco; the hatches are then fastened down upon them: or they are told, with an incredible baseness, by these wretches and pests of their kind, in quest of their loathsome gains, that the Bishop, unable to come himself, has sent them to bring natives to him.

‘ His ship had been wrecked, he had broken his leg, he had gone to England, and sent them to fetch natives to him.’—Vol. ii. p. 368.

‘ In the Banks Islands, in every case, they took people away under false pretences, asserting that the Bishop is ill and can’t come, he has sent us to bring you to him.’—Vol. ii. p. 380.

‘ Sometimes even a figure was placed on deck, dressed in a black coat, with a book in his hand, according to the sailor’s notion of a missionary, to induce the natives to come on deck; and then they were clapped under hatches and carried off.’—Vol. ii. p. 426.

The next step to this base decoying was violence outright and *ab initio* :—

‘ But decoying without violence began to fail; the natives were becoming too cautious, so the canoes were upset, and the men picked up
while

while struggling in the water. If they tried to resist, they were shot at, and all endeavours at a rescue were met with the use of firearms.

'They were thus swept off in such numbers, that small islands lost almost all their able-bodied inhabitants, and were in danger of famine for want of their workers. Also, the Fiji planters, thinking to make the men happier by bringing their wives, desired that this might be done, but it was not easy to make out the married couples, nor did the crews trouble themselves to do so, but took any woman they could lay hands on. Husbands pursued to save the wives, and were shot down, and a deadly spirit of hatred and terror against all that was white was aroused.'—Vol. ii. p. 427.

A ship of this description is known among the islanders as a 'snatch-snatch,' or 'thief-ship' (ii. 517). But, strange to say, the tortoise-shell trade appears to be blackened with a yet deeper guilt, as it is believed (ii. 427) that some of the traders carry their customers in pursuit of enemies, whose skulls are a common trophy in the more savage islands.

We cannot wonder that in such a state of things the service of the Missionary Bishop should be a service of danger; but what we much fear is that, in the final issue, gain will be too much both for humanity and for the British Navy, and that, under its fearful power to depopulate and demoralise, the race itself will pass away, and the tradition of Bishop Patteson will soon belong to a past having no link with the present. Apart, however, from this mournful speculation, let us trace the actual effects as they appear in the volumes before us.

The death of Mr. Williams at Erromango was, according to the account in this work (i. 328), due to his having unawares interfered with a solemnity which the natives were celebrating upon the beach. But it appears that, from the first, Bishop Selwyn, a spirit no less heroic than his successor whom he chose and trained, found it necessary, in and before going ashore, to watch the signs of the prevailing temper of the natives as he passed in circuit from island to island. The regular practice of both seems to have been, in all doubtful cases, to land, or rather, in most cases, to take the water for the shore alone. As early as in 1861, we have this record:—

'As we left the little pool where I had jumped ashore, leaving, for prudence sake, the rest behind me in the boat, one man raised his bow and drew it, then unbent it, then bent it again; but apparently others were dissuading him from letting fly the arrow. The boat was not ten yards off; I don't know why he did so.'

And the conclusion drawn is:

'But we must try to effect more frequent landings.'—Vol. i. p. 524.

Again,

Again, about the same time:—

‘Humanly speaking, there are not many places that as yet I am able to visit, where I realise the fact of any danger being run.

‘Yet it may happen that some poor fellow, who has a good cause to think ill of white men, or some mischievous badly disposed man, may let fly a random arrow or spear some day.

‘If so, you will not so very much wonder, nor be so very greatly grieved. Every clergyman runs at least as great a risk among the small-pox and fevers of town parishes. Think of Uncle James in the cholera at Thorverton.’—Vol. i. p. 526.

It was thoroughly characteristic of his chivalrous and unselfish character thus to minimise the perils of his own sphere, to put in the foreground the palliation of any act of violence, and to magnify, for the sake of self-depreciation, the risks which the faithful pastor sometimes encounters at home. Nothing else could account for a comparison so ill fitted to the facts. Out of the eight or nine men other than Melanesians, who appear to have been engaged in the work of his itinerant apostolate, two, Young and Nobbs, fell victims (and the Bishop had the narrowest possible escape) in 1864 on the fatal island of Santa Cruz; and the Bishop himself, with Joseph Atkin, in 1871, raised the number to four. But in truth, excellent as he seems to have been in his powers of business and organisation for any ordinary purpose, he was in his island work driven on by an intensity of love to his Saviour, and to those for whom his Saviour died, such as left him little power to take into his reckoning anything that stood outside the one absorbing issue. On one occasion, when a large number of natives were assembled, and the Bishop, as usual, went ashore alone and conversed with them, Mr. Tilly, R.N., who had charge of the vessel (and who has given us an account of the Bishop, which will be read with deep interest), watched his countenance carefully in the boat, and saw it charged only with an intense expression of yearning love.

‘After a while we took him into the boat again, and lay off the beach a few yards to be clear of the throng, and be able to get at the things he wanted to give them, they coming about the boat in canoes; and this is the fact I wished to notice, viz., *the look on his face while the intercourse with them lasted*. I was so struck with it, quite involuntarily, for I had no idea of watching for anything of the sort; but it was one of such extreme gentleness, and of yearning towards them.’—Vol. ii. p. 65.

But it is time for us to accompany this devoted man through the stages of the closing period.

While he had been ever trying to make little of his labours, and much of his scanty comforts, it is evident that unremitting exertion

exertion was carrying him through all the best years of his prime with great rapidity into an early old age. The incipient signs are found in playful allusions to the first grey hairs. But early in 1870 he was struck down by a severe and dangerous attack of internal inflammation. 'There was a time when I felt drawing near the dark valley' (ii. 430); and his thoughts ran upon the dearest of those who had already passed it. With darkened countenance, and frame prematurely bowed, he went to Auckland for advice; and seemed, says Lady Martin, quite a wreck, while he was striving cheerfully to describe his improvement on the voyage. The personal record of his thoughts during his illness (ii. 432) becomes even too solemn for quotation here. His ailment was declared to be chronic, not necessarily fatal, but one that, without careful treatment, might at any moment bring on a crisis. He began to be aware that there must be a change in the amount and character of his work:—

'I think I shall have to forego some of the more risky and adventurous part of the work in the islands. This is all right. It is a sign that the time is come for me to delegate it to others. I don't mean that I shall not take the voyages and stop about on the islands (D.V.) as before. But I must do it all more carefully, and avoid much that of old I never thought about.' (May 9, 1870.)—Vol. ii. p. 433.

At this period Lady Martin describes him—

'His face, always beautiful from the unworldly purity of its expression, was really as the face of an angel while he spoke of these things, and of the love and kindness he had received. He seemed to have been standing on the very brink of the river, and it was yet doubtful whether he was to abide with us. Now, looking back, we can see how mercifully God was dealing with His servant. A time of quiet and of preparation for death given to him apart from the hurry of his daily life, then a few months of active service, and then the crown.'—Vol. ii. p. 434.

He mended very slowly; but he determined to sail. The anxieties of the wretched labour-traffic weighed heavily upon him at this time. He went to Norfolk Island, and from thence to Melanesia. In September he approaches Santa Cruz, where the horizon still was charged with doom. No door had yet been opened there; but he hopes the time will come. He completed his circuit in October, and, arriving at Norfolk Island, resumed the old mapping of his day for teaching, study, and devotion, never forgetting correspondence in its turn; but with a lower level of spirits and of energy, and in the language of his loved and loving biographer, with 'already the shadow, as it were, of death upon him.' But

'From

‘From before 5 A.M. till soon after 9 P.M., when I go off to bed quite tired, I am very seldom alone.

‘I may do a good deal of work yet, rather in a quieter way than of old; but then I need not have any more adventures, except at one or two places perhaps, like Santa Cruz.’—Vol. ii. p. 468.

His mind continues, however, to act with unabated interest upon all the portions of his work; and also upon Hebrew philologically viewed, upon the events of the year at Rome and on the French frontier, upon theology. But he confesses, as usual, his faults.

‘I think that I read too exclusively one class of books. I am not drawn out of this particular kind of reading, which is alone really pleasant and delightful to me, by meeting with persons who discuss other matters. I make dutiful efforts to read a bit of history or poetry, but it won’t do. My relaxation is in reading some old favourite—Jackson, Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, &c.’—Vol. ii. p. 475.

An ordination approaches. That the whole Melanesian party may be present, the enfeebled man walks three miles up to the larger chapel at the so-called town, for a three hours’ service. As he writes to his sister before setting out, he describes the heart-searching which such an occasion brings, and deploras the selfishness! ‘of many long years.’

On April 27, 1871, he set out for the closing voyage. At Mota, the missionary headquarters, he recognised a great progress. Christianity had so far become a power and habit of life, that he felt warranted, notwithstanding all his strictness about the administration of baptism, in giving that sacrament to the young children. He contemplates a visit, or more than a visit, to Fiji. On a Sunday evening, a former scholar, who seemed in the interval to have forgotten all, comes to him in the dark like Nicodemus, and says:

‘“I have for days been watching for a chance of speaking to you alone! Always so many people about you. My heart is so full, so hot every word goes into it, deep, deep. The old life seems a dream. Everything seems to be new. When a month ago I followed you out of the *Sala Goro*, you said that if I wanted to know the meaning and power of this teaching, I must pray! And I tried to pray, and it becomes easier as every day I pray as I go about, and in the morning and evening; and I don’t know how to pray as I ought, but my heart is light, and I know it’s all true, and my mind is made up, and I have been wanting to tell you, and so is Sogoivnowut, and we four talk together, and all want to be baptised.”’—Vol. ii. pp. 523-4.

In July he leaves this island, where so deep a root had been struck, after baptizing 289 persons, and goes among the islands. His experience is generally pleasant; but it is chequered by
rumours

rumours of crime, and of retaliation for crime, in connection with the labour traffic. Returning to Mota, he records a concourse of people flocking to be taught. 'I sleep on a table: people under and around it' (ii. 533, 541). Such was the nightly preparation of the invalid for his long, laborious, uncomplaining days. Here, on the 6th of August, we have several most thoughtful pages on difficulties of theology. 'How thankful I am that I am far away from the noise and worry of this sceptical yet earnest age' (ii. 542). Sailing on the 20th, he sends to Bishop Abraham (ii. 546) a most interesting summary of the state of things at Mota. The Bishops, his brethren in New Zealand, jointly urged him to go to England, but he declined. The labour traffic still casts a dark shadow across his path. 'I hear that a vessel has gone to Santa Cruz, and I must be very cautious there, for there has been some disturbance almost to a certainty' (ii. 557).

And now, on September 16th, he finds himself off the Santa-Cruz group.

'I pray God that if it be *His will*, and if it be the appointed time, He may enable us in His own way to begin some little work among these very wild but vigorous energetic islanders. I am fully alive to the probability that some outrage has been committed here by one or more vessels. The master of the vessel that Atkin saw did not deny his intention of taking away from these, or from any other island, any men or boys he could induce to come on board. I am quite aware that we *may* be exposed to considerable risk on this account. I trust that all may be well; that if it be His will that any trouble should come upon us, dear Joseph Atkin, his father and mother's only son, may be spared. But I don't think there is very much cause for fear; first, because at these small reef islands they know me pretty well, though they don't understand as yet our object in coming to them, and they may very easily connect us white people with the other white people who have been ill-using them; second, last year I was on shore at Nukapu and Pitoni for some time, and I can talk somewhat with the people; third, I think that if any violence has been used to the natives of the north face of the large island, Santa-Cruz, I shall hear of it from these inhabitants of the small islets to the north, Nukapu and Pitoni, and so be forewarned.'—Vol. ii. p. 560.

Accordingly, to Nukapu he went. Four canoes were seen, hovering about the coral reef which surrounded the island. The vessel had to feel her way; so, lest the men in the canoes should be perplexed, he ordered the boat to be lowered, and when asked to go into one of the native boats, as this was always found a good mode of disarming suspicion,* he did it, and was carried off towards the shore. The boat from the schooner could

* See vol. ii. p. 73.

not get over the reef. The Bishop was seen to land on the beach, and was seen no more alive. But after a while, the islanders in the canoes began to discharge arrows at the crew of the boat, and Mr. Atkin was struck, with two others. The arrow-head of human bone was extracted from him, and, the tide now rising, in spite of suffering and weakness, he crossed the reef to seek the Bishop. A canoe drifted towards them: the body of a man was seen as if crouching in it.

‘As they came up with it, and lifted the bundle wrapped in matting into the boat, a shout or yell arose from the shore. Watè says four canoes put off in pursuit; but the others think their only object was to secure the now empty canoe as it drifted away. The boat came alongside, and two words past, “The body!” Then it was lifted up, and laid across the skylight, rolled in the native mat, which was secured at the head and feet. The placid smile was still on the face; there was a palm leaf fastened over the breast, and when the mat was opened there were five wounds, no more.

‘The wounds were, one evidently given with a club, which had shattered the right side of the skull at the back, and probably was the first, and had destroyed life instantly, and almost painlessly; another stroke of some sharp weapon had cloven the top of the head; the body was also pierced in one place; and there were two arrow wounds in the legs, but apparently not shot at the living man, but stuck in after his fall, and after he had been stripped, for the clothing was gone, all but the boots and socks. In the front of the cocoa-nut palm, there were five knots made in the long leaflets. All this is an almost certain indication that his death was the vengeance for five of the natives. “Blood for blood” is a sacred law, almost of nature, wherever Christianity has not prevailed, and a whole tribe is held responsible for the crime of one. Five men in Fiji are known to have been stolen from Nukapu; and probably their families believed them to have been killed, and believed themselves to be performing a sacred duty when they dipped their weapons in the blood of the Bisopè, whom they did not know well enough to understand that he was their protector. Nay, it is likely that there had been some such discussion as had saved him before at Mai from suffering for Peterè’s death; and, indeed, one party seem to have wished to keep him from landing, and to have thus solemnly and reverently treated his body.

‘Even when the tidings came in the brief uncircumstantial telegram, there were none of those who loved and revered him who did not feel that such was the death he always looked for, and that he had willingly given his life. There was peace in the thought, even while hearts trembled with dread of hearing of accompanying horrors; and when the full story arrived, showing how far more painless his death had been than had he lived on to suffer from his broken health, and how wonderfully the unconscious heathen had marked him with emblems so sacred in our eyes, there was thankfulness and joy even to the bereaved at home.

‘The sweet calm smile preached peace to the mourners who had
lost

lost his guiding spirit, but they could not look on it long. The next morning, St. Matthew's Day, the body of John Coleridge Patteson was committed to the waters of the Pacific, his "son after the faith," Joseph Atkin, reading the Burial Service.'—Vol. ii. pp. 569–71.

We have not space to dwell on the slaughter of Stephen Taroaniara, a native companion of the Bishop, faithful like him unto death; but we must devote a few lines to following the fate of Mr. Atkin, his well-beloved son in the ministry, and alas! the only son of his own mourning parents. He read the Funeral Office over the Bishop. On the 24th he celebrated the Holy Communion. During the celebration, his tongue faltered over some of the words. He at once recognised the sign of doom. He met it on the morning of the 29th, with a mind contented in death, as it had been gallant, wise, and good in life, but with a body racked and stiffened by the horrors of tetanus.

The tearful history of so much nobleness now draws to its close; and we have to bid farewell to a life which was one of the few lives, in our time, touching the ideal. We will cite the touching words of a native convert, which the biographer has chosen to mark the conclusion of her work.

'As he taught, he confirmed his word with his good life among us, as we all know; and also that he perfectly well helped anyone who might be unhappy about anything, and spoke comfort to him about it; and about his character and conduct, they are consistent with the law of God. He gave the evidence of it in his practice, for he did nothing carelessly, lest he should make anyone stumble and turn from the good way; and again he did nothing to gain anything for himself alone, but he sought what he might keep others with, and then he worked with it: and the reason was his pitifulness and his love. And again, he did not despise anyone, nor reject anyone with scorn, whether it were a white or a black person he thought them all as one, and he loved them all alike.'—Vol. ii. p. 579.

We are fully conscious that no summary can do justice to the character and career of Bishop Patteson, as they are exhibited in a work like this. But we trust that enough of its contents have been given to set forth an outline of the man, and to prompt our readers to learn for themselves how it was filled in. We shall endeavour to sum up what he was in few words; sensible, nevertheless, that to those who have studied the picture, they will convey no lights unexpected or new, and that, to those who have not, they must savour of exaggeration. In him were singularly combined the spirit of chivalry, the glorious ornament of a bygone time; the spirit of charity, rare in every age; and the spirit of reverence, which the favourite children of this generation appear to have combined to ban. It is

hardly possible to read the significant, but modest, record of his sacrifices, his labours, his perils, and his cares, without being vividly reminded of St. Paul, the prince and model of all missionary labourers; without feeling that the Apostolic pattern is not even now without its imitators, and that the copy in this case well and truly, and not remotely, recalls the original. Miss Yonge in touching words has observed that his wounds, like those of One greater than he, were five, probably in revenge for five murdered natives: and who in the records of the Church has more nobly won his *stigmata*? With a commendable reserve, she refrains from calling his death a martyrdom; yet, though the manslayer may have only been committing an act of revenge open to much palliation, it was in the strictest and most literal sense a death for Christ and for His Gospel; suffered once, courted a hundred times by a man, who for years had borne his life in his hand, as he went upon his errand of true 'sweetness and light,' of mercy and of peace. The three highest titles that can be given to man are those of martyr, hero, saint; and which of the three is there that in substance it would be irrational to attach to the name of John Coleridge Patteson? To the country which owned him he was an honour; for the Church which formed him he was a token of high powers, and a pledge of noble destinies. Thankfully indeed might she commend him to his rest:—

'Vattene in pace, alma beata e bella.'^{*}

* 'Orlando Furioso,' xxix. 27.

A wayside cross has been erected to the memory of the Bishop, near Allington, by Lord Coleridge, as we are informed, with the following beautiful inscription:—

In Memory of

JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON, D.D., MISSIONARY BISHOP,

Born in London, 1 April, 1827,

Killed at Nukapu, near the Island of Santa Cruz,

20 September, 1871,

Together with two fellow-workers for our Lord,

The Reverend JOSEPH ATKIN and STEPHEN TABOANIARA

(In vengeance for wrongs suffered at the hands of Europeans),

By savage men whom he loved,

And for whose sake he gave up,

Home and country,

And friends dearer than his life.

—
Lord Jesus

Grant that we may live to Thee like him,

And stand in our lot with him

Before Thy Throne

At the end of the days.—Amen.

—
A kinsman desires

Thus to keep alive for aftertime

The memory of a wise, a holy,

And a humble man.

ART.

- ART. VII.—1. *The English Peasantry*. By Francis George Heath. London, 1874.
 2. *The Seven Ages of a Village Pauper*. By George C. T. Bartley. London, 1874.
 3. *The Revolt of the Field*. By Arthur Clayden. London, 1874.
 4. *Murray's Handbook of the Eastern Counties*. London, 1870.

THE strikes and lock-outs of the last few months, occurring for the most part in the Eastern Counties, have brought that corner of the Kingdom into somewhat more prominence than it usually assumes.

Norfolk and Suffolk, or East Anglia properly so called, lying as they do in a kind of back-water out of the way of the stream of intercourse which connects London and the South with Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and the manufacturing districts, are comparatively unvisited, and, although containing many objects of interest, are much less known than most other parts of England.

The railways which intersect the Eastern Counties are proverbial for the slowness of their trains, the inconveniences of their principal termini, and their abstinence from the wholesome and not unusual practice of paying dividends.

Owing to the absence of coal and the deficiency of water power, there are hardly any manufactures except that of agricultural implements. A few silk-mills, a decreasing amount of silk-weaving, a few paper-mills, a manufacture of shoes, some local breweries and a tolerably extensive malting trade, make up the sum of such enterprise; and the dulness of even the largest towns, except on market day, appears in curious contrast to the teeming and swarming activity of what are usually called the 'hives of British industry.'

There is plenty of work going on nevertheless. Corn and stock farming are nowhere more successfully practised than in the Eastern Counties. The climate is dry almost to a fault, and the variety of soils enables the farmers of one part to raise wheat which vies with that of the Isle of Thanet, and of another to produce the best quality of barley grown in England; while by help of the mangold of the heavy and the turnips of the lighter and mixed-soil lands, innumerable 'yards' of bullocks are being continually made ready for the London market.*

The isolation, however, of East Anglia existed as much in times when London and the North had comparatively little

* It is not an unusual thing for 10,000*l.* worth of fat bullocks to be sent up in a single cattle-train from Norwich to London.

connexion, as now when three vast lines of communication are transporting goods and passengers day by day and hour by hour to and from the Metropolis. Norfolk and Suffolk practically constituted an island; for the fen district, which cuts them off from the rest of England on the west, was not less an obstacle to intercourse than the Wash to the N.W., or the sea to the N. and E., while to the south the broad estuary of the Stour and the marshy land which runs on each side of that river after it ceases to be tidal, continued the belt of demarcation to a point not more than seven or eight miles from the S.E. corner of the Cambridgeshire fens, while part of this short distance was further blocked by the Devil's Ditch, an embankment which travellers to Newmarket can hardly fail to notice about three miles on the Cambridge side of that town.

Nor was this isolation merely topographical. The earliest accounts we possess tell us that a single British tribe, the Icenii, were the occupiers of the land; and although they were utterly crushed in the battle after which 'the British Warrior Queen' destroyed herself, their name still remains in the Icenild Way, and probably in the word Icklingham, and the names of other villages in Suffolk. Later also, in Saxon times, the colonists as we should now term them, seem to have been more purely Teutonic, or less permanently affected by Danish inroads than those of any other part of England; it is indeed asserted that no local Suffolk name can with any certainty be ascribed to a Danish or Norwegian origin. The speech of the people, in its intonations and its peculiar vowel sounds, differing however in different districts, gives unmistakable proof of common ancestry.*

To this day also, an East Anglian talks, not without a shade of contempt, of an inhabitant of another county as a *sheeres* man; and if a neighbour leaves the village and inquiry is made for him, the answer is very likely to be that it is not known where he is, but very probably he may be gone 'into the sheeres'. And thus the old habit of the Egyptians according to Herodotus and of the Greeks according to Plato,† of calling all men except themselves barbarians, is reproduced in effect, though not in words, by the inhabitants of an outlying district of our own country.

* We may observe that no East Anglian peasant drops an *h*, and that there are consonantal as well as vowel peculiarities; such as the pronunciation of the *t* and *th*—'now and t'en,' Essex—and of the *u*, as something between a *u* and *e*, Norfolk.

† Βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφισὶ ὁμογλώσσους.—Herodotus, ii. 158.

Τὸ μὲν Ἑλληνικὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπὸ πάντων ἀφαιρούντες χωρὶς, σύμπασι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις γίνεσιν Βάρβαρον μὲν κληθεὶς προσεπώνυτον αὐτὸν.—Plato, *Politicus*, 262. D.

There

There are perhaps few things more interesting than local peculiarities of speech. Why should the inhabitants of one district habitually and instinctively use the muscles of the mouth and tongue in such a way as to give the peculiar effect of local pronunciation to a certain set of vowels or consonants? Why, for example, should the *s* in Somersetshire be a *z*, and the double *o* of Norfolk approach to, but be not entirely identical with, the German *ö*? What, too, is that instinctive process by which words, learnt not orally but by reading, are pronounced, not as the schoolmaster or the dictionary commands, but according to the 'law' which particularises the pronunciation of similar words in habitual use in the district?

These are interesting questions, but we have neither time nor inclination to pursue them. This, however, is certain, that, as local fashions of dress are all but extinct, so local habits of language will soon follow. Manchester prints have destroyed the one, and Birmingham school-boards will abolish the other. It is not long since a Manx man left a considerable legacy for the completion of a dictionary of what is now a dead language, —the language of the Isle of Man. If the extinction of dialects goes on as rapidly as it has done during the last fifty years, the child may be already born who will live long enough to see a similar act done under similar circumstances for East Anglian speech.

Nor is it the influence of schoolmasters and pupil-teachers only that wars against the existence of dialects. Any cause, like migration or emigration, which produces a wholesale change in the *personnel* of a district, is sure to affect its dialect. The East of England had one great emigration in the seventeenth century; an emigration the linguistic effects of which are clearly traceable in the existing peculiarities of Yankee speech. If the farmers of Suffolk succeed in expatriating any considerable number of their workmen, and substitute, even in smaller masses, a mixed multitude from other parts of England, there is no doubt that East Anglian speech will fade, and ultimately disappear, before the influence of extraneous settlers, to whom other fashions of pronunciation and utterance are familiar.

It is not only the speech of East Anglia which is worthy of notice. The country abounds with curious and, in some cases, beautiful remains of Middle-Age architecture, and contains some of the best specimens of the 'brick age' of the 16th and 17th centuries. In Suffolk, Helmingham and Hengrave Halls, built in the reign of Henry VIII., and Melford Hall in that of Elizabeth, are very remarkable, as are Blickling and Barningham Halls in Norfolk. They are both of the 17th century.

Owing

Owing probably to the fact that building-stone does not exist in these counties, the nearest quarry being, we believe, in Lincolnshire, there are fewer remains of conventual buildings in East Anglia than may be met with in other parts of England. Of the great abbey at Bury St. Edmund's, for example, little now remains, except the external wall and a gate-house of rare beauty, although there is hardly an old wall in the town which has not more or less of ashlar built into it; and there can be no doubt that the vast conventual church, 300 feet long, which has almost totally disappeared, as well as the ordinary monastic buildings, were for many years after the Reformation a stone quarry for the town. Buildings for defence fared better—witness Norwich Castle and Castle Rising in Norfolk, and Framlingham Castle in Suffolk, not to mention Colchester and Hedingham castles, which are just over the border in Essex; but it is in the town and village churches that the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk are especially remarkable. One feature of these churches is almost peculiar to these two counties, the round towers, of which there are in Norfolk 125, and in Suffolk 40; the whole of the rest of England supplying only 15, of which nine are in the adjoining counties of Essex and Cambridgeshire. It has been conjectured that some of these towers existed before the introduction of Christianity, as places of refuge, like the Peels of the Border country, and had churches tacked on to them, so to speak, to which they served as belfry. Their peculiar shape is no doubt to be attributed to the fact that a square tower can hardly be built without cut stone for the quoins, whereas the flints picked off the fields and gravel-pits were applicable for round towers without addition of material which, if used, would have had to be imported from Lincolnshire. This theory, however, of the pre-Christian origin of some of these towers is hard to substantiate. It is well known that the prevalence of flint in the chalk and gravel of East Anglia has given rise to a peculiar class of masonry. Not only are untrimmed flints employed with mortar for walls, but the workman, taking advantage of the planes of cleavage, chips them with the hammer into regular cubes, which fit so exactly together that it is not possible to insert a knife between the joints. There are examples in Norfolk and Suffolk of walls so constructed, with a face as smooth as glass. The flint is also often mixed with ashlar, and this masonry, peculiar to the district, and existing nowhere else in Europe, may be seen in many of the finest Suffolk and Norfolk churches of the 15th and 16th centuries. It is said that there are no churches in Suffolk, and very few in Norfolk, which can be certainly ascribed to an earlier date than the Conquest. We have heard that on some church-doors

church-doors on the Suffolk coast, remains of leather, presumably *human*, have been found under the broad-headed nails with which such doors are studded, and it has been supposed that the skin belonged to some Danish Marsyas, flayed to 'encourage' the visits of his countrymen. But it by no means follows that the door might not have been part of an earlier structure than any now existent church. A few years since an old oak stood in the parish of Hoxne, to which St. Edmund the Martyr was, according to local tradition, bound when he was shot to death by the Danes; and if a tree existed of so great an age, there seems no reason why oak timber should not keep sound for as long a period.*

But it is not only the smaller churches which are interesting in these counties. Some of the larger are remarkable for the curious disproportion between their size and the number of the inhabitants in the parishes to which they belong. Along the coast, both of Norfolk and Suffolk, the height of the church towers is worth notice. Like 'Boston Stump' in Lincolnshire, they are useful as sea-marks, some of them being between 150 and 200 feet high. Nor are they all tower, for it not unfrequently happens that the nave and aisles are large enough to hold the whole population, men, women, and children, so that the actual congregation is lost in the vast precincts. There is a village church on the coast of Norfolk, 120 feet long and 70 broad. We believe the congregation seldom exceeds 100 persons.

Placed, as this population has always been, apart from the high-road of national intercourse, it is not unnatural that old habits should linger long, and that even in the matter of wages the farmers should have testified more than customary unwillingness to depart, to their own detriment, from the usual tariff. The consequence has been that up to the last three or four years wages have been exceptionally low, so far as money payment is concerned. Within the last twenty years, in many parishes in Suffolk and Norfolk, the ordinary rate of Saturday night payment has not exceeded 9s.; to this would have to be added 4d. or 6d. a day, for the services of any child of the family able to do the task of what is somewhat enigmatically termed 'keeping birds,' in other words, 'keeping them off,' for any time of the year when such services are useful, and somewhere about 5l. for the harvest work, be it for a longer or shorter duration. In the old days of reaping with the sickle, the gleanings were

* Curiously enough, when the tree—which *fell* in 1849—was cut up, an arrow-head was found in the heart of it.

calculated as enough to pay the rent—that rent ranging from £2 to 5*l.* Now-a-days however, what with the horse-reaper and the horse-rake, these casual accessories to wages are not so available. But it is worthy of remark that in parishes only a few miles apart, the rate of wages has been often found to be far from uniform, varying in two places not far from each other to the extent of some shillings a week, so that the averages which are given in statistical returns, such as that of the Royal Commission to which the Hon. E. Stanley belonged, and which he has summarised, and such as those contained in the Poor Law Returns, give no clear notion of the actual amount of wages in single parishes. Thus, for example, we are told that in the Samsford Union, in Suffolk, wages are 11*s.* a week. But that union contains many parishes, and while in some parishes the wages might have been considerably above, in others they would be considerably below the specified amount.

These inequalities, it is quite easy to see, will henceforward rapidly diminish. The whole tendency of prices all over the country has been, and will still more distinctly in future years be, towards equality. In the remoter parts of Wales and Scotland the influence of railways and cheap postage is every year increasingly apparent; and what applies to prices in general, applies to wages in particular.

Perhaps if we could ascertain the truth with accuracy, we should find that cheap postage has had a greater effect on the social condition of the labouring classes than all other causes put together. Consider what was the position of the scattered members of a labourer's family forty years ago. Village post-offices hardly existed, and the postage of letters being according to distance, made it a matter of the most serious expense for any communication, however slight and sparse, to be kept up between parents, children, brothers, and sisters. And the worst of it was that the more dispersed the family, the greater out of all comparison the tax on intercourse. It was, in fact, a sort of prohibitive duty on family affection and parental influence; and many a poor boy and girl, who, broken off from all news of home, have been swallowed up in the nauseous vortex of city crime and city vice, might have been saved from ruin if Sir Rowland Hill's practical good sense had existed and fructified in the brain of some earlier Secretary of the Post Office.

The view, then, which is taken of the present agricultural wages contest, as of a new thing sprung from the inventive mind of a Primitive Methodist preacher, and nursed into activity by the vulgar clap-trap of persons like 'Mr. W. G. Ward,

Ward, of Peniston Towers, Ross,' who figures as a landowner, and who enunciates revolutionary and seditious sentiments in a strongly provincial accent, and with an impartiality of abuse which spares no rank or profession,—this view we repeat, is entirely false. That state of things where 'seven halfpenny loaves should be sold for a penny, and the three-hooped pot should have ten hoops,' has been promised at various times in our history. And such promises have been liberally showered on the Eastern Counties. The Litterer's rebellion in the fourteenth century, and Kett's rebellion in the sixteenth, are instances of this; and the latter outbreak, which is well described by Mr. Froude,* has in it some elements which strongly remind us of the events of this year. The enclosure of commons, or rather the conversion of arable land into pastures, appears to have been a chief grievance then, and now-a-days Mr. Arch seldom makes a speech without denouncing enclosures.

Again, in the memory of the present generation, there were disturbances on the introduction of the first rude machinery for thrashing and dressing corn. The writer of these lines remembers how night after night the horizon used to be lit up with a dull glare, sometimes at one point sometimes at another, by the flames of burning stack-yards; and the assize records of 1830–1832 will give but too many instances of the retribution exacted from the unhappy authors of the damage. 'Swing,' the half-mythical impersonation of the flail and its rights, is not yet forgotten, and might almost be foreshadowed by the 'drudging goblin,' of whom Milton sings, that—

'— in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
His shadowy flail has thrashed the corn
That ten day-labourers could not end.'

'Swingal' is the East Anglian name for that part of a flail which beats the corn,—the thong, so to speak, of the wooden whip, and is in fact the Anglo-Saxon 'swingl,' a whip. Threatening notices, left on the doorstep or pushed into the window of a farmhouse, and warning the occupant that if he persisted in using a thrashing-machine his stacks would be burnt, were usually signed 'Swing.'

In this point, however, the labourer of the present day shows himself far in advance of his fathers. In spite of much provocation, in spite of speeches which cannot be termed less than incendiary, there has been no instance of riot on the part of the labourers themselves, unless indeed one or two cases of

* *History of England*, vol. v.

intimidation,

intimidation, with which the wives had perhaps as much to do as the husbands, can be called by that name.* This is a matter for which we cannot be too thankful: it shows a real advance in civilisation,—an advance due, as we believe, to a conviction on the part of the working classes, and this in spite of all assertions to the contrary, that they are members of a community where law and justice exist, and that their fellow citizens, whatever Mr. Arch and Mr. Ward may say, are not disposed to allow them to be unjustly or tyrannically used by their employers, or by any one else.

Although similar movements among the country poor have taken place from time to time, there is of course no question that the present stir arose about two years since, and that the most important person in this movement is Joseph Arch. Nevertheless, long before Joseph Arch's name was known except in Primitive Methodist circles, a man who belongs to a profession which Joseph Arch and all his less scrupulous allies delight in vilifying,—the profession of an English Clergyman,—had made a proposal for the formation of a National Union of Agricultural Labourers. This was done by Canon Girdlestone at a meeting of the British Association at Norwich, as long ago as 1868; and at that time he stated, as he had in effect done long before in the columns of the 'Times,' that nothing short of combination would effect any improvement in the deplorable condition of the peasantry.

It is an unfortunate thing that the people who write neatly bound books with metaphorical titles and illustrations on a subject like this, cannot be persuaded to tell us the plain truth without edging it with prismatic colours. We have placed at the head of this article the names of three books, all of which contain a certain amount of information on the subject of this 'Labour Movement,' but none of which is free from the vice to which we have referred. Of these far the most valuable is a book by Mr. Heath, entitled 'The English Peasantry;' and although there is in it something of the tendency to which we have alluded, which, if we might coin a phrase, we should call 'Our-own-Correspondentism,'—there is much valuable information derived from trustworthy sources.

Mr. Heath devotes two chapters of his book to an account of the state of the peasantry in the *West* of England, giving copious

* On each of two occasions when cases of this nature were brought before the magistrates at Bury St. Edmund's, a clergyman was on the Bench. If there are country gentlemen enough to perform the duties of Justice of the Peace, as is certainly the case in the county of Suffolk, it would surely be much better that the clergy should not interfere in matters of criminal law.

details, and details of such a nature as to make us wonder, not that strikes take place among that class, but that the class itself did not either cease to exist or at all events begin to strike years and years ago. These chapters lead naturally on to a very interesting statement of what, in the slang of the day, is called 'the work' of Canon Girdlestone. That gentleman having, as we are told, spent part of his previous life in Lancashire, had been used to see the bright side of peasant existence. He was shocked at the spectacle presented by Devonshire labourers receiving 7s. to 8s. a week, and three or four daily pints of cider of execrable quality, with very little piece work and hardly any harvest wages, with bad cottages, chance fuel, and only such milk as was not given to the pigs. He tried private remonstrance, but in vain. Then, in the midst of the cattle plague, he adopted an expedient somewhat similar to that of a Scots minister who, in respect of his enemies, took a safe revenge by praying for them: the forms of the liturgy not admitting this procedure, Canon Girdlestone boldly preached against them, and, taking for his text these words, 'Behold the hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle,' he urged upon his hearers the consideration that they had been treating their labourers worse than they would their cattle. He raised a terrible storm. The farmers persecuted him in every way, and finally insulted him in a peculiarly agricultural fashion: they came to his tithe dinner, and then refused to drink his health. Canon Girdlestone, being a brave man, pursued the one course open to every Englishman who suffers persecution: he wrote to the 'Times.' This opened the whole subject to public view. General sympathy was aroused; offers of money, of employment, of helps to migration poured in. And there can be no doubt that the discussion which arose in consequence of this proceeding on the part of Canon Girdlestone, has been among the main causes of that stir among farm-labourers which has prevailed during the last few years, as in like manner it is to him the labourers owe the first suggestion of a Labourers' Union.

The career of Joseph Arch is matter of notoriety. It cannot be asserted that the English labourer is as a rule 'addicted' to piety. And, perhaps, our clerical readers will not be inclined to agree with us if we assert that peasant piety has a great tendency to adopt some form or other of Methodism. Dissent, nay even Wesleyan Methodism itself, is not strong in the villages. Congregational nonconformity requires, naturally enough, a congregation. Numerous pews must be filled to create a stipend. There is, by the bye, little doubt that the pleasure of exclusive possession contributes largely to the attractiveness

attractiveness of the 'chapel' as it is now called, or 'meeting-house,' as was its name when nonconformity was religious, not political, and would as soon have touched pitch as made alliance with Bradlaugh; but day labourers can afford but very slender seat-rents, and often prefer the uncouth utterances of a preacher taken from their own class to the more varnished vulgarities of the ordinary 'minister.' Hence the growing power of Primitive Methodism in villages and small country towns. Liturgical forms 'bore' the peasant. Ordinary Dissent finds it does not pay to start a 'cause' where no grist comes to the ecclesiastical mill, and there is nothing left but this form or no-form of worship, its deal desk for pulpit, its rough benches for pews, and men of the class of Joseph Arch for preachers. When the dream of radical politicians is realised, the Church of England disendowed, and the land restored to its 'rightful' owners, it will be well if the four-acred farmers of those times get such recognition of divine things as these rude ministrations supply, for assuredly they will in many places get none which is better.

The first public appearance of Joseph Arch as what is called an 'agitator,' was at a meeting convened at Wellesbourne, in Warwickshire, a village where the labourers came to the conclusion that the time had come to do something for the purpose of raising wages.* He made his speech from 'a pig-killing board' set under a tree. The police stepped in, the gas in the village lamps was turned off, but he persevered. Many subsequent speeches have been reported, but of this his maiden speech there is no record. No doubt however it was very effective, for a few weeks afterwards began the Wellesbourne strike, and in the May following, this meeting having been held in February 1872, the National Agricultural Labourers' Union was established.

The first number of the Labourers' Union Chronicle was printed 6th June 1872. Its original title was as follows: 'The Labourers' Union Chronicle and Journal of the National Agricultural Labourers' Organisation,' conducted by J. E. Matthew Vincent, Hon. Treasurer of the N. A. L. U. (National Agricultural Labourers' Union.) Within the last few weeks it has altered its title to 'The Labourers' Union Chronicle, an Independent Advocate of the British Toilers' Rights to Free Land, Freedom from Priestcraft and from the Tyranny of Capital,' and Mr. Vincent has dropped his designation of 'Hon. Treasurer of the N. A. L. U.,' although he appears still to act in that office, so

* One of the flippancies of modern English is the use of the Scotch vulgarian 'wage,' in place of the good old English word 'wages.' The first form does not occur either in the Authorized Version or in Shakespeare; the second form is both singular and plural.

far, at all events, as regards contributions for the locked-out labourers. It will be at once seen that this change of title is significant, and that what was originally and ostensibly a movement for the improvement of the financial and social condition of the Agricultural Labourer, is now assuming larger dimensions, and identifying itself more and more with the general programme of the advanced Radical Party.*

This, we think, is much to be regretted, but it is the natural tendency of all agitations to go further than their original promoters intend. And the peculiar feature of this movement is, that it is almost sure to be dependent for its voice on persons who take it up, more or less, as a means to an end, and who parade the wrongs and sufferings of the agricultural labourer in order to be able more conveniently to attack institutions, such for instance as the parochial ministry of the Church of England, and what are called the 'Land Laws,' on the plea that these are answerable for the condition of the peasantry. Abolish the Church of England to-morrow, and how will that tend to raise wages or improve cottages? Many villages would lose the presence of a respectable gentleman, whose profession puts him on something like an equality with all his neighbours, who may sometimes not be very active in that profession, nor have very clear views of doctrine, nor very great power of exposition, who may not be very keen in visiting his flock, or very judicious in the exercise of benevolence and the dispensing of charities, but who, after all, is likely to apply his time, and his income, slender though it may be, in a less selfish manner than any ordinary small country gentleman would do. Surely the influence of country clergymen is usually a humanising and civilising influence. And if they have not generally been so chivalrous as Canon Girdlestone in the defence of the rights of the poor, it cannot be said that as a body they have sided with oppression. If they have not done all the good they could, they have not done much positive harm.

There can be no doubt, however, that among the leaders of this movement, hatred to the clergy has been a very prominent motive. After all, Joseph Arch is not a labourer; he is a dis-

* The following is an extract from the leading article of the first number of the regenerated 'L. U. Chronicle':—'All the toilers . . . must be our clients. Our heart is large, our purposes are great, our influence is extensive and is extending; and when all who live by toil shall give their fealty to us, our advocacy will be irresistible.'

How forcibly it reminds us of Jack Cade:—'Valiant I am . . . I am able to endure much . . . and when I am king, as king I will be, all shall eat and drink on my score; and I will apparel them in one livery, that they may agree like brothers, and worship me their lord.'—Second Part *King Henry VI.*, act iv. sc. 2.

senting minister of a rustic type, influenced by the jealousies and prejudices of his class. From the Rev. Baldwin Brown and Mr. Spurgeon, down to the humblest Primitive Methodist minister, there is an abiding sense of social inferiority to the clergy, which lies, we are persuaded, at the root of those feelings which have created, and which support, such institutions as the Society for the Abolition of State Patronage and Control of the Church, or whatever, accurately, its lumbering title may be. The Nonconformist Haman is a good Christian of a most respectable though rather vulgar type; but the glory of independence of State control, and the multitude of the congregation, and the abolition of tests, and the extinction of church-rates avail him nothing, so long as the State Church Mordecai sits at the King's gate.

But while the fact of Joseph Arch's position has helped to give to this movement an Anti-State Church character, it must not be forgotten that among the labourers many of the more thoughtful are attached by conviction to Primitive Methodism. These thoughtful labourers are naturally the most inclined to review and be dissatisfied with their position, and taking up their own cause and the cause of their fellows as religious men, they have produced in these strikes some of the characteristics of a religious conflict. And when, as has been the case in Suffolk, the locked-out men, or those who are on strike, meet together in the humble village chapel on Sunday, and hold religious services having especial reference to their struggle, that struggle is likely to be more lasting in its duration and more permanent in its effects.

The pages of that Book, full of varied lore, suited to all the needs and sorrows and joys of human life, contain passages which are strong weapons for a cause like this. 'Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.' There's a text for a sermon to lock-outs! And when they look for apostolic practice, they read that 'all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as everyone had need.'

This semi-religious character which the contest has assumed is not its least serious feature. The East Anglian labourer may not have much acuteness, but he has great solidity. Some time since, one of the largest landowners in Suffolk, after noticing what we have just noticed—the religious element in the contest—observed that no two more obstinate classes were ever pitted
against

against each other than these farmers and these labourers; they are in fact of the same stock—the stock who, as officers in the great Continental war used to observe, would go more doggedly to certain death than any other soldiers in the army.

Another, and a very different cause of this agitation, is that hunger for land which seems almost, if not quite, a natural and congenital propensity in the human race. The labourer with no garden, pines for a garden. The man with a small allotment, pines for a larger one. The man with six acres wants fifteen.* The man with a two-horse farm wants a four-horse farm; and so on. But this *sacra fames* is made use of by the professional people of the movement to serve their own ends; those ends being simply what plain people call confiscation.

‘The objects contemplated by the National Union of Agricultural Labourers are, as set forth by the Union:—1. “To improve the general condition of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom.” 2. “To encourage the formation of Branch and District Unions;” and 3. “To promote co-operation and communication between Unions already in existence.”’†

But these are not the objects of the leaders of the movement, at least not the ultimate objects, so far as land is concerned. These objects may be best stated by a quotation from Herbert Spencer’s ‘Social Statics,’ extracted with approval in a leading article of the ‘Labourers’ Chronicle’ of June 18th, 1874:—

‘We see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, *limited only by the like rights of his fellow-men*, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom. We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land’

This goes rather farther than that celebrated article in the Rules of the Lincolnshire Labour League, which specifies that the rate of wages should not be less than 18s. per week. And that stirred the Suffolk farmers to frenzy!

This is not the place to discuss at length the question of the Land Laws. Suffering, however, as we do, from that stupidity

* See a letter in the ‘Times’ of August 15, in which the writer gives a most interesting account of a ‘cottier,’ as he calls him, near Ipswich, who had managed to maintain himself on six acres of land, although with great difficulty, but who said, ‘if I only had fifteen acres, I should not care to call the Queen my cousin.’ It may be observed that the ‘Labourers’ Chronicle,’ being rather puzzled how to reply to the plain statement contained in this letter, calls the ‘cottier’ a cunning peasant, assumes that the gross produce of an ordinary farm would equal 10l. an acre, whereas three quarters of wheat per acre on the whole farm would not amount to that sum; and puts words into the ‘cottier’s’ mouth which he is not reported to have used, viz., that he ‘grows’ a certain crop, when he only says he ‘has grown’ such a crop on some occasion or other.

† ‘The English Peasantry,’ p. 200.

and ignorance which is one of the invariable characteristics of the London Press,* we are obliged to confess that we are unable to see why the right of each man to the use of his own hat, limited only by the like rights of his fellow-men, is not as immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom, as his right to the use of the earth; and if so, why it does not immediately follow that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in hats. If all the land is to be cut up into four-acre patches, and everybody is to use, that is, we suppose, dig up and plant any four-acre patch, according to the law of equal freedom, we can hardly expect much of a crop. Putting that aside, however, why does not the law of equal freedom apply just as much to railway shares as to land? In which case everybody will appropriate everybody else's dividend, subject, of course, to that highly-intelligible proviso, that his right to the use thereof must be limited by the rights of his fellow-men.†

But granting as much as any landowner could desire as to the rights of that order, and having no wish to fall in with theories which can never be carried into practice except after a bloody and disastrous civil war, rendering almost valueless the subject of the quarrel, we are still constrained to acknowledge that much hardship has been inflicted on the poor in previous generations by the enclosures which took place before the passing of the present General Act on that subject. Arthur Young was no radical leveller. He was heir of land which had belonged to his forefathers for two centuries. He was Secretary of the Board of Agriculture in the reign of George III. But what does he say about enclosures? 'The fact is, that by nineteen enclosure Bills out of twenty the poor are injured—in some, grossly injured.'‡ And he puts into the mouth of a poor man words which might have appeared in the 'Labourers' Chronicle':—

'Go to an alehouse kitchen of an old enclosed country, and there you will see the origin of poverty and poor rates. For whom are they to be sober? For whom are they to save? (such are their questions). For the parish? If I am diligent, shall I have leave to

* Heading of leading article 'Labourers' Union Chronicle' of July 4, 1874. 'The Stupidity and Ignorance of the London Press.'

† Sir George Campbell, at the late meeting of the British Association, read a paper on 'The Privileges of Land, wrongly called Property,' meaning, of course, to point out by this verbal paradox that property has its duties as well as its rights, and that a man has *not* (pace a late Duke of Newcastle) a right to do what he likes with his own. What we mean by property is, a personal appropriation of the duties attaching to income, whether derived from land or from any other source, but we do not deny that those duties exist. The Christian notion of property is stewardship.

‡ 'Inquiry into the Propriety of applying Wastes to the better Maintenance and Support of the Poor.' Bury St. Edmunds, 1801. P. 42.

build a cottage? If I am sober, shall I have land for a cow? If I am frugal, shall I have half an acre for potatoes? You offer no motives; you have nothing but a parish officer and a workhouse. *Bring me another pot.*

Going then into calculations as to the comparative cost of keeping families in the workhouse on the one hand, and giving them money to settle on common land on the other, he declares himself much in favour of the latter alternative. It must, however, be observed that he makes a stipulation that *the land should be inalienable*. This is hardly consistent with the modern complaint of the difficulty and expense which attaches to the transfer of land—a difficulty ascribed to the greed of the aristocracy.

Among the injurious results of enclosures he specifies one, that the poor were thence compelled to *sell their cows*. Now if, instead of stimulating the bad passions of ignorant men, the spokesmen of this labour movement would take up some practical question like the supply of milk to labourers, they would do incalculable good. No one who has seen a milk-fed peasantry can have any doubt that the want of milk in all 'enclosed countries' (to use Arthur Young's words) is a most serious evil. It is almost too soon to speculate what effect this want may have upon the physical strength of the race; but no one can deny that the Irish and Scotch, who are fed on milk, with perhaps nothing else except oatmeal, are a far finer race than the farm labourers of the Eastern Counties, who, as children, hardly ever taste milk.

But we must proceed with our subject. During the last two or three years, under the influence of various causes, there has been a gradual 'hardening' of the price of labour, so to speak, in Norfolk and Suffolk, as in other parts of the country. It showed itself more distinctly at harvest than at any other time, and harvest wages sprung up from 6*l.* or 7*l.* to 8*l.*, 9*l.*, and even 11*l.* But the first clear evidence of the action of the Labourers' Union appears to have been given by a letter, reprinted in the 'Times' some weeks since, which, as a specimen of the mode of procedure adopted by that body, we here produce:—

'DEAR SIR,

'Alderton, February 22, 1874.

'The Agricultural Labourers of this branch of the National Agricultural Union in your employ beg respectfully to inform you that on and after 2 March 1874 they will require A rise in their wages of One Shilling per week A weeks work to Consist of fifty hours being desirous of retaining good relations between employer and employed and to assure you that no unbecoming feelings prompt us to such A course we invite you if our terms are not in accordances

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with your view to appoint an earley time to meet us so that we may fairley Consider the mater and arrange our affairs amicably.

‘Yours obedient servants,
‘The Committee.’

Alderton is a parish near the sea, in the extreme S.E. of Suffolk, and partly belonging to Lord Rendlesham; and this letter, or a similar one, was served on twelve farmers in that district, the Wilford Hundred. It appears to have been sent in accordance with the ordinary rules of Agricultural Unions. We extract from the rules of the Lincolnshire Union:—

‘DISPUTES BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.’

‘1. Members of this League wishing to obtain any material alteration in the conditions of their employment, must, before acquainting their employers of their intention to obtain such alteration, lay their case before the Committee of the Branch to which they belong, who, in turn, must at once give information to the Council through the General Secretary; and the Branch Committee and Executive Council, in conjunction, shall immediately take such action thereon as may be necessary: but in no case will members of the League receive assistance from its funds should they voluntarily cease to work without the sanction of their Branch Committee and the Executive Council.

‘3. When members have obtained the sanction of their Branch Committee and the Council to ask their employers for an alteration in the conditions of their employment, the request must be made in a civil and conciliatory manner; no threat or angry words must be used. And should the employers decline to grant their requests, the Branch Committee shall use every endeavour by deputation and offers of arbitration to settle the differences in an amicable manner; at the same time keeping the Council well informed, and acting on any advice the Council may give.’

There is nothing in the wording of this letter which suggests a reason why it should not have been noticed by those to whom it was addressed. It is quiet and respectful, and is addressed to members of a class not very perceptibly different in rank from that of the writer. In many cases the children of the labourer are better taught than the children of the farmer; the habits of the two classes are much the same, the chief difference being that the one does the hard work and the other the easy work of the farm which they both unite in cultivating and tending. At the same time it must be remembered that the persons to whom it was addressed belong to a class which is not distinguished for consideration of the feelings of others, which is easily irritated, and which, at the particular juncture when this letter was written, had had much to irritate it. It is only lately that the farmers have been awakened to the fact that
labourers

labourers have ceased to be children. It is, however, so, and this fact has to be met. It happens in many households that the first assertion of independence on the part of the eldest son is a sore trial—a cause of heartburnings and coldness; he is no longer a child, but the parents are unable to realize the new relations which must henceforth exist between them and him. So with the farm labourer. For generations past his wages and his position have been pretty much what his employer chose. Without being legally tied to the soil, he was virtually so. Having legal freedom of contract, he had no actual freedom of contract. This is so no longer, and never can be so again. And this was the fact which the farmers, first of East and then of West Suffolk, have had to face. In East Suffolk they refused to recognize it; they sent no reply to the letter of 'the Committee,' and the consequence was a strike. In West Suffolk they anticipated action on the part of any 'Committee' by a lock-out.

There is a great distinction between the two cases, but we cannot acquit the farmers of all blame in either. In the first case, however, we think their error not much more than an error of judgment. Although the letter of the labourers was most properly worded, we must remark that the persons to whom it was addressed had been loaded with abuse by the orators of the Unions and by the newspaper which is or was the organ of all the Unions in the country. And thus being very partially able to defend themselves, having never been used to much notice of any kind, particularly of an unfavourable nature, when they awoke to the fact that they were being most freely criticised, that speeches were being made which they had not eloquence to reply to, and articles written which they had no literary ability to answer, and even songs made upon them—a grievance which has been felt to be such ever since the time of the Psalmist—which they could not repel by any counterblast of poetry, they simply did what their cart-horses are sometimes inclined to do when over-weighted: they turned what they would call 'rusty,' and did nothing. This, we think, was an error in judgment, but it is an error which persons suddenly introduced into new circumstances are very apt to commit. For a labourer to speak was a portent like that which occurred to a certain prophet in Old Testament story, and the impulse of the other interlocutor was probably much like Balaam's: 'I would there were a sword in my hand, for now would I kill thee!' The farmers, however, did not go so far as manslaughter—they only did not raise their labourers' wages. Upon this the men struck; the strike extended to other parts of the country, and things looked serious, particularly as about that time a similar state of things existed in Cambridgeshire,

Lincolnshire, and elsewhere. From this time, for about two or three months, a game of brag was played between master and men; unfortunately, however, for the men, the spring was unusually dry, the usual amount of weeding and other spring labour was not required, and the weather fought against the Labourers' Union. Had the spring been wet, matters would not have been so pleasant for the masters; the result might practically have been the same, but attended, for them, with far greater inconvenience.

In West Suffolk the farmers, or at least a large proportion of them, played a different game. Headed by an eminent Parliamentary barrister, who is himself a considerable farmer, and backed by some local land-surveyors and lawyers, they formed a Defence Association, and locked out all men who belonged to the Union, passing a resolution at a public meeting, which in effect, though not in words, was directed against all Unions whatever. This meeting was held in the first days of June, and from that time until harvest a contest was carried on, the results of which cannot be very clearly traced, but which appears to have ended, so far as the farmers are concerned, by their having stuck to the text of not employing Union men, and, so far as the labourers are concerned, by some of them having lost their harvest work, some having emigrated, and some having silently or otherwise dropped their connection with the Union.

But when we come to the statistics of the subject, it will be seen that the struggle has not yet assumed such dimensions as to render it at all probable that the present state of things is final. So far as is known, the farmers have had the best of it; they have done with less work before harvest, they have had no difficulty in the harvest itself, in many cases the Union men have not succeeded in getting employment, and in some cases they have become chargeable upon the parishes as paupers. But what are the numbers of the combatants, compared to the total numbers of each class in the county of Suffolk? Out of 38,000 labourers, not more than one-fifth are members of any Union. Out of 4600 farmers and graziers, little more than one-eighth have joined any Defence Association. It is also asserted that half the Union labourers were at work all through the heat of the struggle, so that the contest, so far as it has gone, has been a contest in which one-eighth of the farmers have vanquished one-tenth of the labourers. Who can say that this is a decisive victory?

And such as it is, there is some reason to suppose that the victory has been achieved by an instrument of doubtful legality. There was a trial at Manchester during the Summer

Assizes

Assizes of this year, which, if the decision of Mr. Baron Pollock was good law, seems to show that a combination of persons for objects like that of the Farmers' Defence Association is of an illegal character. The case was this:—Certain members of the Manchester Self-acting Minders' Association refused to work with a man who was not a member of this association—the result being that this man lost his work. Baron Pollock, as reported in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of August 6, said, 'It was perfectly lawful for one man to say he would not ride in a particular omnibus, or buy bread from a particular baker; but if a body of men agreed together not to ride in that omnibus, or not to buy bread from that baker, it would be an improper interference with a man's earning his livelihood.' One farmer may refuse to employ a man who belongs to a Union, but if 200 farmers unite in pledging themselves not to employ him, surely it is 'an improper interference with that man's earning his livelihood.' We commend this to the careful consideration of the able lawyer who presides over the destinies of the West Suffolk Farmers' Defence Association.

What are the practical lessons to be drawn from the struggle which we have reviewed, for landlords, farmers, and labourers? May we urge upon landowners the consideration that we live in times in which the title to all property is jealously scrutinised, and in which the duties which by general consent attach to property, especially to visible and tangible property, multiply daily? There are parishes from which the grandfathers of the present owners swept away every cottage, to prevent the possibility of any labourer who worked on the land and created the rental, being a burden on that rental for time to come. Happily at present there is no temptation to repeat this practice in other parishes, the law of settlement having been altered. But society is rapidly coming to the conclusion that one of the duties, either of the owners of land as owners or of the State coming to their aid and making up for the deficiencies and malfaisance of past generations, is to provide dwellings, not hovels, not pigsties, as Lord Shaftesbury called them, but proper dwellings for the labourer who tills the land, at a reasonable distance from the land which he tills. A man who has to walk two or three miles to and from his work is most unfairly handicapped against one who steps from his cottage into the field where he has to spend his strength. Moreover he loses his chance of working at an allotment or cultivating his garden, if he have one.

Where cottages exist, it is very commonly the practice to let them to the tenant of the land around. We very much doubt the

the propriety of this practice. It puts the labourer too much at the mercy of his employer, and also encourages short tenancies. Nothing tends so much to settle a labourer and to render him satisfied with and attached to his position as security of tenure, particularly if that tenure extend to a garden as well as a cottage, and if that garden be a quarter of an acre in extent, so much the better. We believe it will be found that most labourers would be better off with regular and fair wages, together with a cottage and large garden, than if put into possession of that four-acre farm of which Mr. Arch and Mr. Taylor draw such golden pictures.

If the farmers will condescend to hear a word of advice, we should make bold to remind them that, although at present they seem to have had the best of the contest, it has been but a preliminary skirmish, and that unless the labourer is placed in a condition more satisfactory, both as to wages and as to the general condition of hiring, than has been the case up to this time, they may depend upon it that these battles will recur with renewed intensity and increased bitterness. Never again, in the face of Labourers' Union Chronicles and a propaganda of discontent, can farmers hope to retain the labourer in the former subjection. They must be prepared to have to deal with him, if not more as a free agent, certainly as one much more under foreign influences than heretofore. In self-defence, the farmers will do well if they do what they can to attach the labourer to the land. For weekly notice and weekly hiring, three months, or still longer terms, should be substituted, with particular stipulations as to harvest. We have before referred to the milk question: it is only to be regretted that some power does not exist, just as a water supply is compulsory in towns, to make a milk supply, for labourers' children, compulsory in the country.

It may be well to remind the tenant-farmer that he is, after all, the least necessary element in the agricultural hierarchy. Owners of the land there must be, either public or private, under the present or under any future state of 'land laws.' Cultivators of the soil there must also be so long as agriculture goes on; but the tenant-farmer, the middleman, is an accident of English country life, which has no analogy in many other countries, and which, under other circumstances, may very possibly cease to exist even here. The tenant-farmer then will do well to remember that, although his house stands strong as things now are, obstinate resistance to the fair demands of his labourers may stimulate emigration, may introduce the practice of co-operative farming, and, if and when the county franchise is extended to
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the labourers, may again make the counties the strongholds of extreme opinions, just as they were in the days of an un-reformed Parliament.

It cannot be too strongly urged on the labourer, that, of all luxuries and necessities, fresh air is the greatest, and that the want of fresh air is but poorly made up by larger wages. This is not the place to enlarge on the charms of the country, nor are we about to urge the virtues of contentment and ten shillings a week. The Catechism, which many poor children learn, has been misrepresented as inculcating the duty of being content with that state of life into which it has pleased God to call us. It does nothing of the kind, it simply says that we should do our duty in that state of life into which it *shall please* God to call us; not that we are to be content with ten shillings, but that we are not to misapply twenty.

But while the labourer is fully justified in taking all lawful and orderly means of improving his position, he ought to bear in mind that, after all, there are great advantages in a state of life in which we know our neighbours, in which we 'dwell among our own people,' in which the relations of employer and employed, landlord and tenant, have a permanent rather than a temporary character. In towns, all men are more or less Arabs, here to-day and gone to-morrow, according to the laws which regulate the demand and the supply of labour. In the country, there is less excitement, less competition, a lower scale of pay; but, for all except the most pushing, the country affords attractions for the steady and industrious labourer which are never to be found in the roar of the streets and the bustle of the factory.

There is a good deal of coxcombry talked about the order of the peasantry; the distinctive smock-frock has had many mourners; but we may depend upon it, this is an order to which its members are attached not of their own free will but by compulsion alone. In a new sense we may say,

'Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?'

It is the order of the peasantry which has colonised Canada, which is pouring year by year into the illimitable plains and woods of the West, constantly setting back the boundary of the desert and turning uncultivated wastes into verdure and fertility, and which in one generation has raised Austrasia to the dignity of a fifth quarter of the globe. This is not an instrument to be thoughtlessly misused or carelessly thrown away. It is their bone and sinew, nay their shrewdness and skill, which is constantly recruiting the ranks of the upper classes, which makes England what she is, and which in the next half-century

tury will make the English tongue the ruling language of the world.

Good done to this class spreads through all the ranks of society; and if those who possess influence with this class would use their influence, as some men have used it, not in pandering to its prejudices or influencing its passions, but in developing its best instincts, consulting its real welfare and increasing its self-respect, they would deserve far more than most men the honourable title of benefactors of mankind.

ART. VIII.—*Worthies of All Souls; Four Centuries of English History illustrated from the College Archives.* By Montagu Burrows, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of All Souls. London, 1874.

THE history of a college or of any corporation which has enjoyed an independent existence for more than four centuries possesses a special value as reflecting the continuous development and change going on in the world around. A college is a microcosm of the university, the university of the nation.

'Chronica si penses, cum pugnant Oxonienses,
Post paucos menses volat ira per Angligenenses.'

Mr. Burrows in the work before us endeavours to represent the history of All Souls as a microcosm of the history of the nation. The interdependence of national and university history he has already illustrated in an interesting lecture on the 'National character of the old English Universities,' published in his former volume of 'Constitutional Progress.*' The connection between the smaller corporation of the college and that of the nation is one degree more remote; and when an alternative title is given to the work before us of 'Four Centuries of English History illustrated from the College Archives,' we must warn the historical student against expecting much. The 'illustrations' appear to us more suitable to the lecture-room than the library. For ourselves we should have liked more of 'All Souls' and less of 'English History.'

All Souls College was founded in the middle of the fifteenth century; the Papal bull of institution is dated 1439. The college therefore belongs to a special class of university foundations. New College, All Souls, and Magdalen, institutions

* 'Constitutional Progress,' 2nd edition. London. 1872.

which

which commemorate the magnificence of Wykeham, Chichele, and Waynflete, mark the transition between mediæval and modern Oxford. Merton and its compeers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, had fought the battle of the college system within the university. New College, All Souls, and their successors entered into the fruits of the victory. That victory was more easily and more completely won in the English universities than elsewhere in Europe. The system of organisation by 'nations' was in essence an attempt to ameliorate the evils of division and dissension by giving legal constitution and discipline to the contending parties. At Oxford it never found much favour. As early as 1313 the division of the students into Northerners and Southerners (*Boreales* and *Australes*) was denounced as not lessening but aggravating dissension.* Peace and tranquillity could only be really secured by exercising an effective control over the domestic life of the students. Hence from the voluntary unions of the hostels for common life and mutual protection arose the official hostels or halls presided over by a university officer. These, too, eventually had to give way before the stronger organisation of the endowed colleges; and it was at the beginning of the fifteenth century that the exclusive superiority of the colleges within the university began to be acknowledged.

The century which elapsed between the period of the foundation of All Souls and the Reformation, is not a distinguished one in University annals. It was the century of the Wars of the Roses and of early Tudor oppression; but it was the century also of the Renaissance, when the 'new learning' first became known in England. Mr. Burrows, we think, shows singular want of grasp in his conception of what the Renaissance was. He looks upon it merely as the revival of the study of Greek in Western Europe, and fails to recognise the multifarious character of the movement, and the multifarious accomplishments of its prophets, of whom Linacre—of All Souls—was one of the greatest. He does not observe that the Renaissance is really a period or an epoch—a cluster of events and of discoveries—an *Aufklärung* or *Illumination*—a marked step onwards in the advance of the human intellect. Whilst in Italy the Universities adopted the 'new learning' with enthusiasm, and suffered only because of the establishment of the rival 'academies,' and the restless desire that men had of hearing what *all* teachers had to say or of teaching at *every* University,† north of the Alps a real struggle was engaged in. In Germany the obscurantists, the maintainers of scholasti-

* *Munimenta Academica Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 92.

† *Faccioluti*, *Syntagmata Gymnasii Patavini*, cap. vii.

cism, were in a great majority, and at one time the Theological Faculty of Cologne had actually obtained leave from the Emperor to collect and burn all Hebrew books. The *auto da fe* was fortunately prevented from taking place. The eventual triumph of the cause of enlightenment was there due, to a great extent, to the satire of the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum;' in France and England it was only brought about by the interference of the Crown in the foundation of the Regius Professorships at Paris and Oxford. In what relation did the new collegiate foundations, such as All Souls, stand to this movement, and how comes it that these, the most magnificent of Oxford colleges, are contemporary in their early years with that general decline of the University, noted by Wood* and other writers? These are problems which Mr. Burrows does not deal with, probably because he has no help to give us for their solution. In one passage he is somewhat tantalising when he says—

'Among the earliest entries on the college books occur notices of permission of absence, given to different fellows for stated periods, in order that they may pursue their studies at foreign universities.'—Page 47.

and then gives no names. The lines from the 'Ship of Fools' on the subject are well known:—

'One runneth to Almayne, another into Fraunce,
To Paris, Padway, Lombardy, or Spaine:
Another to Bonony, Rome, or Orleannee,
To Cayns, to Tholous, Athens, or Colayne,
And at last returneth home agayne
More ignoraunt.'

We should like to have been able to test the experience of All Souls as to the results of these dispensations. We regret that Mr. Burrows has not given us a Register of the Fellows, as well as a list of the Wardens, and a Calendar, even though an imperfect one, of the documents in the archives relating to public men and public affairs. The volume is already bulky, but we think we could find room for two such appendices. Of the book as it is, the most interesting parts are the history of the relation of the college to the Crown, the history of the disposition of the surplus, and of the tenure and succession to Fellowships, and the connection (still honourably maintained) of All Souls with the study of law. These subjects we shall touch upon successively, gathering together the materials provided for us by Mr. Burrows.

All Souls, like the other colleges of the University, passed

* *E.g.*, sub annis 1438, 1455, 1460, 1466, 1500, &c.

safely through the crisis of the Reformation. Henry VIII., as is well known, kept the University for a long time in suspense; and it and its constituent bodies were eventually spared much more by submission in the matter of the divorce, and by acknowledging the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, than by the 'highly-cultivated minds' of the Tudor princes and their enlightened conceptions of what a 'Tudor Reformation' was to be. All Souls, however, long before Tudor times, had had a narrow escape from royal rapacity. Chichele, with a view, as he thought, more effectually to secure his new institution, associated King Henry VI. as co-founder with himself. Both Edward IV. and Henry VII. were fain to consider that the property of a royal foundation became royal property. This danger was escaped, we know not how. But although foiled in its designs of entire confiscation, the Crown attempted to obtain the right of regulating the disposition of collegiate property. For instance, the University and colleges, as ecclesiastical foundations, had always been taxed by convocation, and, like the clergy, were free from extraordinary war taxes. Nevertheless, applications for loans and benevolences were made to them, as to all rich proprietors. A good example of such an application of the reign of Henry VII. is given by Mr. Burrows. The conclusion is very characteristic, and worth quoting:—

'This is a thing of so grete weight and importance as may not be failed. And therefore faile ye not for your said part eft soone we pray you, as ye tendre the good and honour of this our realm, and as ye tendre also the wele and suretie of yourself.'—P. 36.

Nevertheless, the college was bold enough to refuse, and strong or weak enough to refuse successfully.

College property, however, could also be made use of by the powerful to reward followers and partisans. Edward VI. required the college to grant a twenty-one years' lease of one of their farms to 'Dr. Mendye, our physician, for such rents as ye have granted the same in times past' (p. 66). The college refused humbly but persistently. Later on it was even successful in recovering property which had been kept by Elizabeth for thirty years (pp. 96, 97).

Resistance to royal encroachments was thus more successful than perhaps could have been anticipated, though doubtless victories have been much more carefully recorded than defeats. It was less easy to withstand the recommendations made by the powerful of friends and adherents for election to Fellowships, or for presentation to college livings. Such recommendations were made by almost every sovereign from Elizabeth to the Revolution,

tion, by several Archbishops of Canterbury, by princes of the blood, and by powerful nobles. Sometimes the college had to submit, but seldom, if ever, without protest. It, of course, by no means followed that those intruded were men of inferior mark or talent. On the contrary, All Souls owes Jeremy Taylor to archiepiscopal, Sydenham to Parliamentary, intrusion. For the sake of illustration we will notice the earliest and latest instances mentioned by Mr. Burrows: the first a mild recommendation, which does not appear to have been complied with; the last a mandate, which had to be obeyed.

The former is a letter, headed 'by the Prince' whom Mr. Burrows identifies conjecturally with Prince Arthur, Henry VII.'s eldest son. It runs as follows:—

'Trusty and right well beloved we grete you wel. And forasmoeche as we ben credibly informed that your late election is past and nowe of late devolved into the hands of the most reverend sadre in God o' right trusty and most entirely beloved cousin y^e Cardinal of Canterbury, we desire and right affectionately pray you that the rather for o' sake and at the contemplation of these o' letters, ye wol have our right and well beloved William Pickering, scoler of lawe, inasmoeche as he is of alliaunce unto the founder of y^e place, and that his sadre also is in y^e right tender favour of our derrest modre the quene, especially named in y^e next election, as we especially trust you, whereynne be ye ascertayned us to be unto you and y^e said place the more good and gracieux lord in any y^e reasonable desires hereafter.'—P. 38.

With the mild request of 'the Prince,' let us contrast the style of James II. :—

'Trusty and well beloved we greet you well. Whereas we are well satisfied of the loyalty and learning of our trusty and well beloved Leopold William Finch Esquire Master of Arts and one of that our college of All Souls; we have thought fit hereby to recommend him to you in the most effectual manner for the place of Warden of our said College, now vacant by the death of Doctor Jeames late Warden thereof: Willing and requiring you forthwith to elect and admit him the said Leopold William Finch into the place of Warden aforesaid with all and singular the rights privileges and emoluments profits and advantages thereunto belonging, any statute customs or constitution of our said College to the contrary notwithstanding, with all which we are graciously pleased to dispense in his behalf: And so not doubting of your ready compliaunce herein we bid you farewell.

'Given at our Court at Whitehall 15th January 1686(-7) in the second year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command

SUNDERLAND.

(Gutch's '*Collectanea Curiosa*,' vol. ii. p. 282)

William

William Pickering is not to be found on the list of Fellows; Finch was Warden for sixteen years. Fortunately as this was the most violent, so it was the last attempt at forced intrusion. Nay, the intruded Warden, twelve years afterwards, had to submit to a formal re-election; and in a curious letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (also printed by Gutch, vol. ii. p. 49), he apologises for making use of the mandate, on the grounds that his so doing was the only means of keeping a Papist out of the place. We would call attention to the character and career of Finch as typical of a certain class (not the very worst perhaps) of University men at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century.

The history of the disposition of the surplus can best be considered in relation to the general history of the Fellowships. The Fellow, according to the 'pious founder's' conception, was a student in one of the higher faculties whom the college endowments maintained during his residence at the University, and whilst engaged in these studies. Those who were maintained by the endowment became also its administrators, and the endowment being generally in the form of landed property, was susceptible of increase and decrease in value. It was not long before there was such a surplus at All Souls—surplus, that is to say, over the sum actually necessary for the maintenance of the forty original members of the foundation. This surplus was first applied to the improvement of college property, and after the Reformation to the purchase of livings, which became a species of retirement for the Fellows. An important statute was passed in the eighteenth year of Elizabeth's reign, which decreed that a certain portion of the revenue should be always set apart for the 'relief of commons and diet.' From the 'relief' to the 'augmentation' of commons was but a step, and that step was taken at All Souls by Archbishop Bancroft. The augmentation was to be 'reasonable;' but the judges of what was 'reasonable' were those who were to profit by the result. Abbot, Bancroft's successor, attempted to stem the tide, and when 'for this time' he allows 'a double livery,' he adds:—

'I should be glad to hear that when such money cometh extraordinarily unto you, it be employed in buying of books and furnishing of your studies, and not spent upon vanities which carry nothing with them but distemper and disorder.'—P. 112.

Laud, after providing that a fixed reserve should always be put into the Treasury, definitely allowed what remained to be divided. The consent of the Visitor was still necessary for the actual division, but it was never refused; and from the middle of the
seventeenth

seventeenth century the college possessed complete control over the disposition of its revenues.

Long before the surplus had become anything tangible, before Fellows were in receipt of a definite income, Fellowships had become marketable commodities of a certain monetary value. The best-executed and the most valuable part of Mr. Burrows' book is that which relates the final struggle between Sancroft and the College, resulting in the 'abolition of purchase in Fellowships.' As early as the visitation of Cranmer in 1541, the practice of receiving money for the resignation of Fellowships was denounced. Parker followed Cranmer's example. Whitgift imposed an oath upon the Fellows; Abbot a more stringent one, namely, that 'all electors should take a corporal oath to make the elections and nominations freely without any reward, gift, or thing given or taken for the same.' No oath, however, was sufficiently stringent to bind a college of lawyers. As soon as liberty of election was restored to the college by the Parliament, the abuse reappeared. It was not peculiar to All Souls, but that college and New College appear to have been the most persistent offenders, and its eventual suppression at All Souls was the signal for its suppression elsewhere in the University, although as late as the middle of last century (1759) it is still spoken of as an existing abuse. The best idea of what this corrupt custom was will be obtained from the Report of the Visitors in 1657:—

'The Colledg of Alsoules in Oxon hath for a long season to the dishonour of the University suffered under a common reputation of corruption in the buying and selling of fellowships. Besides the notoriety of sundry particular instances, the constant custome and practice of resignations so ordered that ordinarily none so much as standeth for a fellowship (unlesse there happen to be a dead place*) who hath not the benefit of a resignation from some that leave the society, and the perpetual choice of them who have such resignations doth confirme that reputation, the resignation being not made before the evening next before the election, whereby none know what places may be voyd. The major part of the fellows having an interest in keeping up this corruption agreeing together still to chuse him or them who have obtained resignations, expecting the same compliance from others when they come by any means to leave the Colledg, it is not possible for the Warden and the rest of the fellows that desire reformation to prevent this corrupt practice; things being carried amongst them by a plurality of suffrages To prevent this abuse, Orders, and Injunctions have been made by the Visitors, with the prescription of oaths to that purpose, which yet have had no other effect (because of the several means of bargaining invented to evade them) than as we fear to add perjury to the other abuse and corrup-

* A vacancy caused by the death of the occupant.

tions. Not long after the election in the year 1656 it pleased God to load and trouble the conscience of one Mr. Egerton who was then chosen into the Colledg: among other things this added to his perplexity that according to the custom he had given 150*l.* for the resignation whereby he obtayned his fellowship. The Lord pursuing his work of grace upon his heart, he makes acknowledgement of that corruption, and resigns his fellowship unto the Colledg, as that which he could not hold upon that foundation after he had borne an open testimony against that wicked practice, and other abuses against some of the fellows of that society. Notwithstanding this testimony from heaven against that corrupt practice and bringing to light by the hand of God, the fellows this year proceed to a new election in the same way as formerly; and in all probability with the same corruption. And whereas the Warden with some of the godly and honest fellows agreed that they would chuse Mr. Egerton now again that he might come in on a clear accompte, seeing he was like to be an eminently useful member of that society, not only the major part did refuse him, but also the Sub-warden of the Colledg made a speech publicly at the election against him, desiring the Warden to take some course to proceed against him to convict him as one that had brought a scandall upon the Colledg. . . .—Pages 210, 211.

The interest of the details and the similarity of the custom to that recently abolished in the army will excuse the length of the extract. Cromwell supported his Commissioners in their attempt to repress this abuse, and his death prevented the reform from being carried out successfully.

Twenty years later the crisis arrived, and the victory was due to the persistence of Archbishop Sancroft and Warden Jeames. For the details of the struggle we must commend the reader to Mr. Burrows' own account. We can only mark the facts and the result. An election, which the Warden knew to be due to corrupt connivance with the candidates, he vetoed. Consequently, by the statutes, the right of election devolved upon the Visitor. Sancroft (the Archbishops of Canterbury are *ex-officio* Visitors of All Souls) appointed four individuals other than those selected by the Fellows:—

'To countenance the Probationers' (i.e. the new Fellows), writes the Warden, 'at their first entrance into commons, I dined in the hall myself yesterday and shall again to day, and have reduced the Fellows to their ordinary commons in messes and chops, whereas I have for some years allowed them to be served up in whole joints, but because they abused this liberty into excess, and brought a great charge upon the poorer Fellows, I now thought fit to retrench it. After dinner when I was returned to my lodgings, the two Bursars and the two Deans came, with the Library Statute Book in their hand, and admonished me (in obedience to an injunction of Archbishop Whitgift) to expel the head cook, who that day chopped out their
their

their commons, and the groom of the stairs for being married and their relation to me (one having been my servant and the other having married my wife's maid) being the only ones they could lay to their charge. —P. 275.

He may well add, 'We are now in a perfect state of war.' Eventually the whole question was brought before the Court of the King's Bench, and decided against them. The victory, once gained, was final, and the result was met with general satisfaction within the University.

All Souls, as is well known to Oxford men, possesses this peculiarity, that, so far as direct provision is concerned, it is a wholly non-resident, non-clerical, and non-educational college. How did this anomaly arise?

As regards the last feature in its character, there is little to be said. In the century between 1550 and 1650 it appears that servitors (servientes) are to be found on the roll, and in 1703 their number amounted to thirty-one. At the time of the Civil War they disappeared, and did not afterwards return. With this striking exception All Souls has never admitted within its walls members not on the foundation.

The growth of the lay element is connected with that of non-residency, and both with the weight and influence which business and the study of law have always possessed in the College. Of the original forty Fellows, it was provided by the Statute that sixteen were to be jurists, and all 'dedicated' to the study of law from taking orders was obtained comparatively early by the jurists. They were merely obliged to show that they had, within two years, taken up the practice of civil law. As regards the remaining twenty-four, the obligation continued to be enforced, unless special dispensation was obtained. A connection, at first, perhaps, accidental, with the study of medicine, brought it about that a certain number of fellows, eventually four, were reckoned as 'physic practitioners'. Their dispensation could almost invariably be obtained. The ordinary plea, however, for exemption was the service of the Crown, at first a reality, afterwards a form; and since the changes of the Commission of 1852, all lay fellows hold their commissions in Her Majesty's service. Since that time no one has been admitted who has been entirely removed, and who is not in the knowledge of the University, from the list of equally eligible.

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for more than six months, except through illness, or on the King's service, should entail forfeiture of a fellowship; and throughout the sixteenth century, the College jealously watched all such dispensations. When, in 1581, the Earl of Leicester sought such leave for a friend or dependant, it was specially provided that during absence the Fellow in question should derive no emoluments from the College. The growth of the Common Law induced the Jurist Fellows to prefer its study and practice in London to that of the Civil Law in Oxford. As early as 1582 Archbishop Grindal, as Visitor, refused to sanction such dispensations given by the College to its members. Whitgift attempted a compromise, but in vain. Bancroft suspended Whitgift's injunctions. It was not until after the Revolution that the whole matter was definitely settled. In the year 1702, Gardiner became Warden, and he determined to make a bold stand against what he considered the abuses of non-residence, and of dispensation from holy orders. The state of the two questions at his accession was this:—

'The change of the All Souls Jurists from Oxford Civil and Canon Lawyers to London Common Lawyers' was complete. 'Their freedom from the obligation to take orders had become by long custom legitimate (though even this Gardiner disputed), and the system of dispensations which had crept in everywhere before the Revolution, under the example of the Stuart sovereigns, enabled them to pursue their profession tolerably undisturbed. Physicians, members of Parliament, public servants, such as commissioners of various kinds, were numerous both among the artists and jurists. All wanted to retain their fellowships while they performed their respective functions as non-residents; each dispensation diminished the number of clergymen, and strengthened the growing dislike to take holy orders.'—P. 353.

In the contest which ensued, which Mr. Burrows gives in detail, the Warden was defeated, and the question of non-residence was considered thenceforth as settled. The Fellows were unwilling, the Warden was unable, to revive it; for when defeated he was disarmed, and the right of veto, which had been his weapon of war, was taken away from him.

The legal reputation of the College by no means suffered from the victory of the Fellows. It was within the hall of All Souls, as is well known, that Blackstone delivered his Commentaries, and Blackstone was but a distinguished successor of many Fellows who had not unworthily preceded him in the same line. We have already noticed the preponderance given to Law in the original foundation. Cranmer, in his enlightened proposal for systematising study within the University, by setting apart cer-

tain colleges to certain subjects, destined All Souls to be a purely Civil Law College. Its artists were to be transferred to New College, and the jurists of New College brought over to All Souls. The scheme was not carried out. We do not sympathise with Mr. Burrows in rejoicing over its failure, and his joy clothes itself in somewhat incoherent language (p. 73). Nevertheless in principle Cranmer's design has been revived in modern times. In accordance with the directions of the University Commissioners, Fellowships at All Souls, for the last sixteen years, have been awarded on examination in Law and Modern History only; and the study of these two subjects it is the special duty of the College to foster within the University. Thus two professorships in these subjects have been founded—one of International Law and Diplomacy, the other of Modern History, held by Mr. Burrows; and the College has further established and, with no niggard hand, maintained a special Law Library, probably the most complete outside the metropolis, open not only to members of the University but to barristers and all students of the law. It has too modestly in this respect hidden its light under a bushel, but we trust that when the public spirit which it has shown becomes better known and better appreciated, it will find other imitators in other fields within the University.

There are many other interesting features connected with the College and its history which, if space permitted, we should like to call attention to. There is the Chapel, in its architecture midway between those of New College and Magdalen, showing evident signs of the decadence, but in other respects recalling the glories, of the past, especially in its magnificent reredos, mutilated at the Reformation, and hidden for centuries, now again discovered and being munificently restored; still more there is the Codrington Library—the real glory of the College, and the quietly-heroic character of its founder, Christopher Codrington. The College of Wren rightly possesses buildings not unworthy of the architect of St. Paul's; the College of Leland and Tanner, of Linacre and Sydenham, rightly possesses the first College Library in Oxford.*

We venture, in conclusion, to notice the relations, as they are and might be, of All Souls to the University.

A University, as we conceive, has to promote at once educa-

* Leland does not appear to have been actually a Fellow. See p. 50. We fear that in the Chapel of All Souls, as elsewhere, the 'restorer' is none the less a ruthless iconoclast of works of beauty and dignity, which either he cannot appreciate, or which offend his rigid ideas of uniformity and congruity.

tion and learning. With education within the University, as we have seen from Mr. Burrows' book, All Souls has never had anything to do, and a proposal to introduce undergraduates into the College was very rightly rejected by the University Commission. The establishment of another small College within the University (and notwithstanding the imposing character of its buildings, All Souls could only be a small College) is not to be desired. Such an idea could only be entertained if it formed part of a general scheme for amalgamation of different collegiate foundations. It is rather to the interests of learning than of education in the University that All Souls is designed to contribute. A College of students, free to pursue their own separate branches of study, devoting their time to original research, without being disturbed by the harassing care of educational work, is a pleasing idea, but one hardly to be realised. Such societies cannot be created either by Parliament or pious founders. But although a College of students is impracticable, a College of professors is by no means so; and All Souls appears peculiarly adapted to become the nucleus of such a society. The interests of learning in the University are entrusted to the Professoriate. The Professor in idea represents the latest development and advanced interests of his science, and he is bound to supervise generally its study within the University. Professorial lectures are to give the student a general idea of the subject in its principles, and on its relations to other departments of knowledge, rather than to enable him to answer so many questions in the schools, to be a perpetual protest against cram, and that great danger in the University, of all work being made subsidiary to the examinations. Excellent as the present system of Examinations, in many respects, is, it is not favourable to the pursuit of learning for its own sake. The desire of obtaining a high place in the class-list, is the predominant feeling in the student's mind, and often exercises a prejudicial effect. It is with University not with College work that the Professor is concerned; nevertheless, it is notorious that owing to the utterly insufficient salaries given to the Professoriate generally in Oxford, the occupants of the chairs are obliged to accept, or to retain, different College offices, and consequently to occupy themselves much with the duties of these sometimes incongruous appointments, or perhaps occasionally to sink the Professor in the Tutor.

As long as the Colleges practically constitute the University, the connection of Professorships with the Colleges is of great value. There may be various opinions as to the College-rights which should be conferred upon Professor Fellows, but at any

rate no duties as regards tutorial work should be imposed upon them. And in a non-educational College like All Souls, they would be entirely free from that burden or temptation, whichever it may be. This is not the place in which to go into details upon the subject, nor to say in what cases new Professorships should be founded, and in what cases the salary of old Professorships should be supplemented; nor can we deal with subsidiary questions, such as the establishment of Readerships, or the value of occasional lectures on special subjects. An interesting paper has recently been circulated in Oxford, containing the replies to a letter of inquiry upon these very subjects, addressed by the Vice-Chancellor to the different Boards of Studies. The replies are generally in favour of a considerable increase in the Professoriate, and a general systematisation of University instruction. To go no further at present than the two subjects of Law and History, it seems to us very unsatisfactory that the first University in England should possess no resident Professor either in Roman or in English Law, and no Professor of English Literature, or of Archaeology, or of Geography. The College of All Souls, whose special province it is to promote the study of these two departments of learning, would do honour to itself, and act in consonance with its great traditions, if it endeavoured to supply some of these deficiencies.

ART. IX.—1. *Tables of the Number of Criminal Offenders, 1841–1855.*

2. *Judicial Statistics, 1856–1873.*

3. *Correspondence on the Subject of the late Disturbances in the Manufacturing and Mining Districts.* Edited by Rev. John Sinclair. 1842.

THE first annual record of the state of crime in England and Wales, as evidenced by the commitments for trial, was prepared in the year 1805, and from that time to the present time (1841) there has been a progressive increase in the numbers committed. Until the peace in 1814 the increase was gradual, but commitments then increased so rapidly that they were nearly doubled in three years. This great increase was maintained until 1821, when a slight decrease took place, and continued during the two following years, at the end of which an increase again commenced, which continued almost uninterruptedly for the ten succeeding years. The tables on the present enlarged plan were then commenced, and the comparison from that time being direct, the number of commitments annually are given. They were in—

1834	..	..	22,451	1838	..	..	23,094
1835	..	..	20,731	1839	..	..	24,443
1836	..	..	20,984	1840	..	..	27,187
1837	..	..	23,612	1841	..	..	27,760

These figures do not show any decrease of commitments; on the contrary, the temporary decrease in 1835 and 1836 was followed by a large increase, which has not since suffered any check, and comparing the average of the first three years of the above period with the last year, this increase is almost 30 per cent. In 1841, as compared with the preceding year, the increase amounted to only 2.1 per cent., but it follows two years in which the aggregate increase exceeded 16 per cent.*

Such is the introduction to the official tables of criminal statistics for 1841 in the Parliamentary Blue-book. As in some manner explaining the cause of this growth of crime, we make some quotations from 'Correspondence on the Subject of the late Disturbances in the Manufacturing and Mining Districts,' published by Archdeacon Sinclair in 1842. It is there stated in one letter :—†

'There cannot here be less than a population of 60,000; and until lately there were but three churches and church schools (and those only Sunday schools) for that large multitude. Two-thirds of the inhabitants are mill operatives. The very want renders the mass of them insensible of, and therefore indifferent to the want, so that no aid can be obtained from them; and *many* of the masters are in this respect as bad as their men. There is as yet no daily school for the benefit of the operatives in this place; no daily school, save those opened by schoolmasters for their own private emolument, and from which, consequently, the population at large can derive no benefit, while the education given in them is of course merely secular. There are no means to guide the young, who are left therefore to follow the example of their elders; and those elders are almost all unrestrained by the moral precepts and sanctions of the Christian faith. In consequence of this state of things, vice and infidelity most fearfully abound. Not only are there to be found among the population persons so ignorant as to become the followers of every blasphemous and extravagant sect that may spring up, as Southcottians, Mormonites, &c., but infidelity is openly professed. A statistical society, not having any religious object in view, but merely for information, has ascertained that in this township there are above 1100 heads of families who profess no religion, while in the adjoining town there are above 200. Now connect this with the fact that it was in this neighbourhood that the late extensive commotion commenced—it was the populace of this

* 'Criminal Tables for 1846,' p. 5. It would be difficult for statistics to be more complete or better arranged than are those in these Blue Books.

† 'Correspondence,' p. 8.

place that marched to Manchester and all the surrounding districts. Where infidelity and ignorance are so strong, thence this insurrection took its rise. And it has been stated to me by a gentleman long resident here, that he never knew a disturbance among the manufacturing population in which this neglected township did not take a lead.'

Another writes:—*

'The moral condition of the people is as bad as it is possible for it to be. Vice is unrebuked, unabashed: moral character is of no value. The bad are employed both in factories and private houses as readily as the virtuous. Unchastity is no disgrace, and no hindrance either to employment or to marriage.'

A third writes:—†

'The want of church schools in this neighbourhood is most remarkable. In all the great towns of the district, containing from 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, there is seldom more than one public school for the children of the poor, and sometimes none at all; and even these very coldly and indifferently supported. It well deserves remembrance that in Staleybridge, containing 26,000 inhabitants, the place in which the late disturbances originated, and where only they still remain unquelled, up to the commencement of the present year there was no public school of any kind.'

With a quotation from a speech by Lord John Russell in 1839, delivered in his place in Parliament after the Chartist rising, and cited in one of these letters, we will bring these extracts to a close:—‡

'There are in the manufacturing districts very large masses of people who have grown up in a state of society which it is both lamentable and appalling to contemplate. They have not grown up among the concomitants of an ordinary state of society, under the hand of early instruction, with places of worship to attend, with their opinions of property moulded by seeing it devoted to charitable and social objects, with a fair and gradual subordination of ranks; but it is in many cases a society necessarily composed of the working classes with the few persons who employ their labour, but with whom they have little other connection, and unhappily receiving, neither in schools nor places of worship, that religious and moral instruction which is necessary to knit together the inhabitants and classes of a great country.'

It would be easy to illustrate this subject still further from a variety of sources, and to show from the investigations of a Parliamentary Committee the worse than heathen ignorance in which a large portion of the working population was suffered to

* Correspondence, p. 11.

† Ibid., p. 15.

‡ Ibid., p. 18.
grow

grow up. But it is unnecessary to do so, as it is not our purpose to attempt the impossible task of minutely tracing the connection between crime and ignorance of revealed truth, between offences against the law and absence of religious training. We are content to place before our readers explanations of the rapid growth of crime in certain parts of the country, given at the time by persons qualified by their position to judge, and to contrast with the state of things then existing, the more recent statistics of crime, and the present condition of affairs.

Let us, then, first examine the number of commitments since 1841. By changes in dealing with certain classes of crime, allowances will have to be made, but of these we will speak hereafter. The numbers stand as follows:—

1842.. ..	31,309	1853.. ..	27,057	1864.. ..	19,506
1843.. ..	29,591	1854.. ..	29,359	1865.. ..	19,614
1844.. ..	26,542	1855.. ..	25,972	1866.. ..	18,849
1845.. ..	24,303	1856.. ..	19,437	1867.. ..	18,971
1846.. ..	25,107	1857.. ..	20,269	1868.. ..	20,091
1847.. ..	28,833	1858.. ..	17,855	1869.. ..	19,318
1848.. ..	30,349	1859.. ..	16,674	1870.. ..	17,578
1849.. ..	27,816	1860.. ..	15,999	1871.. ..	16,269
1850.. ..	26,813	1861.. ..	18,326	1872.. ..	14,801
1851.. ..	27,960	1862.. ..	20,001	1873.. ..	14,893
1852.. ..	27,510	1863.. ..	20,818		

There were two Acts of Parliament passed during this period which affect these returns. The first was an Act for the more speedy trial and punishment of juvenile offenders, passed in 1847. Its object was to enable two magistrates to deal summarily with offenders whose age did not exceed fifteen years, who had stolen or embezzled property of a value not exceeding forty shillings. It will be seen from the figures above that this Act exercised no appreciable influence upon the number of commitments. The other was an Act passed in 1855 for diminishing expense and delay in the administration of justice in certain cases. It authorized the Justices of the Peace at Petty Sessions to deal summarily with persons charged with simple larceny, or with stealing from the person, or larceny as a clerk or servant; but it limited the punishment they could inflict to imprisonment for six months, and in all cases it gave to the person accused the power of claiming to be tried at the next Sessions or Assizes. The effect of this Act is thus described in the official returns for 1856:—

* ‘The commitments for trial in the last year show an unprece-

* ‘Criminal Statistics for 1856,’ pp. vii. viii.

dented decrease, especially when the decrease in the previous year is considered. This must be largely, but not wholly, attributed to the extended powers of Justices to deal summarily in cases of larceny under the Criminal Justice Act, 18 and 19 Vict. c. 126, which has been in operation over the whole of the year. This would refer, however, only to the lesser offences of stealing, while it might have been feared on the other hand that the almost total abandonment of transportation, and the return of large numbers temporarily removed from England by the war, would lead to the increase of the offences of violence in a greater ratio than proves to be the case. On this latter point the state of commitments bears a very gratifying comparison with that at the close of the war in 1815, when the total of the commitments was immediately doubled, and the offences of the gravest description bore their full proportion in this sudden increase.'

These remarks apply to every year subsequent to 1855: our readers, therefore, in comparing the number of criminals in more recent years with those of an earlier period must take this into the account. It will help us to judge of the allowance to be made if we remember that the average annual number of commitments for all kinds of offences against property without violence during the five years preceding the passing of the Act, was 20,212; during the five years which succeeded its becoming law, 12,370; and during the five years ending with 1871 it was 12,726. After making this allowance, the result is far from unsatisfactory, when we remember the great additions which have been made to the population of the country. The number of criminals is not much more than half in 1873, out of twenty-three millions of people, of what it was in 1841, out of sixteen millions: or, if we take into consideration the addition which ought to be made for the reason just assigned, it is about three-fourths now of what it was at the earlier date. In other words, whilst the growth of population has been nearly 45 per cent., crime has actually diminished by about 25 per cent. When we compare the character of the offences committed, we find that there is no increase in any class of offences at all comparable to the increase of population. In the official statistics crimes are classed under six heads. The first contains all offences against the person. In 1834 there were 2455 persons committed for such crimes, in 1856, 1919, and in 1871, 2175. The second division comprises offences against property with violence. Here the numbers were 1459 in 1834, 2258 in 1856, and 1509 in 1871. The third division is the one affected by the Criminal Justice Act of 1855; it includes all offences against property without violence; and we find such offences reduced from 16,608 in 1834, and 13,670 in 1856, to 11,265 in 1871. The fourth
division

division exhibits the number of commitments for malicious offences against property. These have increased from 162 in 1834, and 180 in 1856, to 197 in 1871. The fifth division shows the number of forgers and offenders against the currency laws; in 1834 there were 431, 893 in 1856, and in 1871, 483. The last division includes a variety of offences, which cannot be classified under any of the foregoing heads—such as treason, sedition, poaching, perjury; and here there is a very large decrease, the numbers being 1336 in 1834, 517 in 1856, and 640 in 1871. If we look at the intervening years, we find that they present no special features which interfere with the conclusions to be drawn from what has been just stated. Of the magnitude of the crimes committed, the only index we could have would be the punishments inflicted; but, for reasons which will presently be stated it will be seen that, under existing circumstances, any argument drawn from such a comparison would be completely fallacious.

These figures require to be supplemented with further information to make the impression they give of the criminal state of the country at all complete.* The deterrents from crime, and the hindrances to its successful commission, as well as the chances of discovery, have to be taken into account before we can be satisfied that we are safe in the conclusions we draw from such statistics.

With respect to the deterrents from crime, the whole character of the punishments awarded has been changed; our criminal code, instead of being almost Draconic, now verges on the opposite extreme. This is, perhaps, better shown by a comparison between the number of persons capitally sentenced and executed at the two periods than it would be by a statement of the changes made in the law. In the seven years ending 1820, 7107 persons were sentenced to death, of whom 649 were executed; in the following seven years, 7952 were so sentenced, of whom 494 were executed; and in the seven years ending with 1834, 8483 persons were condemned to die, of whom 355 were executed; whilst in the seven years ending 1871, only 140 persons were sentenced to death, of whom 59 were executed. This did not arise only or chiefly from a diminution in the number of capital

* In a letter to the 'Times' of September 2, 1874, Mr. T. B. L. Baker says:—'In 1844 we (County of Gloucester) had just enlarged our gaols (we had seven of them in county, city, and boroughs), and we had room in them all for 800 prisoners, and we were greatly found fault with by the Home Office for not having built more, as from the rapid increase of crime we were certain to be over full in ten years. Thirty years have passed. We have shut up or pulled down six gaols out of the seven, and the largest number of prisoners at any one time, in 1872, was 197.'

crimes, but from the altered state of the law. In the official Blue-book for 1841 it is said :—*

‘The magnitude of the recent changes in the criminal laws will be strongly exemplified when it is stated that, had the offences tried in 1841 been tried under the laws of 1831, the eighty capital sentences which were passed last year would have been increased to 2172.’

A further amelioration in the penal code was made in 1857 by the cessation of transportation as an instrument of punishment, for transportation was considered the sentence next to death in severity :—†

‘The revival of transportation in 1787, like its final abolition in 1857, appears to have been governed by necessity as much as policy ; though, looking only to its effect in one point of view, there can be no doubt that it has relieved this country of large numbers of the most dangerous criminals. To preserve a record of how greatly transportation must have tended to keep down the home criminal population, and the demoralisation which surrounds every convict of this class, I have calculated from the original lists the number of offenders transported from England and Wales to Australia, from those first landed down to the last diminished shipment to Western Australia (the only part of the Australian continent to which they have been lately consigned). These numbers classed in each ten years were :—

		Males.	Females.	Total.
From 1787 to 1796 ..		3,792	865	4,657
.. 1797 .. 1806 ..		2,568	813	3,381
.. 1807 .. 1816 ..		4,390	1,252	5,642
.. 1817 .. 1826 ..		16,750	1,472	18,222
.. 1827 .. 1836 ..		32,780	4,337	37,117
.. 1837 .. 1846 ..		23,550	3,708	27,258
.. 1847 .. 1856 ..		10,241	1,736	11,977
In the Year 1857		461	..	461
Total		94,532	14,183	108,715

Let us look next at the means used to protect property and to discover crime. For these we naturally turn to the strength and efficiency of the police force kept on foot at the different periods. The changes which have been made in it are thus well summarized :—‡

‘In the boroughs a police was established in 1835, under the Municipal Corporations Act of the 5 and 6 Will. 4 c. 76, varying from a high degree of efficiency, chiefly in the larger boroughs, to a great want of

* ‘Tables of the Number of Criminal Offenders, 1841,’ p. 7.

† ‘Judicial Statistics, 1857,’ p. xvii.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. v. vi.

system and efficiency in others, among which the boroughs of least population and progress are the most conspicuous. In the counties a constabulary has been in the course of gradual formation since the passing of the 2 and 3 Vict. c. 93, in the year 1839. In several counties a most efficient police has been formed, and altogether 29 counties and parts of counties had availed themselves of the permissive powers of the Act of 1839, when in 1856 the establishment of a police force throughout the remaining parts of England and Wales was made compulsory by the statute 19 and 20 Vict. c. 69.

'From this statute the establishment of a uniform system of police must be dated, no locality or jurisdiction is exempted for which a police had not been previously provided. Up to this time in many extensive districts no other provision had been made for the protection of life and property than such as might be obtained from the unpaid, untrained parish constable, unwillingly selected for his year of duty, no other means at hand for the prompt pursuit of the most atrocious or the most subtle criminals. While for many years the amendment of the laws for the punishment of criminals had been one of the prominent cares of the legislature, no general provisions were enacted for the prevention of crimes and the pursuit of offenders. This is the office of a paid, trained police; and the numerous enactments passed for the custody and punishment of offenders would not probably have so long preceded a care for the prevention of offences had not a constitutional jealousy of police systems, which has, I trust, disappeared, stood in the way.'

Since the passing of this Act, the strength of the police force has been steadily growing, its efficiency has been tested, and its general utility acknowledged. At the census of 1861 the total police and constabulary force gave one for every 937 of the population; at the census of 1871 there was one for every 828; last year there was one for every 795. In 1871 there were 27,425 men engaged in this work, including Commissioners, Superintendents, Chief Constables of Counties, and Head Constables of Boroughs, and the expenditure was almost two and a quarter millions; last year the number of men engaged had risen to 28,550, and the cost to 2,567,491*l*.

There is another point to be examined before we have before us such materials as are within our reach, to enable a fair comparison to be drawn as to the worth of the statistics with which we commenced. What are the chances of discovery now when compared with what they were thirty years since? Unfortunately, our information on this head is incomplete; it is only since 1857 that we have returns of the number of crimes committed. Up to that time we are told how many persons were committed for trial, and how many of these were convicted, and how many acquitted. But this tells but imperfectly the amount of crime of which the perpetrators escaped detection. More-
over,

over, it does not even fairly tell of the completeness or incompleteness of the evidence produced against the persons charged with crime. For it is clear that juries were much biassed in the verdicts they gave by the sentence which was likely to follow. If the probable sentence seemed to them excessive, they demanded an amount of proof far beyond what would have sufficed under other circumstances. This is clearly shown by the following statement:—*

‘It may be worthy of remark here, in reference to the change made in the punishment for rape, that in the three years 1835–6–7 when executions for this offence had not ceased, the numbers convicted were 19, acquitted 165, or little more than one conviction to nine acquittals. In 1839–40–41, during which and the preceding year no executions for rape had taken place, the numbers convicted amounted to 61, acquitted 150, and the proportion was raised to 1 conviction to 2·4 acquittals.’

The proportion between the numbers convicted and acquitted has not very materially varied when our view is extended to the whole number of criminals, and perhaps what difference there is may be accounted for by applying the fact just alleged to the various classes of offences for which the punishment has been mitigated. The census years will sufficiently illustrate this point, adding to them 1834 as the first year for which we have complete statistical returns.

Year.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Proportion.
1834	15,995	6,456	1 to 2·47
1841	20,280	7,480	1 .. 2·71
1851	21,579	6,359	1 .. 3·39
1861	13,879	4,423	1 .. 3·13
1871	11,946	4,283	1 .. 2·8

Since 1857 these statistical returns give us the number of offences committed, in addition to the information previously furnished. In that year the returns were far from being complete. They showed—†

‘57,273 crimes committed;
32,031 persons apprehended; and
17,861 persons committed or bailed for trial.

* ‘Tables of Criminal Offenders, 1841,’ p. 7.

† ‘Judicial Statistics, 1857,’ pp. vii. viii.

'But it is necessary to state that in comparing the number of the crimes committed with the number of offenders apprehended, some grounds of difference will exist. Several persons often participate in one crime, and on the other hand many crimes are committed by the same person. Again, when compared from year to year, the crime and the criminal may not appear in the same return, for in crimes committed towards the end of the year, the offenders may not be apprehended until the commencement of the following year. Subject to these remarks, I would add that the returns show that in the crimes against the person, the number of persons apprehended equal, and in many cases exceed, the number of offences committed; while in attempts upon the dwelling, burglary, house-breaking, shop-breaking, &c., including sacrilege, the apprehensions are 2084 persons to 5428 offences committed; in robbery and attempts to rob, 854 apprehensions to 1029 offences committed.'

In 1861 the number of crimes committed is stated to have been 50,809, whilst 27,174 persons were apprehended; in 1866 the numbers were very similar, there having been 50,549 crimes committed, and 27,190 persons apprehended; in 1871, with diminished numbers the proportions were not materially altered, the crimes committed being returned as 45,149, whilst 23,919 persons were apprehended.

It is difficult to apply the considerations which have been set forth with any degree of certainty to the criminal tables at the commencement of this article. Take for example the relations between the amount of discovered and undiscovered crime. If the proportions were the same in 1842 that they were in 1871, the numerical improvement which has taken place is greater than those tables show; but with the improved condition of the police force, and its complete diffusion all over the country, it is only fair to suppose that a much larger proportion of offenders is now brought to justice than was the case thirty years since. On the other hand, when our endeavour is to ascertain the amount of criminality or moral evil that there is in the country, we must assume that the same increased efficiency in the police force has proved an effectual deterrent from crime, and that in many cases offences have not been committed, because of the increased chance of discovery.

But it may be said that although there has been a considerable decrease in more serious crimes, there has been more than a proportionate increase in minor offences. There is some truth in such a statement, for the number of offences summarily dealt with has grown. During the five years ending with 1856, the average annual number of commitments for lesser offences was 100,411; in the five years ending with 1861, 112,632; in the five
years

years ending with 1866, 119,951; and in the five following years, 136,070. These figures at first sight seem very discouraging; but if we examine them closely our disappointment will be much diminished. We shall find that they represent * 'in a great degree the vices rather than the crimes of the population'; and that our improved position with respect to criminals emboldens those who have to administer the law to deal with such cases in a way upon which they would never have ventured had the returns of serious crimes been less favourable than they are. For the earlier years detailed statistics are not furnished in the Blue-books as they are in the later ones; but a comparison between 1861 and 1871 will be sufficient for our purpose. In 1861 there were 110,800 persons committed for minor offences; in 1871 there were 145,766. These offenders so punished were taken from a much larger class brought before the magistrates, of whom a considerable portion were dismissed with fines, or upon finding sureties, or were sent to Reformatories, or were handed over to the military or naval authorities, or were acquitted. A comparison of the numbers charged for the different offences so dealt with at the two periods will furnish the best guide to the amount of criminality. In 1861, 82,196 persons were charged with being drunk and disorderly; in 1871, 142,343. In 1861, 26,331 persons were apprehended under the Vagrancy Laws; in 1871, 39,532. In 1861 there were 33,350 offenders against Local Acts and Borough Bye-Laws; in 1871 the number was increased to 38,333. In 1861, 19,900 persons were taken into custody for violating the laws regulating Highways, Turnpikes, Railways, and Carriages; in 1871, the number was 29,408. In 1861 there were 17,651 offenders against the Police Acts; in 1871, 19,645. In 1861, 10,827 persons were accused of violating the laws regulating Licensed Victuallers and the sale of Beer; in 1871 the number was 11,004. In 1861, 10,393 persons were charged with offences against laws relating to Servants, Apprentices, and Masters; in 1871 the number was 10,810. In 1861, 6474 persons were accused of using fraudulent weights and measures; in 1871 the number was reduced to 4989. Under the Mutiny Acts there were 4578 charges in 1861; 3654 in 1871. In 1861, 6282 persons had to answer for alleged offences against the Poor Law Acts; in 1871 there were 8939. In 1861, 3728 persons were accused of causing nuisances, or otherwise offending against sanitary laws; whilst in 1871 there were 8642 charges of a like kind. In 1871 there appears an item which finds no place in

* 'Judicial Statistics, 1857,' p. ix.

1861—it is for breaches of the peace, want of sureties, &c.—and under this head there were 18,050 persons charged. The commitments of 1861 included 13,591 debtors, and persons committed by civil process; those of 1871, 9232.

An examination of these details will show that the two great causes of increase are drunkenness and temper, leading men to disobey regulations by local or other authorities. We would not speak lightly of either offence, but in estimating the moral condition of the country they rank very differently to crimes of violence or dishonesty. At a time when luxury so much abounds, and when higher wages place the means of self-indulgence within the reach of so much larger a number of persons, it is not surprising, though much to be regretted, that such offences should increase. Moreover, it is to be noted that with increased vigilance on the part of the police,* offenders are now charged before the magistrates who would have certainly not been apprehended a few years since. We ought also to remember that our sanitary laws have created offences which, until lately, were unknown; as *e.g.*, by making vaccination compulsory, by making penal the adulteration of food, &c. We may now expect to find the list of offences still further increased by charges under the compulsory Bye-Laws of the Education Act of 1870.

But there is further evidence serving to illustrate our condition with respect to crime, to which we would call attention. Since the construction of a complete system of police all over the country in 1857, there has been inserted in the official statistics a statement of the numbers of the criminal classes known to the police. It must be difficult to decide the exact value of such returns; for it seems natural to expect that when an evil doer knows himself to be suspected by the police he will seek an early opportunity of changing his residence, and that in such a way as would make it difficult to trace him. On the other hand, the poorer classes find it no easy matter to recommence life where they are utterly unknown, and many of them shrink from making such a venture. Another element of uncertainty must arise from varying modes of judging persons to be of the suspected classes, and of retaining or removing their

* 'In 1840 our (county of Gloucester) police began to work, and detected many more crimes, and procured the prosecution of many slight offences which had before been considered not worth notice, and the numbers so tried rose from 537 in 1834 to 797 in 1842. Yet, though the detection and the noticing slight offences continued, by 1846 they had lowered again to 559.'—*Letter to the 'Times,'* Sept. 2, 1874, from Mr. T. B. L. Baker.

names from lists of such classes. Taking, however, such returns for what they may be worth, they tell us that whereas in 1861, counties with a population of 11,720,263 had 46,250 known or suspected wrong doers, or 3·94 out of every thousand of their inhabitants; the same counties in 1871, with a population increased by a million, had only 33,077 known or suspected criminals, or 2·59 to every thousand of the people. In boroughs containing in 1861, 5,124,726 people, there were 16,012 persons against whom the police felt it their duty to guard the rest of the community; whilst in 1871, in the same boroughs then numbering 6,056,202 inhabitants, the suspected had fallen to 13,521. So that whilst in 1861, 3·12 out of every thousand were reckoned as belonging to the criminal classes, in 1871 the proportion had fallen to 2·19. But for the metropolis diminution to a still lower point is claimed; there in 1861, with 3,221,235 people, 5286 persons, or 1·67 in every thousand of the population, were regarded as belonging to the criminal classes; in 1871, with 3,883,092 people, the suspected offenders were only 3546, or ·91 out of every thousand. It seems a probable suggestion to make from the above figures that the outskirts of the metropolis and large boroughs are the favourite haunts of suspected persons; this would place them beyond the jurisdiction of the more numerous police forces, and cause them to be reckoned in the counties, and not in the boroughs or in the metropolis.

The return of crimes committed scarcely bears out this favourable estimate of the diminution in the number of criminals, as they were reported to be 45,149 in 1871, against 50,809 in 1861. We shall give the clearest idea of the extent to which crime and vice exist in the different parts of the country by inserting a comparative view of the number of crimes committed in each county in proportion to the number of its inhabitants in the years 1861 and 1871; and also of the number of persons summarily proceeded against at those two periods. We would remind our readers that we have already described the kinds of offences which are thus dealt with, and we have enumerated them for each of those census years on the opposite page. It will be observed from these tables that the diminution of crime is found in nearly every county; whilst the increase of minor offences is equally general.

The number of births registered as illegitimate is not on the increase. In 1842 there were 34,796 such births registered; in 1852, 42,482; in 1862, 45,222; and in 1872, 44,766.

	INDICTABLE OFFENCES. Proportion to Population.		OFFENCES DETERMINED SUMMARILY. Proportion to Population.	
	1871.	1861.	1871.	1861.
Bedford	1 in 1160	1 in 1176	1 in 88	1 in 127
Berks	1 " 789	1 " 610	1 " 73	1 " 77
Bucks	1 " 814	1 " 615	1 " 63	1 " 84
Cambridge	1 " 958	1 " 956	1 " 120	1 " 169
Chester	1 " 490	1 " 318	1 " 40	1 " 46
Cornwall	1 " 2448	1 " 1260	1 " 94	1 " 106
Cumberland	1 " 1053	1 " 941	1 " 48	1 " 68
Derby	1 " 719	1 " 1060	1 " 50	1 " 66
Devon	1 " 1445	1 " 849	1 " 71	1 " 92
Dorset	1 " 1143	1 " 743	1 " 61	1 " 128
Durham	1 " 1479	1 " 1120	1 " 23	1 " 37
Gloucester	1 " 858	1 " 628	1 " 49	1 " 70
Hereford	1 " 656	1 " 381	1 " 46	1 " 44
Hertford	1 " 928	1 " 1050	1 " 65	1 " 92
Huntingdon	1 " 1179	1 " 1189	1 " 81	1 " 109
Lancaster	1 " 251	1 " 167	1 " 22	1 " 26
Leicester	1 " 792	1 " 570	1 " 67	1 " 78
Lincoln	1 " 1062	1 " 684	1 " 55	1 " 68
Metropolis*	1 " 279	1 " 262	1 " 36	1 " 37
Moumouth	1 " 653	1 " 539	1 " 34	1 " 47
Norfolk	1 " 961	1 " 586	1 " 95	1 " 107
Northampton	1 " 886	1 " 764	1 " 77	1 " 88
Northumberland	1 " 561	1 " 561	1 " 35	1 " 53
Nottingham	1 " 1021	1 " 598	1 " 54	1 " 69
Oxford	1 " 988	1 " 793	1 " 72	1 " 83
Rutland	1 " 2207	1 " 840	1 " 69	1 " 109
Salop	1 " 835	1 " 599	1 " 43	1 " 46
Somerset	1 " 1039	1 " 660	1 " 66	1 " 71
Southampton	1 " 672	1 " 359	1 " 63	1 " 69
Stafford	1 " 653	1 " 444	1 " 32	1 " 38
Suffolk	1 " 910	1 " 528	1 " 108	1 " 121
Sussex	1 " 796	1 " 373	1 " 95	1 " 119
Warwick	1 " 568	1 " 465	1 " 39	1 " 56
Westmoreland	1 " 910	1 " 800	1 " 73	1 " 96
Wilts	1 " 1346	1 " 1362	1 " 95	1 " 108
Worcester	1 " 787	1 " 387	1 " 60	1 " 66
York, East Riding	1 " 794	1 " 896	1 " 44	1 " 52
West Riding	1 " 623	1 " 579	1 " 46	1 " 52
North Riding	1 " 939	1 " 925	1 " 36	1 " 53
Anglesey	1 " 1020	1 " 2730	1 " 106	1 " 117
Brecon	1 " 1151	1 " 725	1 " 36	1 " 47
Cardigan	1 " 3338	1 " 3283	1 " 76	1 " 201
Carmarthen	1 " 1361	1 " 923	1 " 65	1 " 79
Carmarvon	1 " 1278	1 " 968	1 " 64	1 " 102
Denbigh	1 " 1347	1 " 1901	1 " 88	1 " 84
Flint	1 " 1695	1 " 1937	1 " 49	1 " 68
Glamorgan	1 " 780	1 " 434	1 " 37	1 " 47
Merioneth	1 " 1553	1 " 2050	1 " 98	1 " 110
Montgomery	1 " 697	1 " 539	1 " 58	1 " 66
Pembroke	1 " 1460	1 " 8-3	1 " 95	1 " 83
Radnor	1 " 1338	1 " 507	1 " 48	1 " 85

* No proportions are included in the above lists for Essex, Surrey, and Kent, as well as for Middlesex; as parts of these counties are included in the metropolis.

The amount of juvenile crime has shown considerable diminution. In 1856 there were 1990 children under 12 years of age committed to prison, and 13,981 under 16 years; in 1860, when the numbers were fewest, there were 1480 under 12, and 8029 under 16; last year there were 1482 under 12, and 9359 under 16. The first certified Reformatory school was opened in 1854, under powers conveyed by the Statute 17 and 18 Vict. c. 86, when 23 juvenile prisoners were sent to it; in 1861 the number of such schools had increased to 51, and 1001 boys and 236 girls were committed to them; at the end of 1871 the number of Reformatories had not increased, but there were then being trained in them 3522 boys and 846 girls; in 1873 there were two more establishments, and at the end of the year, 3625 boys and 890 girls were remaining in them under detention.

With respect to the amount of education possessed by criminals there is, excepting under one head, little change. In 1836, 33·52 per cent. of the criminals were unable to read and write; in 1871, 34·1 per cent. were in a like state of ignorance; in 1873, 33·4 per cent.; in 1836, 52·33 per cent. were able to read and write imperfectly; in 1871, 62·3 per cent.; and in 1873, 63·1 per cent. were in that condition; in 1836, 10·56 per cent. were able to read and write well; in 1871, 3·2 per cent. were equally instructed; in 1836, ·91 per cent. of the criminals had received instruction superior to reading and writing well; in 1871 and in 1873, ·2 per cent. were thus better educated. These facts could not be ascertained concerning 2·68 of the convicts in 1836, whilst the unknown quantity was reduced to ·2 in 1871. The most unexpected feature in these returns is that the standard of education was higher amongst the criminals at the earlier period than at the later; the number of those who were able to read and write well being more than three times greater in 1836 than in 1871. In the years immediately succeeding 1836 we find the number of criminals thus described much higher than in later returns; in 1837, it was 9·46 per cent.; in 1838, 9·77; in 1839, 10·07; in 1840, 8·29; in 1841, 7·4; whilst in 1868, it was only 2·9 per cent.; in 1869, 3·; in 1870, 3·1, and in 1873, 3·. Ought this to be attributed in any way to the fact that at the earlier period a large portion of the education was given in private venture schools that were practically secular? whilst at the later period religious teaching was combined with secular in nearly all schools?

So far as it is safe to draw inferences from these statistics they show that the great mass of our poorer population who have used our existing schools to any purpose have been thereby trained to avoid flagrant crime; but that the principles im-
planted

planted have not sufficed to root out vicious tendencies. They also confirm the impression that there is amongst us a criminal class, that has been very partially reached as yet by philanthropic efforts, and whose children are allowed to grow up without any education. That this must be so is proved by fully one-third of the persons committed being utterly unable to read or write; it cannot be pretended that these were ever at school; though no doubt the larger portion, if not the whole, of the remaining two-thirds, of whom there are few who can do more than read and write imperfectly, were for a longer or shorter period, more or less irregular attendants at school. If the system of compulsory education can reach these waifs and strays of society, it will accomplish a great work, and then we may perhaps hope that the next thirty years may achieve results at least equal to what the last thirty years have done.

The comparison between the present state of crime, and what it was forty years since, certainly shows signs of improvement, though the result is very far from being all we could wish. Most people will agree that there is much to encourage in the figures that have been placed before us, whilst about the causes of the improvement thus indicated, there will be great differences of opinion. For our own part we do not hesitate to attribute our preservation from increased crime, under the manifold temptations from the growth of wealth and luxury, and the wider gulf which consequently separates the rich from the poor, and also the many hopeful signs exhibited by the criminal tables which we have been examining, chiefly to the religious education given in our primary schools, and to the greater reverence generally felt for religion. As thoughtful persons at the earlier period traced much of the growing evil among the poorer classes to their lack of religious education and sound moral training, and at great cost and with much self-denial supplied these priceless blessings for them; it seems to us that it would be ungracious as well as untrue to deny to those efforts so originated the credit of much of the improvement that has taken place. Those who are jealous of the power of religion, and are eager to attribute to any influences, rather than to those of Christianity, whatever advances may be made in the morality or social well-being of our people, may claim for advancing civilisation, improved legislation, secular education, greater material prosperity, a more efficient police, benevolent efforts for assisting criminals on their being discharged from prison, reformatory schools, the honour of elevating the lower grades of society. We are far from denying to all or to any of these a portion of the credit; but we believe that all of them would have been inoperative for good without

that basis of sound moral training which has been imparted chiefly in our national schools ; and which has been subsequently fostered by a higher tone of religious teaching in our churches, and by those more efficient pastoral ministrations on the part of the clergy which have certainly been felt in all parts of the country.

But whilst claiming that considerable improvement is to be found ; it is but too obvious that very much more remains to be done than has been yet accomplished, and that the present condition of things is very far from being satisfactory. Greater reverence for law has been successfully inculcated ; a sense of the wrongfulness of dishonesty and of some crimes has been implanted in the minds of the people ; a feeling of moral responsibility is more widely entertained ; a small awakening to the idea that mere selfishness ought not to be the guide of a man's life has been made ; brutality has been lessened. We do not claim that much more than this has been effected ; this the criminal statistics certainly show, and apart from those returns we think there is abundant proof that this has been accomplished. As evidence of it, we may point to the diminution, though alas ! not complete cessation of amusements, such as dog or cock-fighting, prize-fighting, bull-baits ; to the indignation now aroused amongst the poorer classes by the still too frequent acts of gross brutality towards women ; to the general esteem in which probity is held, and to the different weight which would be given to character in the selection of a person for any public office in this country and in some others, for example, in the United States.

ART. X.—1. *Six Judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.* By W. G. Brooke, M.A. London, 1872.

2. *Legal Ritual.* By J. M. Dale. London, 1871.

3. *An Act for the Regulation of Public Worship,* 1874.

THE last two years have brought changes to the Church of England, which may materially affect its position as a National Church.

The Judicature Act of 1873 changed the Supreme Court of Appeal, hitherto a mixed court of clergymen and laymen, into a purely secular court. The Public Worship Regulation Act of the last session has created a new tribunal and course of procedure for causes connected with public worship. One knows not whether to wonder more at the silence and indifference with which the former change was received, or at the unreasonable clamour that greeted

greeted the latter. Both sprang from the same causes, working deeply through many past years. The change in the Appellate Court passed suddenly near the close of a session; and Parliament, becoming conscious of the greatness of the change it had made so hastily, seemed partly to retrace its steps in hastening to introduce a plan for episcopal assessors to the Supreme Court in all Church cases. The Public Worship Regulation Bill, introduced late in the session, altered, transformed, amended at every stage in the House of Lords, left that House with little hope that it would find its way to port through the storms and the enforced calms of an expiring session. If it did not perish for want of friends, want of time would complete its destruction. And when the late Prime Minister produced a string of resolutions, going to the foundations on which Churches rest, people began to speculate on the fate of the measure of 1875, seeing that for the measure of 1874 the late Prime Minister had provided a protracted and a cruel death. But its fate was not decided so. The House of Commons adopted the measure with a passionate enthusiasm, which never grew weaker to the very end. A measure of sufficient importance to draw the late Premier from his repose, a measure distasteful to no small section of the Cabinet, passed without a division, after a debate of great power and interest, well calculated to sustain, or even to raise, the dignity of the House of Commons. Relieved from a position of great difficulty as head of a divided Cabinet, Mr. Disraeli, interpreting the will of the assembly, which he understands perhaps better than any man living, adopted the measure at this point. He was wrong in saying that the measure was one to put down Ritualism, for it is applicable alike to slovenly neglect and fantastic tricks of worship. But he was right in his interpretation of the will of the House of Commons, which accepted so eagerly, as a remedy against sacerdotal pretension and attempts which have sickened the heart of the constituencies, a measure of procedure neutral in itself and capable of other and wider applications.

The events of these two years, whatever be their result, must be an epoch in the religious movement which began in 1833.* For forty years England has been the scene of a religious struggle, only second in importance to the Reformation itself. The story of its beginning is well known. The Reform Bill

* The following Sunday, July 14th, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of "National Apostasy." I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833.—*J. H. Newman, 'Apologia,'* p. 100.

had put representative government in the power of a far larger number; Irish bishoprics were suppressed; Welsh sees were threatened; German rationalism threatened to sweep over the land as a flood; dismay and sorrow were spread through the ranks of the clergy and of the more thoughtful laity. But there was one mind, at least, which saw in this great crisis occasion for more than sorrow or dismay. Wandering over Europe, comparing with the distractions of his own Church the ideal of another, John Henry Newman, logician, poet, mystic, with a spirit as devout as it was inquiring and critical, was stricken with sickness at Castro Giovanni, and had time to meditate on the waste condition of his own Church. Before the sickness and after it, he felt and said, 'I have a work to do in England.' A renewed attack of illness at Lyons, from over-travelling, only intensified the desire which it opposed. He hastened to England. Keble's sermon, preached five days after, touched a string that was vibrating already. At least a few earnest spirits would stand in the breach to confront the 'National Apostasy.' Newman, Keble, Froude, Pusey, Rose, Palmer, were no despicable band,—but the genius of Newman was its strength. The reactionary movement was begun. One peculiarity marked it from the first—its attitude towards the Church of Rome.

'I have a supreme confidence,' writes Newman, 'in our cause. We were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican services. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded out of the land through the political changes of the last hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation—a better reformation—for it would be a return not to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth.'

But the divines of the Caroline period had no leanings to Rome, such as have marked the present movement from the first. 'I am every day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reformation,' writes Froude in January 1834; and in December of the same year he had advanced a good deal; 'Really I hate the Reformation more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the rationalistic spirit they set afloat is the *ψευδοπροφήτης* of the Revelation.' And Newman, in acknowledging the influence of Froude upon him in this direction,* reminds us of his own words in 1834:—

'Considering the high gifts and the strong claims of the Church of

* 'Apologia,' p. 126.

Rome and its dependencies on our admiration, reverence, love, and gratitude, how could we withstand it as we do, how could we refrain from being melted into tenderness and rushing into communion with it, but for the word of truth itself, which bid us prefer it to the whole world? *

From this kind of talk the Caroline divines are almost free. Where admiration, love, and reverence are already engaged, it is likely that the claims of truth will not long resist them. That, at least, was the result with Newman: his mind travelled round to new 'truths' by the circuitous route of the theory of development; but his perversion to Rome was a foregone conclusion. The admiration and the love, indeed, could hardly have existed without some latent persuasion that truth was on that side. The leaning to Rome has been the character of this movement from that time; and now the doctrine of transubstantiation 'rightly explained' is the doctrine of the extreme party, and nothing stands in the way of communion with Rome except the dogma of the Pope's infallibility.

It was a convenient aid to this tendency to allege that the Church of England has no distinctive or definite doctrine, and that her Articles and formularies may, therefore be interpreted into accordance with so-called Catholic truth, the truth of the Tridentine Catechism. Dr. Newman gives this account of the purpose of Tract 90.

'The main thesis of my essay was this:—The Articles do not oppose Catholic teaching, they but partially oppose Roman dogma: they for the most part oppose the dominant errors of Rome. And the problem was to draw the line as to what they allowed and what they condemned. Such being the object which I had in view, what were my prospects of widening and defining their meaning? The prospect was encouraging; there was no doubt at all of the elasticity of the Articles: to take a preliminary instance—the fourteenth was assumed by one party to be Lutheran, by another Calvinistic, though the two interpretations were contradictory to each other; why then should not other Articles be drawn up with a vagueness of an equally intense character?'—*Newman's 'Apologia.'*

With what logical force, with what fine English to clothe it withal, this object was pursued, those who remember 'Tract 90' can say. Amidst some hard words for the Church of Rome, the writer reaches the conclusion that the Articles of the Church of England do not condemn the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome on Purgatory, on the Invocation of Saints, or on the Mass. But any one who will spend a few hours in

* 'Apologia,' p. 127.

examining the Articles, the Augsburg Confession, and the Catechism of the Council of Trent, will see clearly that the battle of the Reformation was not with 'popular notions' of Roman Catholics, nor with 'popular practice,' nor with existing abuses, but against a Romish doctrine well known and ascertained. Rome, more than any other Church, has been at least consistent with herself. If she has had abusive practices, they have been closely connected with a doctrine. No scheme of doctrine could have been framed which could condemn her practices and leave her dogmas untouched. Cardinal Wiseman had almost gained his point in advance when he denied that there existed anywhere any authoritative teaching in his Church, distinct from the teaching of the Council of Trent. But, with whatever flaws of argument, the conclusion was reached, that one might hold a great many of the conclusions of Rome, even of those which appeared to be in terms contradictory to the Thirty-nine Articles. Thus, 'an assent to the doctrine that faith alone justifies, does not at all preclude the doctrine of works justifying also.'* It is true that the Article says 'that General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes, and being assemblies of men whereof all are not governed with the spirit and word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred;' but this does not apply to any council which, besides being gathered according to the commandment of princes, is gathered by the will of Christ. The Article merely contemplates 'the human prince, and not the King of saints.'† 'The Romish doctrine about Purgatory is a fond thing, vainly invented.' True: but what is the Romish doctrine? Not the doctrine of the Council of Trent, for that had not yet been given forth: not the primitive doctrine; that could not be 'Romish.' Something, perhaps, is condemned which existed at the time of the Articles, and disappeared at the Council of Trent; a harmless condemnation enough; for the doctrine, whatever it was, is gone. The Romish doctrine of Invocation of Saints is also a fond thing, vainly invented; but what is it? Invocations are not censurable 'if we mean nothing definite by them.' Perhaps the doctrine condemned is that which the Council of Trent condemned when it says that this Church doth not teach that sacrifice is offered to saints, if invocation and sacrifice can be by possibility brought together.‡ True: the Article says that the change of the substance of bread and wine in the Supper of the Lord is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture: but this does not 'deny every kind of change.'

* Tract 90, p. 12.

† 'Apologia,' p. 81.

‡ Tract 90, p. 40.

nor need it be a contradiction of any council.* No doubt the Article has it that 'the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priests did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.' But this is not 'against the mass in itself, nor against its being an offering for the quick and the dead, for the remission of sins, but against its being viewed as independent of, or distinct from, the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, which is blasphemy.'† We need not go on. Language in such hands is a Lesbian rule of lead, taking the mould of every one's thought. Cranmer and Melancthon might have spared their pains. They were not writing against Rome; rather against some existing corruptions of Catholic doctrine not written down in her creeds. In words of condemnation of Rome, however distinct and vigorous, there is the precious balm of explanation, and no heads need be broken. Black is not so very different from white if the mind approach it by the road of grey. No one who has read the 'Apologia' will dream of accusing Dr. Newman of conscious falsehood; his mind was convinced before he gave forth his startling conclusions. That his better mind soon re-asserted itself is manifest; his was too noble a spirit to sit long under such a mist of confusion. He went to Rome, where he could hold Rome's creed without squaring it with England's Articles. But he has left behind him the evil heritage of a sophistry that has been troubling us ever since. The Church of England is a branch of the Catholic Church; the Catholic doctrine is the Roman doctrine; therefore the Roman doctrine must be to be found in her standards of faith. As it must be there, difficulties of language must not prevent us from seeking it.

What Dr. Newman did for the Articles, an active party has been engaged for the last twenty years and more in doing for the Prayer Book. Of a catholic Church the ritual must be catholic and, therefore, the bald simplicity of the English rite cannot be tolerated. One writer, in words that were thought worth quoting in the debate on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, thus described the correlation of doctrine and ritualism.

'It may be argued that good and vigorous preaching will fill the cravings of the congregations, and make the employment of material stimuli superfluous, if not mischievous. But good preaching is amongst the rarest of good things, much rarer in proportion even than good acting, because it requires a wider range of physical and mental gifts. If very good actors were common, the adventitious aid

* Tract 90, p. 51.

† Ibid., p. 63.

of scenery and properties would be comparatively unimportant, because the harmonious action of all the persons of the drama would be sufficient to create an illusion able to rivet the attention of the spectators. But as the great majority of actors are mere sticks, and even the chief stars are not always shining their best, managers have constantly been compelled to make gorgeous spectacle their main attraction, and a splendid transformation scene or a telling stage procession will draw crowds night after night, even in the absence of any theatrical celebrity. Hence a lesson may be learnt by all who are not too proud to learn from the stage, for it is an axiom in liturgy that no public worship is really deserving of its name unless it be histrionic.—*Rev. Dr. Littledale, in 'The Church and the World,' First Series, 1866.*

It is the business then of those who conduct worship to make it an acted doctrine; to supply the want of efficient actors by accessories of a splendid kind.

We accept this view of the subject that doctrines have been inculcated by means of rites. For twenty years and more the most active efforts have been made to bring our worship into harmony with that of the Romish Church, and especially to assimilate holy communion with the mass by 'histrionic' means. This has been the chief battle fought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The judgments of that body have been on the whole unfavourable to these practices; and this must have been all the more galling to the party who adopted them that, in many points, the court below was with them. In two great cases the authority of the Prayer Book as it stands was confirmed, and the power of bringing back usages supposed to be 'catholic,' but not found in the Prayer Book, was denied.

In the former of these two cases, Mr. Mackonochie, 'simply using,' as he says, 'our own liberty as members of the Church of England,' thought himself free to adopt the following practices. He placed on the holy table two lighted candles at noonday at the holy communion. He lifted above his head the paten and the cup when he was consecrating the elements; afterwards he knelt down with his head prone to the ground, when he had replaced the cup on the table. Incense was freely used. The wine to be consecrated was mixed with water. These were the chief changes introduced. In the second case, Mr. Purchas of Brighton, appears to have claimed a larger liberty. A crucifix was borne in procession in the church; and crucifer, and thurifer, and acolytes were about it. A group of acolytes held a crucifix near him when he read the gospel. A crucifix also was above the communion table, and Mr. Purchas did it acts of reverence. Incense was abundant. A 'paschal taper' marked the Easter festival:

festival: a stuffed dove suspended from on high was thought suitable to Whit Sunday. On Palm Sunday branches of palms, sprinkled with holy water, were carried in procession round the church. On Christmas Eve, 'a modelled figure of the infant Saviour' was placed above the credence table. On Ash Wednesday a 'black powder' resembling ashes was taken from the Communion table and rubbed on the foreheads of those who came forward for this purpose. On the Feast of Purification, 'when no artificial light was necessary,' Mr. Purchas distributed candles to the congregation, who then followed their pastor round the chapel, all carrying their candles lighted, and singing. These candles were extinguished for the early part of the communion service, and were all lighted again for the gospel. Water was mingled with the wine, and the paten and the cup were elevated. Round wafers were substituted for the usual bread. A bell was rung at various times in the prayers. 'A mortuary celebration for the repose of a sister' seems to have been marked by the interpolation of a prayer for the departed soul contained in no part of the Prayer Book. The book from which the gospel of the day was read was held by an attendant, and the reader reverently kissed the book. The admission of an acolyte took place before the Lord's table: a candlestick with candle was delivered to him; also 'glass bottles containing water and wine.' Copes were worn at evening service; 'chasubles, albs, and tunicles' at holy communion.

The least that can be said upon this curious catalogue is that none of the things contained in it are mentioned in the Prayer Book; that they change the service of the Church to a considerable extent, and that the general direction of the change is to assimilate the communion office to the service of the mass in the Church of Rome. If these practices lay within the range of the liberty of any clergyman, it would have been legally possible that in one country parish the mass might be celebrated by a priest in alb and chasuble, with lights and incense, and many prostrations, ministering the mixed chalice and the wafers, whilst in the adjoining parish the surpliced celebrant, consecrating the usual wheaten bread and the unmixed wine, might plead two centuries of use for his simpler practice, founded on an exact adherence to the Prayer Book. And supposing this diversity to become general, one might well ask of what use it is to include under our system things so different? The broad stream of the Reformation rolls between them. Such a union would be at best mechanical only. The parishioner who should stray from the simpler to the more ornate service would find himself unable to join in a rite stuffed and overlaid with every
practice

practice which neither he nor his fathers could bear. 'I could not follow it in my Prayer Book,' complained to her friend a casual worshipper of this kind. 'I have left that at home for many a day,' rejoined her friend. But the courts had nothing to do with consequences, their business was to ascertain the law. And if the work of the Reformation had been done so negligently that all the things then cast out could be introduced again after generations of disuse by any clergyman 'in the exercise of his reasonable liberty,' it was the duty of the courts to expound that state of things, in order that the grievance, if there was one, might find a remedy. It would have been surprising, if after nearly two centuries of utter disuse, it had proved that all these ceremonies were lawful and admissible under the present service book. Vain would have been all the hair-splitting disputes of 1662, vain the small complaints of the Puritans on minor points, if, after all, the Prayer Book was the mass-book still. The liberty of making these changes rests with no responsible author except the clergyman himself. No diocesan, no convocation, no universal consent of public opinion has given them sanction. They may be commenced to-morrow in any church, with as little warrant from authority as Mr. Mackonochie or Mr. Purchas could plead. They may be discontinued by the next incumbent, and then recommenced. But the Church of England, ever since the Prayer Book of 1549, has carried this sentence conspicuous in the front of its formularies :

'Where [whereas] heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm, some following Salisbury use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the realm shall have but one use.'

If, however, these clergymen were right, then we have but exchanged some five or six 'uses' for some thousands. The stuffed dove and *bambino* of Mr. Purchas did not commend themselves to Mr. Mackonochie, who, however, has his own favourite ceremonies; another imaginative clergyman will have his own set of additions. In a well-known watering-place, where a church is named after St. Clement, the congregation were instructed to uplift a festive strain the burden of which was, 'We will go a Clementing,' and one of the most fervent singers of this *refrain* was asked in vain what the process was to which they then pledged themselves. But even supposing that the rites thus added were as seemly as they have been in fact absurd, they are inconsistent with the principle of having 'one use;' and whereas the Church of England has been regulated by Acts of Uniformity, and her fixed ritual has been alternately
her

her glory and reproach, it would appear, if Mr. Purchas is right, that she gives room for the widest licence and the wildest caprice.

These then were the principal questions to be solved by the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Committee of Privy Council: Is the ritual of the Church to be sought in the Prayer Book and the Act of Uniformity, or in these as interpreted by ancient canons and by other service books? Is the Prayer Book not only a guide to the ritual, but a complete guide? If it should be decided that it is a complete guide, then most of the matters in dispute would fall away at once, for they are additional rites not mentioned in the Prayer Book. Two points would remain, turning on disputed interpretations of rubrics. It is a wonder that so much importance should have come to attach to two things apparently so insignificant as the dress which the minister should wear at the holy communion and the place at which he should stand. But the Comte de Chambord's white flag stands between him and a possible crown; and these two small points are the white flag of the advanced party.

The Court of Arches, answering these questions in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, laid down the principle that—

‘Whatever is subsidiary to what is ordered [in the Rubrics], and whatever being in itself decent and proper is in accordance with primitive and catholic use, and is not by any fair construction necessarily connected with those Roman novelties which the Church “cut away and clean rejected” (to use the language of the Prayer Book) at the Reformation, is, under restrictions to be mentioned, lawful.’

The restrictions seem to be that the judgment of the Ordinary is to be sought for doubtful things, and that his opinion is to be reviewed, if necessary, by the Archbishop. Here the language of the judgment—a learned and elaborate performance—seems to be somewhat vague. What is subsidiary to the service, and what is not? The learned judge in applying his own principles, decides that the use of incense is ‘not necessarily subsidiary’ to the celebration of the Holy Communion; ‘that it is an ancient, innocent, and pleasing custom,’ but that it is illegal, and must be discontinued. Here, however, the text is altered in the application. ‘Subsidiary’ and ‘necessarily subsidiary,’ are very different; and Mr. Mackonochie would have argued that incense was at least the one if not the other. If it was ‘an ancient, innocent, and pleasing custom,’ it must have been decent and proper, with something to spare; and, on the whole, might have been expected to obtain the protection of the principle laid down. Again, what is ‘primitive and catholic use’? What are Roman novelties? and how are they to be distinguished from

from Roman usages that are not novelties? A whole Tract 90 might be written on such a theme, were there but left a Newman to write it. But such a sentence, expounded in such a tract, would have been fruitful of novelties. The objectionable changes are almost always justified, when they are challenged, upon some such grounds. Every caprice of a fledgling curate is justified on the ground of 'catholic' usage. Every quaint rite which the curate adds to the beautiful order of holy communion, is supposed to be subsidiary to the service. Only the discretion of the Ordinary is interposed; and a method all too summary has been found for dealing with this—that of disregarding it altogether. After that, any number of rites may be added which are at once catholic and singular,—which are subsidiary to and yet subversive of the original office.

The decisions of the Privy Council seem to have rescued the Church from this great danger. In the case of *Westerton v. Liddell*, the principle already admitted by the courts ever since 1811, was adopted,—

'that in the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; no omission and no addition can be permitted.'

This does not imply that the articles not mentioned in the Rubrics are all inadmissible: hassocks, pews, curtains, seats, an organ, are all used, and are subsidiary to the service, for they supply the means of carrying out its directions. To place lighted candles on the table in daylight was thought 'subsidiary' by the Dean of Arches; but the judgment in *Westerton v. Liddell* stopped far short of this. There must be either 'express directions or implied permission' to use a thing in the Prayer Book, in order to make it lawful.† Thus candles for giving light would stand on a different footing from candles lighted as a ceremony in broad day. Without following minutely a most intricate argument on the present force of old statutes and canons, we may take it that the successive judgments have brought out into broader and broader relief the principle that 'the form or order of service' contains positive directions for public worship; that these directions are meant to be complete; that it matters nothing that a practice is not prohibited, if it is not ordered; want of order is prohibition. 'What the law does not order it forbids.' That Archbishop Walter has ordered lighted candles, and that Lyndwood has explained the order,

* Brooke, Privy Council Judgments, p. 71.

† Dr. Stephens in 2nd Report, Ritual Commission, p. 352.

will for the future be inadmissible even in an argument before the Courts.

‘ Their lordships are of opinion that it is not open to a minister of the Church, or even to their lordships in advising Her Majesty, as the highest ecclesiastical tribunal of appeal, to draw a distinction in acts which are a departure from, or violation of, the Rubric, between those which are important and those which appear to be trivial. The object of a statute of uniformity is, as its preamble expresses, to produce “an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God,” an object which would be wholly frustrated if each minister, on his own view of the relative importance of the details of the service, were to be at liberty to omit, or add to, or to alter, any of those details.’*

‘ If the minister be allowed to introduce at his own will variations in the rites and ceremonies that seem to him to interpret the doctrine of the service in a particular direction, the service ceases to be what it was meant to be—common ground upon which all Church people may meet—though they differ about some doctrines. But the Church of England has wisely left a certain latitude of opinion in matters of belief, and has not insisted on a rigorous uniformity of thought, which might reduce her communion to a narrow compass.†

The two Acts of Uniformity of Elizabeth and of Charles, have annulled the injunctions of 1547 and other constitutions referred to; and thus the rule, and the sufficient rule, of worship is to be sought within the four corners of the Prayer Book.

This is the leading principle that has guided all the decisions of the Privy Council on ritual questions. With a sigh of relief the much-enduring layman may rest from examining them, consoled to feel that he need not get up ‘the Council of Oxford in 1322,’ nor an earlier Council in Wilkins’s ‘*Concilia*,’ of 1222, in order to ascertain whether the multi-coloured vestments just introduced, and the superfluous candles twinkling in the sunshine, are lawful in the Church of England in the year of grace 1874.

Two questions, however, turn on the interpretation of the Rubrics themselves. We mention them, not so much for their past interest as for the future. It is probable that a great deal of discussion will be spent on them during the next two years, and the efforts of the Ritualist party will be concentrated on them. They are in themselves so small, that some will scarcely give them a serious consideration. That a Church should be endangered and a schism threatened because a clergyman is ordered to stand at a particular part of the table and wear a white garb, and not a coloured, is at first sight humiliating

* Judgment in *Master v. Mackonochie*, in Brooke, p. 119.

† Judgment in *Sheppard v. Bennett*, in Brooke, p. 233.

enough.

enough. But after the Purchas judgment, about 7000 clergymen signed a protest against its ruling on this question of the position of the celebrant; and in the present year, a much smaller number have published a declaration which demands, among other things, that steps should be taken 'to protect clergymen from interference in respect of the position which they may conscientiously feel it their duty to take at the holy table during the communion service': a form of words which assumes that no one else has any rights in the matter, however preposterous or even shameful the acts of a clergyman might be in this particular point. It is not asked that the eastward position may be made legal; but that the clergyman conscientiously assuming *any* position may be safe from interference. But there can be no 'conscientious' binding to any position except that which the Prayer Book orders, whatever it prove to be; for every clergyman has most solemnly bound himself to obey the Prayer Book; and therefore the real question is—What is the lawful position? This we will try to answer, premising that most of the difficulty surrounding the subject, in itself by no means obscure, has arisen from reckless writing about it of those who either did not know the facts, or were precluded by prejudice from weighing them.

The Rubrics that come into question here are two. At the beginning of the service, 'the priest, standing at the north side of the table, shall say, &c.' Before the prayer of consecration, 'when the priest, standing before the table, hath so ordered the bread and wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the prayer of consecration, as follows.'

Upon these two it may be asked, where is the minister to stand at the commencement of the service? Whither does he remove at the beginning of the prayer of consecration? Does he remain in this place during the prayer of consecration? Does he return to his original place afterwards? In the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., the priest stood 'afore the midst of the altar.' In the Prayer Book of 1552, he is directed to stand 'at the north side of the table,' which 'shall stand in the body of the church or in the chancel.' This direction has continued the same in substance ever since, in the revisions of 1559, 1604, and 1662; this is important to remember, because the table did in practice undergo changes of position before the last revision. Now, the plain English of this direction is that the priest stood on the north and faced south. The table being placed 'table-wise' down the church or chancel, with its longer axis east and

west,

west, the priest would neither face the whole congregation nor turn quite away from them; he would occupy a middle position, where the congregation could see his acts done at the table and hear his words. Nothing can be plainer so far. But a crowd of critics deny that north is north, and side side. One tells us, that the expression 'right corner' had been ambiguous, as it might be used with relation to the priest in front of, or to the crucifix on the altar; that a Pope cleared it up in 1486, and that the Reformers only put 'north side' to do away with ambiguity as to 'right hand corner,' and that both mean the same thing. In other words, this new direction was only a means of clearing up an old direction of the mass books; although these were to be swept away and used no more, and although altars were done away and tables put in their place. Everything about the mass was at an end; but we are told that the position of the celebrant, and that alone, was left the same. Equally ingenious is this argument: the front of a Roman Catholic altar was divided into three parts, the middle, the left or north, and the right or south; therefore he who would obey the Rubric, would stand at the northern part of the east side of the table. But this connection, we repeat, between altar and table, was exactly what the promoters of the Reformation strove to avoid. 'The substitution of tables for altars took place all over England in one year.* It was no temporising or colourable change, for Archbishop Grindal asks later, in his 'Visitation Articles,' 'Whether all altars be utterly taken down and clean removed, even with the foundation, and the place where they stood paved, and the wall whereunto they joined, whited over and made uniform with the rest, so as no breach or rupture appear?'† Another writer divides the Jewish altar of burnt-offering into two parts, by a broad red line passing along the front; when the priest stood opposite this line, his right and left would be the north side and the south, though parts of the west side. Thus, one side is three sides; the middle of the west side is west side, and the end of the west side is north side, and the other end is south side! As for the broad red line across the front of the altar of burnt-offering, it seems not to have existed. Some line there was that went all round the altar; but the Jewish sprinkling, even if it had anything to do with the communion table, has been mistaken and misdescribed; and a quotation from Lightfoot, on which all this rests, has been, we regret to state, garbled and changed.‡ Another argument is, that although the Rubric did beyond doubt

* Burnet, 'Reformation,' ii. p. 95.

† 2nd Report, Ritual Commission, p. 407.

‡ 'Mishna,' ed. Surenhusius, v. p. 23.

alter the position of the minister, at the same time that a new place was given to the table, and remove him from the middle of an altar to the north side of a table standing in the chancel or the body of the church; still this cannot be a binding order now, for no table does so stand; but in all cases the altar-like position, against the east wall, has been adopted. The order to stand on the north side has therefore been unmeaning, and may be disobeyed. This view, elaborately argued by Mr. Walton and others, is in conflict with all those opinions that would connect the former altar, and all that belongs to it, with the present table. If the order had reference to a table only, in a table's position and use, all the arguments as to north-west corner and altar of burnt-offering fall at once to the ground. But the answer to it is curiously complete. The copy of the Prayer Book used at the revision of 1662 has been lately found, and beautifully reproduced by photography. In the beginning of it is a sheet of changes proposed to be introduced; it seems to be in the handwriting of Bishop Nicholson. One of these alterations affects the Rubric under discussion; for 'side,' it was proposed to read 'part.' Turning to the place in the book itself, we find 'part' inserted, but afterwards erased: the alteration had been proposed, considered, and rejected. But unless the altar-like position of the table had been in view, there would have been no meaning in such a discussion. Those whom we have spoken of, as placing the 'north part' on the west side of the table, but towards the north, would naturally wish that 'part' might be read for 'side;' it would make the difference between facing east and facing south, which was what they desired. But if the table were placed lengthwise in the chancel, the dispute was idle; no one has ever suggested that the northern part of the west end of a table so situated was the place to stand. No doubt it is remarkable that, just at the Restoration, when the churches had been in Puritan hands so long, it should be assumed that the altarwise position would prevail. But the fact is so; and the significance of it cannot be mistaken. One objection more: it is added that the priest cannot stand at the north side in our present churches, because it is an end and not a side that forms the north. This needs no elaborate answer. Euclid's definition of a parallelogram as a four-sided figure should be amended if this be true, and also the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, which has 'the presbyter standing at the north side or end thereof.' The controversy between Williams and Heylin began with a direction of Bishop Williams to the Vicar of Grantham. 'This table, without some new cause, is not to stand altarwise and you at the north end thereof,

thereof, but tablewise, and you must officiate on the north side of the same by the Liturgy.' And throughout the dispute it was assumed that whatever the position of the table, the vicar must stand on the north of it, side or end.*

All this loose writing is rendered vain by two or three facts as indisputable as any historical materials can be; that in 1550, Edward VI. and his council ordered, 'that with all diligence, all the altars be taken down, and instead of them a table be set up;' † that the Rubric of 1552 referred to this table and not to the altar; and that in 1662, at the last revision, the priest was directed to stand at the north side, and not at the north part.

Still there is the second Rubric to interpret. Before the prayer of consecration some change seems to be prescribed: 'When the priest standing before the table hath so ordered the bread and wine . . . he shall say,' &c. Is this a permission to leave the north side? Is the priest to return immediately? Or is he to remain till the end of the consecration prayer in his new position? Or even to the end of the service?

Now this second Rubric was first introduced in 1661-2; the Rubric corresponding to it in 1604 was simply 'the priest standing up;' and as this did not order a change of position, it did not permit one, for 'no addition is permitted.' A party in the Church had desired some change, and Laud and Wren had made occasion of the apparent inconvenience of the existing Rubric to suggest a relaxation of the direction, so that the priest might have more convenient access to the elements. The Rubric in question was new in 1661, new in substance as well as in form. The corresponding Rubric of 1604 was simply 'the priest standing up, shall say.' In the one there was some change of position with reference to the table, in the other no change, except that of posture from kneeling to standing. For the first time since the reign of Edward VI., some change at least was ordered, some relaxation allowed from the direction to stand at the north side. And the matter was not one to which people had ever become indifferent. A minister with his back to the people would have always been thought to have his face set towards Rome. Laud was charged with a similar change in the Scottish Liturgy, and he is most anxious that a right interpretation should be given. It was for the sake of allowing the priest freer use of his hands, answers Laud, 'and I protest, in the presence of Almighty God, I know of no other intention therein than this.' Wren had actually consecrated with his back to the people; he too is anxious not to be misunderstood: 'being low

* Rev. C. J. Elliott, 'North Side of Table,' pp. 34, 35.

† Cardwell, 'Documentary Annals,' i. p. 89.

of stature he could not reach over his book if he stood on the north side ;' an answer which, by the way, implies that the north was the prescribed side.

An alteration, then, of the priest's position in consecrating was not a thing that could escape attention in 1661. It had never been discussed or acted without raising alarm. If the alteration actually made be only a permission to leave, for a time, the position in the north to order the bread and wine for convenient access, then there is no more reason for alarm than there is in the priest's walking to the rails to distribute the elements ; but if a permission is given to turn away from the congregation altogether for the prayer of consecration and, perhaps, for all the service after it, then there is a change with a meaning, and one which, to say the least, some one or other would have been indignant about.

The silence is so general as to prove that no one suspected that this Rubric had let in the eastward position.

The Puritan party at the Savoy Conference knew nothing of it. They puzzled over the careless answer of the Bishops to another objection, which seemed to imply that priest and people were to turn their backs upon each other in prayer. Of this greater change they say nothing.

'The minister's turning to the people is not most convenient throughout the whole ministration. When he speaks of them, as in lessons, absolutions, and benedictions, it is convenient that he turns to them. When he speaks for them to God, it is fit they should all turn another way.' The ministers answer ; 'What you may mean by *they all* we know not.'

Again the Rubric is not optional in form ; it is a positive order. Before it, before 1661, the minister was to stand according to the normal position ; after it he must stand 'before the table,' from the beginning of the consecration service. Between the adoption of the 'north side Rubric,' Bishops, at their visitations, were always inquiring how it was observed. Ridley, Hooper, Parkhurst, ask whether there is any 'shifting of the book,' that is, any change of position from north to west, during the celebration. Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Cosin, asks if the minister stands at the north side, and performs all things there, save when he had cause to remove from it ; but the saying the consecration prayer is not one of the occasions for removing.† If, then, the order made in 1661 is a different order, reversing this practice, we ought to find the Bishops and others inquiring

* 'Documents on Act of Uniformity,' pp. 165. 313.

† Brooke, 'Privy Council Judgments,' p. 198 (*Purchas' Case*).

after its observance: there is no such thing to be found. Add to this important negative testimony the positive witness of all the principal writers on the subject, as to what was the practice about and after 1661, and the argument seems very conclusive. L'Estrange, in 1659, two years before this Rubric, says of the practice of standing at the north side, 'this seemeth to avoid the fashion of the priest's standing with his face towards the east, as is the Popish practice.'^{*} Nicholls, in 1710, in his 'Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer,' after describing the Popish practice, says:

'But our Church enjoins the direct contrary, and that for a direct contrary reason. He is to stand before the table indeed just so long as he is ordering the bread and wine; but after that he is to go to some place where he may break the bread *before the people*, which must be the north side, there being in our present Rubric no other place mentioned for performing any part of this sacrament. But to say the Consecration Prayer (in the recital of which the bread is broken) standing before the table is not to break the bread before the people, for then the people cannot have a view thereof, which our wise reformers, upon very good reasons, ordered they should.'

Bennet, writing on the Common Prayer in 1708, writes:

'If the table be close to the east wall the minister stands on the north side and looks southward, and then turning to the westward he looks full towards all the people.'

Wheatley, in his well-known work, published in 1710, explains:

'Whereas it stands the priest is obliged to stand at the north side of it, which seems to be enjoined for no other end but to avoid the practice of the Romish Church, where the priest stands before the table with his face towards the east.'

These passages are unintelligible on the supposition that in 1661 the order was altered, and the priest was allowed to go through the most solemn part of the service, precisely in that position which had been described as Popish, and against which such objections could be brought.

We cannot pursue the subject. Minute as the point is, it has a literature of its own. The tracts of Mr. Ross, Mr. Droop, and others, have collected nearly all that could be said; but a whole number of the 'Quarterly' would be required to develop it. But there are two conclusions that must be drawn from the facts. One is, that from the Second Book of Edward VI. down to the Book of Charles II., the north side was the normal position of the

^{*} 'Alliance of Divine Offices,' p. 245.

minister,

minister, and that north side meant north end when the table was at the east wall. The evidence for this seems crying and irresistible. The other is, that no general change of order was understood to take place in this respect from 1661 onwards, and that the silence of objectors, and the comments of interpreters, show very clearly what the practice was during the next hundred years; a practice which prevailed almost universally down to the year 1840, or thereabouts: which was, in the words of the 'Non-Jurors' Liturgy' of 1718, that 'whenever the priest is directed to turn to the altar, or to stand or kneel before it, or with his face towards it, it is always meant that he should stand or kneel on the north side thereof;' this side being explained in a later edition as the same as 'north end.'

The judgment of the Privy Council virtually affirmed these propositions. It is important to observe that if they had decided otherwise, they would have reversed the practice of three centuries.

It is true that there is an apparent contradiction between two judgments of that learned body on this point. The Lord Chancellor, departing from the usual practice of refusing to discuss in Parliament judicial decisions which may again be the subject of review, admitted, in the debate on the Public Worship Bill, the existence of such a difficulty, and may be said even to have exaggerated it in the zeal of debate. Perhaps it may be regretted that the words in which the posture of standing was insisted on in the *Mackonochie* case were not more guarded. 'They [the Lords forming the Court] think the words "standing before the table" apply to the whole sentence.' This interpretation is inconsistent with the practice and the comments to which we have alluded; and it was not at all required for the general course of the judgment, which was, that in a service so carefully constructed and revised, a great change of posture, from standing to kneeling, importing adoration, could not be allowed to take place in the midst of a prayer without some special direction. But if the matter comes under review, as it probably will, any court must decide upon the formularies as interpreted by history; it must not, because there is an appearance of contradiction between two judgments, dismiss the question as one that cannot be solved. In few points is the intention of the Church, from the Reformation downwards, plainer than in this. The Lord Chancellor recommended the House to make it a thing indifferent by legislation, and the House shrank from the task; but it was within the competence of Parliament to do so: it is not within the competence of a court.

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A large party is asking at this moment whether this concession cannot be made to them. The answer is not easy. A point so trifling in itself it would seem to be very severe and intolerant not to concede. It is trifling, replies the layman, but you have made so much of it. Seven thousand clergymen have passed a censure on the judgment of a court, which, perhaps, not seven hundred of them had read, and upon which, perhaps, not seventy were qualified by their reading to pass an opinion. Whence all this stir? Mr. Walton would use the 'mid-altar position,' in order to be

'in harmony with the better mind and ascertained principles of our own Church in preceding centuries, and in harmony too and outward conformity with the prevailing usage of Catholic Christendom.'*

These are no trifling results. The Union Jack is but a rag of bunting, but when it is made a symbol of the power and might of England, it is no more a rag, but a national emblem. If the mid-altar position is to carry the Church back to the centuries preceding the Reformation and to conform it to the existing Churches of the Romish communion, then the trifling gesture and the important intention will have to be considered together. No one would grudge a modern Bishop Wren of diminutive stature the leave to stand where he could reach over the book. No one would prevent a Laud from having the use of his hands, if that were all. Such pleas are not now put forward.

'We have to make confession the ordinary custom of the masses, and to teach them to use Eucharistic worship. We have to establish our claims to catholic ritual in its highest form. We have to restore the Religious Life, to say mass daily, and to practise reservation for the sick.'†

The reader can judge for himself what is the temper and disposition of the country at this moment towards Romanism, and what is the probability that the movement will be facilitated by the nation granting leave to take the first steps. If this particular change were conceded, would it not be accompanied by other explanations and limitations, which would show that it was not the mind of Church or people of England to change the laws of the Church, in order to conform them again to the superstitions from which she had long escaped?

It would occupy too much space to discuss at length the use of 'the sacrificial vestments' as they are called. Like the eastward position, they have given occasion to a very learned discussion; like that, they are things indifferent in themselves, but

* 'Celebrant's Position,' p. 44.

† Rev. O. Shipley, 'Four Cardinal Virtues,'
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are sought on one side and feared on the other, as part of what is magniloquently called 'the great catholic revival.' The right to wear them is insisted on in the 'declaration' quoted above, and already counter-declarations protesting against them are beginning to rustle in the air.

There have been, it seems, two kinds of dress for the clergy of the Church of England. One of these consists of chasuble, alb, and tunicle, and is supposed to imply a sacrificial ministry in the wearer; the other consists of surplice and (in cathedrals on great occasions) cope. The chasuble is often called the 'vestment,' as in the Rubric of the Prayer Book of 1549, the first book of Edward VI. In that book the name of 'mass' is preserved, and the use of the 'vestment' permitted. In the second Prayer Book the sacrificial vestments were forbidden. Seven years later came the book of Elizabeth, which seemed to bring back the vestments, as in the former book of Edward VI. It appears, however,* that the intention was not to revive the use of the vestments, but to keep them together in the churches, until they could be dealt with advisedly. The Injunctions issued in the same year, ordered inventories to be taken of all the vestments and ornaments of worship that belonged to the altar and the mass; then came the Advertisements of Elizabeth, in 1564, forbidding the use of the vestments, and prescribing instead 'a comely surplice with sleeves.' A great mass of testimony proves that before the scathing breath of these Advertisements the 'vestments' withered away and disappeared, save where an occasional alb or two were preserved, as materials for new surplices. In a few years they were gone. Discussions took place as to whether these Advertisements had the Queen's sanction: but they were acted on as if they had received it; and in 1603-4 the canons expressly recognised their validity. The course adopted by the revisers of the Prayer Book in 1603-4 seems somewhat inconsistent. They left the ornaments-rubric as it stood in Queen Elizabeth's book; but the canons which sanctioned the use of this Prayer Book provided that the surplice should be in use, and did not order or recognise the vestments.† The two, however, were read together, for there was no attempt whatever to bring back the vestments between 1604 and 1661. It was a hard matter sometimes to get the surplice itself worn. Then comes the present Prayer Book and its Rubric, differing in several particulars from the former one, yet following the language both of the Rubric and of the statute of Elizabeth.

* Archbishop Sandys, in Brooke, *Privy Council Judgments*, p. 169 (*Purcell's Case*).

† See 'English Church Furniture,' by E. Peacock, 1866.

It had run, 'the minister at the time of the communion and at all other times in his ministration should use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament,' &c. It now becomes 'such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof at all times of their ministration should be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament,' &c. The changes are slight in appearance, but significant. They show that the Rubric was reconsidered, and we know that objections had been taken to it. They do away with the distinction between different ministrations as needless, now that the surplice was the one garb of the minister. And they insert from the Act the word 'retained,' the revisers being well aware that the vestments had disappeared for the best part of a century, so that, in order to restore them, the word 'retained' would have had no force. The canons of 1603-4 continued to be binding, and these showed that the surplice was to be worn.* The vestments were then restored under this amended Rubric. It is a positive order, if it is anything. It is not permissive merely; yet the Bishops in their visitation articles are always asking if the surplice is used in all ministrations; suggesting, in other words, a breach of the law, on the supposition that the new Rubric brought back the vestments.

The Privy Council have drawn out with elaboration in the Purchas judgment the facts which we have hastily sketched. And now that criticism has had its say upon that decision, the laity may ask themselves what would have been the result of an opposite judgment? To 'retain' would have meant to 'restore' things abolished two centuries ago, the very form of which had been forgotten. Nothing was more remarkable than the want of information shown before the Ritual Commission by the leaders of the 'Catholic Revival' as to the 'minutiae of Rubrics,' and the origin of the very changes they were making. The gaudy dress with which some have lately astonished or distressed their congregations in holy communion, would have become of universal obligation under an express Rubric. And the Church would have confessed, Queen, Bishops, Priests, and Laymen, that from 1559 to 1871 the Church had made a complete mistake as to the legal mode of celebrating its chief rite! If law and history had proved this, the strain upon common sense would have been severe; happily law, history, and common sense had the same tale to tell, and the vestments not being 'retained' must be deliberately 'restored' by the Legislature, if they are to be used.

* Canon 58.

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Here, then, is a short summary of the principles which seem to have guided the Privy Council in matters of ritual. The Prayer Book is to be regarded as the complete and sufficient guide of worship, and no one is to add thereto. The things removed from worship in the time of Edward VI. and Elizabeth were lawfully removed then, and have not since been restored by any law.

If doctrinal cases are included in the survey, it will appear that the Judicial Committee have had cases before them affecting every one of the three great parties in the Church. They have shown themselves somewhat slow to convict for errors of doctrine on any side. In the cases of Mr. Williams, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Heath, and Mr. Voysey, the latitude to be allowed in interpreting the Articles and formularies was fully discussed. Mr. Heath and Mr. Voysey were condemned: it is difficult to conceive any system of interpretation under which they could have escaped, short of the right to affirm as true, and then to deny, the same proposition. The other defendants were acquitted, and there was a decided tendency shown in the judgment upon them to afford them all benefit from possible interpretations of their words. But in a penal case any court would think the defendant entitled to this. In the Gorham case (which, by the way, was not a case under the Clergy Discipline Act) the interests of the 'Evangelical party' were thought to be involved. The judgment established their right to a place in the Church of England. In the recent case of Sheppard v. Bennett the 'High Church party' threatened secession if Mr. Bennett were condemned from statements which were characterised by the Judgment as 'rash and ill-judged, and perilously near a violation of the law.' Mr. Bennett was not condemned; but, as an editor of these judgments observes,* 'all that is decided in his favour amounts to no more than this: that the dogmatic statements which he makes, when charitably viewed and taken *in meliori sensu*, are not so plainly repugnant to, or irreconcilable with, the teaching of the Church as to justify the Court in visiting him with punishment.' Throughout this group of cases there has been evinced a disposition to examine with patience and respect the doctrinal standards of the Church, and a marked indisposition to inflict punishment or loss on account of doctrinal expressions. A different course would have resulted in condemnations which would have been taken by each of the great parties in the Church in turn as affecting itself. No doubt each judgment in its turn brought pain and excited comment; nor are we called on to

* Brooke, 'Privy Council Judgments,' p. 272.

defend or discuss the decisions. But the general course of them does not seem to be repugnant to the principles of English justice; nor can it be said that it tends to the protection of any one party or the extirpation of any other.

Under the Judicature Act of 1872 the court is now reconstituted. The recasting of all the machinery of jurisprudence through the country gave the occasion, which those who afterwards opposed the Public Worship Bill were not slow to seize, and for the future all those cases will come before a purely secular tribunal. Convocation, taken by surprise perhaps, made no sign. But a great and fruitful change has been effected—with what results it may be difficult now to presage. It is certain that the Ritualistic party have again and again protested against the present Judicial Committee as a secular tribunal, having no right to decide in spiritual causes. Will they obey the new secular tribunal for which they have successfully agitated? If not, will the nation consent again to alter its highest tribunal because an active party finds its decisions do not help them to 'a harmony and outward conformity with the prevailing usage of Catholic Christendom'?

The condition of things in the Church had become such as to fill the boldest with astonishment and the bravest with alarm. The Ritualistic party asserted their right to disobey alike the admonitions of the Bishops and the decisions of the Courts in favour of 'the voice of the Catholic Church.*' The voice of the Catholic Church, being interpreted by each clergyman for himself, is equivalent to the fancy of each clergyman; and what was openly claimed was 'protection from interference' for any clergyman in doing his own will, and speaking according to his own fancy, in the parish where he ministered. The discipline that was to deal with this lawlessness was vested in courts which, for slowness and for cost, might break the spirit and ruin the purse of any one who attempted to put them in motion. In the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie* the costs were about 5000*l.*; and one scandalous fact connected with that case was elicited in the debate on the Public Worship Regulation Bill, that when Mr. Mackonochie had been duly sentenced and the prosecutor had to come back to the court to enforce obedience, the costs for a monition to enforce obedience amounted to 145*l.* The offences charged were laid in 1866, and it was not till 1870, or four years after, that the last order was made.† It was a sentence of three months' suspension from duty upon one who had been twice before the court for setting its monition at defiance. Litigation being

* See for illustrations a work called 'Facts and Testimonies touching Ritualism,' by Oxoniensis. 1874.

† 'Times,' May 12, 1874.

too expensive for private purses and too long for the ordinary life of man, passed into the hands of two Limited Liability Companies: the Church Union offered to prosecute Mr. Voysey and to defend in the Ritualist cases; the Church Association had for its object to proceed against the Ritualists. Fees, such as counsel dreamed not of before, were paid from the stock thus raised. An attempt by the Bishop of London to enforce the law in all the cases in his diocese, the most important, might have absorbed the whole revenues of the see for five years. In short, the old order of a Church governed by an episcopate was fast returning to primeval chaos, and those were the dissolvent principle who professed in theory the greatest reverence to catholic order. A Church or a State can subsist through troubles and even errors; but an organisation without laws is a contradiction in terms, and what would be mere anarchy in a State cannot *à fortiori* have place in the Church of God, who 'is not the Author of confusion but of peace.' The question was no longer whether this or that practice should prevail, but whether any clergyman, who had vowed to his Ordinary a reverent obedience, and had solemnly declared his approval of and adherence to the Prayer Book, might manipulate the Prayer Book to suit his own fancy, and defy and lampoon his Bishop upon the slightest remonstrance.

Whence was to come the remedy? Both Convocations had pronounced their opinion; it was hostile to the pretensions of the Ritualists. Perhaps the Duke of Marlborough was in theory right when he said that any measure for reforming the Church courts should be a Government measure; but no Government was likely to undertake so thankless a task. The laity had gone on complaining for twenty-two years. In April, 1851, the Queen sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury an address to the Crown, signed by 230,000 persons, against innovations in public worship. On the 5th of May, 1873, an address was presented to the two Archbishops at Lambeth, drawing attention to the magnitude of the evil and suggesting remedies. It was signed by more than 60,000 persons of weight and influence. The Archbishops took some time to consider their reply, and in it they admitted the existence of the evil. The admission has been echoed from every side in the recent debates in Parliament, even by those who were most opposed to legislation. The reply of the Archbishops was probably the origin of the Public Worship Regulation Bill, which was an attempt on the part of the Bishops themselves to remove a wrong and a danger admitted on all hands to exist.

The attempt to legislate produced, as might be expected, a
storm

storm of invective. All the fountains of abuse in that strange portion of the press, the Ritualistic papers, poured forth their black streams anew. Nobody seemed to study the measure itself; every one viewed it through some distorting lens. What was less to be expected and more to be deplored was, that the High Church party, who would not come under the scope of the measure at all, joined their voices with the rest in indignant protest against legislation. They, too, refused to view the measure in its real nature. But the time has now come for describing it as it really is.

What with the changes forced upon the measure by various parties, it may be said that there were three Bills for the regulation of public worship. They were all alike in these points: the right to complain was strictly limited to those who might have an interest; the offences were also specified and limited with care to changes in the fabric and ritual of the churches; and contumacious disobedience to the orders of the tribunal was to be followed by suspension.

In the Bill originally proposed the idea was to give to the Bishop that directory power as to worship which the Prayer Book and the Canons seem to have contemplated, in more than one place where matters are to be decided by reference to the Bishop. But there was to be associated with him a board of assessors, clerical and lay, belonging to the diocese, whose advice and determination would guide him. An appeal was to be allowed to the incumbent from the Bishop and his assessor to the Archbishop with an assessor, whose decision would be final. The objections to such a proposal are obvious. It was a new kind of tribunal, and it involved elections of assessors and the consequent excitements. The mode in which an untried body would do its work was matter of conjecture. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that this measure was an attempt to get rid of judicial mechanism, and to refer complaints less formally to a Bishop sitting in his chamber with advisers round him. It soon became evident, however, that this novel proposal would meet no support from those without whose legal knowledge and official position no proposal coming from the Bishops could have been expected to be adopted by Parliament.

Hence it came that, on the second reading, a number of amendments were announced that virtually made the measure a new one, and the second Bill came into existence. Complaints were to come from the same quarters, and were to relate to the same things, as in the first draft, but the hearing was to be before the Bishop and his Chancellor, or, if the Chancellor were not a lawyer, then before an assessor in lieu of the Chancellor.

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The Bishop might refuse to proceed in the case; but then the complainant might appeal to the Archbishop, who might adjudicate. If the case was heard before the Bishop, then either party might appeal to the Archbishop; but the Archbishop might then send the case at once to the Privy Council without retaining it for hearing in his own court; by which much time and expense would be saved.

But this amended Bill was to give place to a third Bill. As the day for the committee approached, a mass of amendments accumulated, probably unexampled in amount. Out of them, however, emerged three of chief importance. Lord Shaftesbury proposed that one ecclesiastical judge should preside in the courts of Canterbury and of York, with a salary of 4000*l.* a year, to be raised ultimately out of the fees on marriage licences, and other like payments, but in the meantime by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. All cases of complaint under the Act were to go direct to this judge, and an appeal lay from him to the Supreme Court of Appeal. The appointment of the judge would be in the two Archbishops, with the approval of the Crown. Some amusement was afforded by the Bishop of Peterborough on the second reading, who pointed out that Lord Shaftesbury had been denouncing several principles that had been adopted from his own Bill of 1872 into the Archbishops' Bill; but the probable solution was that the amendments which now stood in his name had been drawn for him by another hand, and that he had not considered their bearing upon his own legislative efforts on the same subject.

The objection to these schemes—to the Archbishops' and Lord Shaftesbury's alike—to the minds of many Churchmen besides Lord Selborne, was the inevitable air of litigation which it introduced. The authority of the Bishop himself seemed likely to be merged for ever in that of his court. There had been enough of law and of courts; could not the office of a Bishop be restored, with its attributes of counsel in all things and decision in cases of doubt? Was it worth while to enact that for the future there should be two courts and not three, and good rules of procedure, instead of those which had proved bad and antiquated? Might not some nobler mode of treatment of such subjects yet be found? Lord Selborne endeavoured to answer that question in some amendments, which, if they had been introduced at first as a substantive measure, would have received, as they certainly deserved, a fuller consideration. The Bishop was to have power to issue a monition on any subject dealt with by this Act with or without complaint, addressed to the incumbent, directing him what to do or to discontinue. The incumbent had only

two courses open: he must either obey, or must return for answer that he believed the monition to order things 'unauthorised by law.' Thereupon the Bishop would take steps to obtain a legal decision by application to the Archbishop, who might, as in a former draft, send the case direct to the Court of Final Appeal. But that court would have before it simply the monition of the Bishop and the objections of the incumbent, and would determine in a summary manner, and as a matter of urgency, whether the monition was legal or not. There would be no provision as to costs. This plan would be distasteful to those who wished to use the law courts for fighting inch by inch the ground of Ritualism; but to all others it would offer several advantages. It would bring back to a reality the visitatorial power of the Bishop, and his power as referee in the doubtful cases mentioned in the Preface to the Prayer Book; nor would it have carried that power much higher than it had stood in former times. But, besides this, it would have been a real and complete remedy for all the evils complained of; and no one can promise so much for the Act that has at last been passed. The Bishop's monition would be valid in all cases where it was good in law. A few more decisions upon disputed points would have made the body of the law complete: if in one or two cases the Court of Final Appeal had modified its judgments, these reconsidered opinions would guide the law. That the remedy would have been very complete, and far less expensive than any other, may safely be said. But there were objections which could not have been got over. The Bishops did not seek a power which would seem to make them immediately responsible for every change in every parish, and to reduce to the position of curates to the Bishop all the incumbents of the diocese. The laity had become sore and angry with the Bishops at the long delay of the remedy which they sought. The Government would probably have lent no help to the proposal. It is even possible that a leading member of the Cabinet regarded Lord Shaftesbury's amendments, which moved upon another line, with something of parental regard. From all these causes it happened that the plan of Lord Selborne hardly received the full and attentive consideration which the position of the author and the merits of the scheme itself would have commanded at another time.

The only other amendment that need be discussed as fundamental was that brought forward by the Bishop of Peterborough. It provided that certain things were exempt from proceedings under this Act, on the ground that doubts were entertained about them, and 'it is not desirable that the clergy and laity
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should be disquieted by litigation about any such matters; a remark applicable, we should hope, to all matters. The class of *adiaphora* thus created contained seven heads:—1. The 'North Side' question; 2. The use of the words of administration to each communicant separately; 3. The use of hymns in worship; 4. Evening communions; 5. The preaching of afternoon or evening sermons; 6. The compulsory use of daily public prayer; and 7. The use of the Communion Service. To these it was immediately proposed by Earl Stanhope to add 'the use of the Athanasian Creed.' It is now understood that this amendment was not conceived by the Bishop of Peterborough; nor could it have escaped a Bishop that there is no law against afternoon sermons at present, but, on the contrary, a stringent provision for enforcing them, and that the sermon as a distinct service, and the severance of holy communion from the morning service, have been already legalised; and that if hymns in the service are illegal, the way to deal with a custom absolutely universal is to make it legal as soon as possible, and not to offer a mere exemption from proceedings. When the amendment was stripped of these superfluities, it appeared to offer to the 'Low Church party' the power to disuse the Communion Service in return for the power to the 'High Church' clergyman to stand on the north side. But this proposal was viewed with swift-growing disfavour by almost all parties. It was seen that this original list of exceptions was delusive; that far more things would be added, or at least striven for; and no party was disposed to barter important principles for leave to carry out its own principles more fully. If the Athanasian Creed were to be included none would be content with that mode of dealing with a symbol so venerable and so valuable,—the exempting people from prosecution who neglected its use. If the list of exceptions became very large, the principle of uniformity would be abandoned, and the list itself reduced to an absurdity. Other reasons may have come in. But, at all events, when the Bill went into committee that amendment was withdrawn by its proposer, and its details were not discussed at all.

It is well known that the amendments to which Lord Shaftesbury's name were attached were incorporated in the Bill, and gave colour to the measure which passed the Legislature with such unexampled strength of support. Much has been said as to the Bishops allowing their measure to be so materially altered so as to become a new Bill, without withdrawing it and leaving the matter in the hands of the Government. It should be remembered, however, whatever be the view taken at last upon that point, that the Bishops could not possibly carry a measure without
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the aid of one or other of the great parties in Parliament, and that as soon as it became evident that Lord Shaftesbury's amendments would receive a modified but substantial support from several members of the Government, the chief question would be whether with these a moderate working measure would be produced. If the Government would not initiate a measure, and the Bishops could not pass one, there was no practicable way but that the Bishops should introduce a measure and allow amendments to be proposed to it. So far the course taken was reasonable, and it is well that the Bishops did not stand upon their dignity and demand that Parliament should either adopt or reject the whole measure. The subject was far too difficult, the mind of the country in far too excited a condition, for that high-handed treatment. But it is not explained how this revising process was submitted to twice over. On the second reading large and substantial amendments were announced by the Archbishop of York; and it might have been supposed that these represented the opinion of persons who were found to be disposed to support the measure. It was after this stage that the measure which the leading Lords in the Cabinet were prepared to support took its shape, and in the hostile hand of Lord Shaftesbury. The explanation is to be sought perhaps in the divided condition of the Cabinet itself on this question. The practical result was that the Bishops suffered, but the measure was saved. Lord Shaftesbury, whose soul was vexed by the fate of his own manifold Church Discipline Bills in former sessions, was appeased by being made the instrument of compelling the Archbishop to accept his amendments. The measure thus received a shape in which it was possible for most of the Ministers to support it, without the Government assuming the responsibility at that stage. It is not necessary to decide whether the Bishops should have stood upon their dignity and should have clung to their original measure, or to that modified Bill which they had framed to meet the real or supposed wishes of the Government: one thing is certain, that if they had done so no measure would have been passed in the last session, and it is doubtful whether, with increasing confusion in the Church, the opportunity would ever have returned of passing a moderate Act.

Parliament was not long in expressing its opinion. The second reading in the House of Lords was adopted without a division. When the Bill went into committee the strength of support for it was yet more manifest. The first important division showed a majority of four to one; and in a later clause, giving power to the Bishop to hear and decide in private by

consent, when the Government and the Opposition seemed to combine to reject a part of Lord Shaftesbury's scheme, which was thought an essential qualification of the whole, the united leaders carried into the lobby only 49, whilst the Archbishop of Canterbury was supported by 93. By this time the fate of the measure in the Lords was decided, and the ultra-sacerdotal party had begun to rely on 'pressure to be brought to bear upon members of the House of Commons.'

Pressure of one kind there existed from the first. The Bill left the House of Lords on the 26th of June. During the month of July, through a road encumbered with lagging Bills, amongst which the ablest charioteer might find the measure he was guiding clogged and overthrown, an independent member of the House undertook the task of directing to a successful issue a Bill that must excite at every step as it passed along passions and animosities of every kind, a Bill that would find its wheels spoked with 'amendments' intended to be fatal. From far-off Wales came a breath of rumour that did not presage peace. Achilles was returning to the fray, with the flame upon his head, and that voice the very sound of which carried fear and confusion to Trojan hearts.* In more sordid prose, Mr. Gladstone rose from nursing his heart upon the War of Troy, and from trimming the quiet woods of Hawarden, and with resolution in his heart and Six Resolutions in his pocket, was to cast himself in the path of this hated measure and to destroy it. So thus, without other pressure, the mere pressure of time seemed to fight against the measure. Upon the whole the prospect of the Public Worship Regulations Bill seemed very poor at the close of the first night's debate upon the second reading. Mr. Gladstone's speech was passionate and vehement from first to last, and promised opposition at every point. A prominent member of the late Government went away from the House and made known to his friends at dinner that Mr. Gladstone had just delivered a most statesmanlike speech, introducing six remarkable resolutions, and that the fate of the Bill was sealed. 'When Mr. Gladstone sat down,' says a writer in the 'Guardian' newspaper, 'every one felt that the Bill had received a fatal blow, and that "not all the King's horses nor all the King's men could put Humpty Dumpty on the wall again," unless, indeed, the Government gave it exceptional advantages.' The actual event, the fate of these resolutions, no writer in the press nor critic in the clubs succeeded in divining. Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen and Mr.

* *Iliad*, xviii., line 203, &c.

Gladstone undertook that the ground should be contested inch by inch ; and the speech of the latter showed that his powers for such a task were at their best. Never, according to the unanimous opinion of all who heard him, did the great orator of the House of Commons speak with more brilliancy or greater effect.

Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, containing a distinct policy, should be recorded here :—

‘ 1. That in proceeding to consider the provisions of the Bill for the Regulation of Public Worship, this House cannot do otherwise than take into view the lapse of more than two centuries since the enactment of the present rubrics of the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England ; the multitude of particulars embraced in the conduct of divine service under their provisions ; the doubts occasionally attaching to their interpretation, and the number of points they are thought to leave undecided ; the diversities of local custom which under these circumstances have long prevailed ; and the unreasonableness of prescribing all varieties of opinion and usage among the many thousands of congregations of the Church distributed throughout the land.’

‘ 2. That this House is therefore reluctant to place in the hands of every single Bishop, on the motion of one or of three persons, howsoever defined, greatly increased facilities towards procuring an absolute ruling of many points hitherto left open and reasonably allowing of diversity, and thereby towards the establishment of an inflexible rule of uniformity throughout the land, to the prejudice, in matters indifferent, of the liberty now practically existing.’

‘ 3. That the House willingly acknowledges the great and exemplary devotion of the clergy in general to their sacred calling, but it is not on that account the less disposed to guard against the indiscretion, or thirst for power, or other fault of individuals.’

‘ 4. That the House is therefore willing to lend its best assistance to any measure recommended by adequate authority, with a view to provide more effectual securities against any neglect of or departure from strict law which may give evidence of a design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the established religion.’

‘ 5. That, in the opinion of the House, it is also to be desired that the members of the Church, having a legitimate interest in her services, should receive ample protection against precipitate and arbitrary changes of established custom by the sole will of the clergyman and against the wishes locally prevalent among them, and that such protection does not appear to be afforded by the provision of the Bill now before the House.’

‘ 6. That the House attaches a high value to the concurrence of her Majesty's Government with the ecclesiastical authorities in the initiative of legislation affecting the Established Church.’

Now, there can be no doubt that these resolutions are entirely against the whole principle of Acts of Uniformity from the
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beginning.

beginning. Sir William Harcourt found an easy triumph in pointing out that, from the Reformation downwards, the having 'one use,' instead of the numerous service-books that had prevailed, had been the purpose of the Church of England, expressed in the preface of all her Prayer Books in succession. There are, of course, objections to this absolute uniformity; and it admits of argument whether the advantages or the disadvantages of uniformity predominate. The Shortened Services Act of 1872 is an admission that in some points relaxation of uniformity may be permitted and is desirable. Further steps may be taken in the same direction; it is likely that they will. But this is not the question here. Shall a clergyman have power to make changes himself in any or all of the services of the Church irrespective of the practice of his predecessor, of the wish of the congregation, and of the ruling of the Bishop? Shall he have no limit upon his power of doing so except that his alterations must not 'give evidence of a design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the established religion'? Is such a test at all practical? The reason for an Act of Uniformity is, to recall the language of the judgment in the Bennett case, that 'if the minister be allowed to introduce at his own will variations in the rites and ceremonies that seem to him to interpret the doctrine of the service in a particular direction, the service ceases to be what it was meant to be,—common ground on which all Church people may meet, though they differ about some doctrines.' The parishioner as he goes to church has a right to know, as to all substantial points, what service it is in which he is to engage and to which he is to commit himself by taking his part. No doubt he should have some protection as to the sermon also; but his share in that is different. If it is against his views of doctrine he mentions that fact to his wife and his neighbour on the way home. If it is dull and careless, another kind of remedy steals over him of itself in the course of it. But to see his clergyman bowing to the elements when no such homage is directed, or wearing various garbs that are not ordered, which are so much the more alarming to him by how much the less he understands their origin or meaning: these things irritate and concern him even when he does not know in what quarter to complain. But his clergyman would not admit that these changes are intended 'to alter the spirit and substance of the established religion.' On the contrary, the language held by the Ritualists is always, from Tract 90 downwards, that the formularies of the Church of England, rightly understood, are consistent with medieval doctrine, rightly understood. So that the parishioner has put upon him the onus of proving

proving that the changes are intended to subvert the established religion, in the face of a protest from the clergyman that they will do nothing of that kind. The last times of that parishioner would be worse than the first. For the passing of these Resolutions would have been a complete change in the position of the Church of England. Besides the well-known passage in the Preface to the Prayer Book the whole history of the Rubrics from 1549 to 1662 shows that directions, even distinct ones, in the Prayer Book were held to be strictly binding, and that those who wished them altered sought to do it by law. Even where there were offences, the mode in which they were dealt with proved the principle. Wren did not plead that his eastward position 'was not intended to subvert the religion of the country;' he pleaded that he was a little man. Laud, in like circumstances, advanced no such general plea, but only that he could use his hands better. In modern times, long before this controversy arose, that eminent judge, Sir John Nicholl,* affirmed the principle of uniformity: 'The law directs that a clergyman is not to diminish in any respect, or to add to, the prescribed form of worship; uniformity in this respect is one of the leading and distinguishing principles of the Church of England; nothing is left to the fancy of the individual. If every minister were to alter, omit, or add according to his own taste, this uniformity would soon be destroyed.' The courts have again and again affirmed this principle in later decisions, and it may now be taken as settled. But in order to meet and arrest a Bill, which made no new law, created no new offence, and only improved the procedure of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the great liberal chief came down from his retreat, prepared not to relax a little the principle of uniformity within definite limits, not to increase the number of things that may be done in one of two ways at discretion; but to abolish the principle of uniformity altogether, in favour of the principle of diversity, with this distinction only, that if it could be proved that the changes were subversive of the national religion some check should then be applicable.

This, however, was not to be. On the 15th of July, after an adjourned debate of unusual power and dignity, Mr. Disraeli, in a speech of great force, disposed of the resolution which laid on the Government the duty of dealing with Church Discipline Bills by an easy reference to the series of Lord Shaftesbury's Bills of past years, to none of which the Government of the day had put its hand. Doing justice to the three great parties

* In *Newberry v. Goodwin*, 1 Phillimore's 'Reports,' p. 282.

in the Church, he denounced the action of those who foster Romish doctrines which when they entered the Church they had taken a solemn promise to reject utterly. He described the debate as only part of a great struggle agitating all Europe.

‘I speak from strong conviction and from a sense of duty when I say that I wished to direct the public mind as far as I could to the consideration of circumstances in which it was so deeply interested, and which could not fail to influence the history of the country. I said then that it appeared to me to be of the very utmost importance—and I am speaking now of the time when I addressed a large body of my countrymen as lately as autumn last—I said then as I say now, looking to what is occurring in Europe, looking at the great struggle between the temporal and spiritual power which has been precipitated by those changes, of which many in this House are aware that in the disturbances and possible disasters which may await Europe, and which must to a certain extent sympathetically affect England, it would be wise for us to rally on the broad platform of the Reformation, believing as I do that those principles were never so completely and so powerfully represented as by the Church of England, and that without the learning, authority, wealth, and independence of that Church they would by this time have dwindled into nothing.’

Seizing the occasion which Mr. Gladstone had given him, he promised the fullest discussion of the resolutions, and announced that after anxious consideration he thought it best that the question should be settled in the present session.

Eye-witnesses have described what followed. Evening had arrived, and the House, jaded with a long and anxious sitting, was eager to divide. A clear voice made itself heard above the clamour; it was Mr. Hussey Vivian, an old and tried follower of Mr. Gladstone. He rose to warn him not to persevere with his resolutions; ‘not twenty men on his own side of the House would follow him into the lobby.’ But already deft lieutenants, mournful of aspect, had brought slips of paper to their chief, fraught it seemed with no good tidings. When the Speaker put the question there was no challenge for a division. Amid the roar of mixed cheers and laughter the House broke up; and the six resolutions that seemed to bear in their womb six days of weary fight, melted away into darkness. They were formally withdrawn the next day; and from that time, Mr. Gladstone, yielding not ungracefully to the manifest resolution of the House, abandoned his intention of contesting all the ground, and filled a useful place in the discussion.

From that time the course of the measure was easy; the majorities were overwhelming on all the main details. A conflict seemed at last to impend between the Lords and the
Commons

Commons on a subject of very minor importance. A discretion was given by the Bill to each Bishop to allow or to refuse to allow the Act to be put in motion. There is nothing analogous to this in other courts; that an official should have power to close the door of his court against a suitor. The Commons, considering that the matters dealt with under this Act are difficult and delicate, agreed with reluctance to this provision. But they desired to weight it with an appeal to the Archbishop, so that there might be a power of reserving the Bishop's discretion. This had been considered in the Lords, and the Lord Chancellor had there disposed of it, with the words, 'an appeal for discretion is a thing unknown to the law.' The House of Commons reinserted it by a large majority. In the Lords, the Bishop of Winchester, affirming that Bishops are by divine right and that Metropolitans are of human institution, and adding with needless vigour that if he were not sure of his divine commission he would strip off his robes and trample them under his feet, led the opposition to this provision of the Bill. The prelate's argument is difficult to follow. As the law now is, Archbishops are vested with the power of reviewing the discretion of Bishops in many particulars. In Ireland, up to the Disestablishment, the Archbishops could and did inhibit the Bishops whilst they visited their dioceses. In England, as to the sale of glebe lands, the admitting colonial clergy to officiate, the holding of livings in plurality, the celebration of marriages in unusual places, the Bishop cannot act without an Archbishop. Yet these are never construed as restraints on the sacred functions of the Bishop, or on his high commission. All that was proposed here was that if the Bishops were to have a new power of interposing between a suitor and the justice that he sought, there should be some restraint upon the somewhat hazardous privilege. For less high-flown reasons, however, it was well that the provision should be excluded. It was the inevitable result of past struggles that the relations of Bishops to clergy should be those of law rather than those of pastoral guidance. To grant this appeal would practically have abridged the Bishop's power of mediation very greatly.

Another short debate in the Commons settled the fate of the Bill. Sir William Harcourt inveighed against Mr. Gladstone, but was not suffered to depart unscathed. Mr. Gurney, whose tact and temper had contributed much to the success of the Bill, advised the Commons not to insist on their amendment; the Prime Minister in another speech of vigorous eloquence adopted the same course. The Public Worship Regulation Bill took its place among the completed measures of 1874.

Whilst

Whilst this paper is passing through the press, Mr. Gladstone has published* his matured view of 'Ritualism.' He defines the word in three senses: as an undue disposition to ritual, as an attempt by means of ritual to assimilate the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and as any changes in ritual which being novel are displeasing to the prejudices of this man and that. Dismissing the last as a mischievous prejudice, he discusses the first, whilst all the rest of the nation has been regarding the second. If, indeed, the question were only, how far ritual might be carried so as to be consistent with the degree of fervour and devotion of which a congregation is capable, Mr. Gladstone would be a useful guide. Here are some remarks which offer matter for thought:—

'To accumulate observances of ritual is to accumulate responsibility. It is the adoption of a higher standard of religious profession; and it requires a higher stand of religious practice. If we study, by appropriate or by rich embellishment, to make the church more like the House of God, and the services in it more impressive by outward signs of His greatness and goodness, and of our littleness and meanness, all these are so many voices, audible and intelligible, though inarticulate, and to let them sound in our ears unheeded is an offence against His majesty. If we are not the better for more ritual we are the worse for it. A general augmentation of ritual, such as we see on every side around us, if it be without any corresponding enhancement of devotion, means more light but no more love.

'But it is even conceivable, nay, far from improbable, that augmentation of ritual may import not increase but even diminution of fervour. Such must be the result in every case where the imagery of the eye and ear, actively multiplied, is allowed to draw off the energy, which ought to have its centre in the heart. There cannot be a doubt that the beauty of the edifice, the furniture, and the service, though their purpose be to carry the mind forward, may induce it to rest upon themselves. Wherever the growth and progress of ritual, though that ritual be in itself suitable and proper, is accepted, whether consciously or unconsciously, and whether in whole or in part, by the individual, as standing in the stead of his own concentration and travail of spirit in devotion, there the ritual, though good in itself, becomes for him so much formality, that is so much deadness.'

But this is a part of an answer to a wrong question: What amount of ritual may precisely suit the English Prayer Book? That is a question which might be settled without much heat, and with which Parliament would not interfere. But the question which has occupied the public mind is a quite different one. When certain clergymen tell us that they hate the

* See 'Contemporary Review' for October, 1874.

Reformation; that the leading Reformers were villains; that the present Prayer Book is inadequate, and that we must at least go back to the first Book of Edward VI., in which Holy Communion was still the Mass; that their object is to revive the doctrine with which the word 'mass' has always been associated, and to establish the system of the confessional in connection with it; when aspirations after a return to medieval practice and doctrine, and to conformity with "the Western church," are freely uttered; in short, when every step taken is a step nearer to Rome, and is openly proclaimed to be a step in that direction; it seems that there is one question, which should take precedence of Mr. Gladstone's:—Which is the Service Book to which our ritual is to be made to conform? That question does not trouble Mr. Gladstone much. It is hopeless, he thinks, to bring the country back to Romanism:—

'At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth; when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith: when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history. I cannot persuade myself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and this although I do not undervalue her great powers of mischief.'

True; the task is hopeless now as it has been in the past. But in times past it proved impossible, because the nation shook from its neck the imposed or offered yoke. It is no consolation to a parish condemned to bear with the vestments and gestures of Rome, its wafers and mixed chalice, its confessional and its doctrine of transubstantiation, to be told on high authority that the end of such experiments will be that the nation cannot be perverted. They do not wish to suffer the process; they are not disposed to be the body on which the experiment is to be made. To put an end to the experiment itself is the demand of the people, and the task of the legislature and of the government of the Church. Throughout his paper Mr. Gladstone speaks of 'the congregation,' and not of the parishioners, a change not without a wider significance than the limits of this question. Congregations have some power of self-protection: they can cease to gather together. The parishioners, who have all equal shares in the common parish church, have no such protection for their rights. They may reasonably
object

object to being used for experiments. Perhaps Mr. Gladstone may hereafter discuss the other question, much more interesting to the people, and on which he could no doubt give a just and sound verdict:—Is it a legitimate use of the pastoral office in the Church of England to endeavour to change her formularies and standards to those of a different Church? That has been the question of the hour, and seems to need the earliest reply. The elaborate paper of Mr. Gladstone condemns such an attempt, but would not hinder it by law: it will probably satisfy no one. The answer of the country, so far, is written in the Act for the Regulation of Public Worship.

It is much to be regretted that some of those who have so loudly condemned this measure have not passed part of their time in reading its provisions. For a measure less like a tool of persecution it would be difficult to conceive. No new offences are created. If a clergyman is supposed to have committed some breach of order, a complainant must first be found, and the Bishop himself cannot be that complainant; so far his hands are tied. The complaint is made. If the clergyman finds that he is wrong and has not a leg to stand on, he can submit at once to the Bishop. If he is confident in his case, he is sent before the new judge of the Ecclesiastical Courts. But that is his fate now, except that he has the possible advantage of being haled before a diocesan Chancellor first. Once in the hands of the new Dean of the Arches he is surrounded with all the safeguards and protections of law, just as at present. Suppose him to be condemned, however, in that court, still he has another resource. The Court of Final Appeal is open to him, and there again all the protection that law can give him is his. The whole process is one step shorter as to time, and it will be one-third cheaper in consequence. We are told that this is the very grievance, that the costs and slowness of the Courts were a protection; but can any party lay claim to a vested right in the dearness and tardiness of justice? If it does, can any country admit such a claim? If it is the right of one side that a cause should last for years and cost five thousand pounds, it is just the wrong of the other side. But now the cause is over and the condemnation pronounced. What is the amount of it? Not suspension or deprivation or pecuniary mulct; but an order not to do the like again. It is only when this order is disobeyed that penal results arise; and in case of prolonged resistance, deprivation would follow at last. It is impossible that this should be otherwise. Every court must have power to enforce its own decrees; and in this class of cases the clergy have formed a special contract with the Church that they will use and obey the Prayer Book.

Book. If they fail in their part of the contract, they cannot expect to hold the position and influence and emoluments that are the other side of it. There are not wanting some who attribute much of the recent troubles to the false leniency shown by the Privy Council to Mr. Mackonochie. But however that may be, the immunity from punishment in contumacious and persistent breaches of the law, is a right that cannot be set up or conceded. One grievance that was made the most of has been that a judgment of the court is to take effect at once, unless it is otherwise ordered by the court. Dr. Pusey exclaims, 'We are to be suspended *pendente lite*,' in a manner to touch the hardest, if it were true; but there is, we repeat, no suspension at all except for disobeying orders or decisions of court; and it is not unreasonable that a clergyman doing a new act or introducing a new garb, should be asked to refrain until he has established completely his legal right. Considering closely the provisions of the Act, the laity will wonder by-and-by what there is so very different from present practice as to cause such effervescence of feeling, and why, if the Bishops were afoot, they did not ask for powers more stringent from a Parliament so willing to grant. The law against new ornaments and against structural changes without a faculty, was just as strict before as it is now. How can the Church be puritanised or reduced to a dead level of uniformity? How can 'the position of every clergyman in the Church be altered,' if the law about ritual remains the same, but with an administration somewhat quickened? Those are not the best friends of the Church of England who use such exaggerated language in the present crisis. There is nothing more remarkable about the Public Worship Regulation Bill than its moderation; and indeed a feeling of disappointment is sure to arise when the working of this measure falls short in thoroughness of the expectations of many who have watched its progress. The promoters were wise to ask for moderate powers; but they must have made their account with that kind of disappointment when they did so.

But it is not the measure itself that pinches, but the resolution to have a measure. In the High Church movement at present there is far less intellectual vigour than there was in its palmy days; and there is a sensitiveness to public opinion in its leaders that suits ill with the violence of their language towards others. They have assumed that all the real work done in the country is their own, and that to suppress Ritualism is to commend and invite laziness. A glance at any large town will show that there is no foundation for this complacent assumption. The Ritualist party has a few successful and active clergymen; and also

also a good many of whom this could not be said. It has a small but active following, who, like the supernumeraries at a theatre, create an impression of multitude by entering at many points in divers dresses. They are the same voices that shout at St. James's Hall, respond at St. Alban's, and demonstrate at Church Congresses. The present movement has furnished the first test as to the progress made by the Ritualist party in its ambitious programme of obliterating the Reformation and bringing back the nation to the position of past ages and of other nations. They have had unusual advantages, supporters in the present Cabinet and in the last. But when the question was fairly before the House of Commons whether it was not high time to check their proceedings, the answer was unanimous, and their friends were unable even to divide. This is the really important point, far more so than the measure which was produced.

The lesson thus given may yet be wisely received. There can be no disposition on any side to narrow the Church of England. Within her borders have met together Taylor, Bull, Waterland, Barrow, Butler, Leighton, Beveridge, Burnet, Ken, and Tillotson, in generations gone by; and in our own time a Keble, a Trench, a Stanley, a MacNeile, a Robertson have found room for their feet. With a National Church, to narrow is to destroy; but the narrowing begins when any one party tries to trim the Liturgy for its exclusive use. If vestments and genuflections and attitudes of mystery are required as essential then strife begins, and intolerance and exclusion. The three great parties that have existed in the Church will still exist, and each will contribute its share to the common life. For the motto of the Church of England might well be 'evangelical truth and apostolic order'; and her attitude towards the culture and science of the world, one of friendly but independent interest; and the High Churchman, the Evangelical and the Broad Churchman, each finds in this programme the point that he would make prominent. The Church has done and is doing a great work; hers is not a life that can be snuffed out by a Church Discipline Bill. If there should be restored to her by means of this act the grace of obedience and order, it will reinforce her with new strength to deal with problems that require all the powers spiritual, moral, and intellectual that she can put forth.

For this is no question of a few wilful priests and disorderly churches. Far greater interests are at stake. The Church of England occupies at this moment a position of deep importance to the whole modern world. Mr. Disraeli, almost alone of the
speakers

speakers in the late debate, lifted the discussion to that higher level, and warned his hearers of the coming struggle. We are engaged in it already. On the one side, Popery severing itself more and more from all modern interests, and exercising less and less influence over them, has stretched to the utmost the measure of her pretensions. The ideas of the world and of the Papacy are two streams proceeding in opposite directions. To welcome culture and civilisation, and to trust the masses of the people gradually with higher and higher privileges, these are the aims of all parties in the modern world; and the Conservative shares them as well as the Liberal. And these are no worldly impulses in the bad sense of that word: freedom and education and independence are of the spiritual part of us; they ennoble him that receives them and him that confers. The Pope replies to these ideas, to this tendency, with a Syllabus and a Dogma of Infallibility. To curse the knowledge which it cannot control, and to strive more and more towards absolute irresponsible power, are the tendencies of the great spiritual guide of millions in Europe. What is the consequence? Search the literature of every Roman Catholic country, and you see how little influence of any kind the dominant religion possesses. The thought of the world has passed out of its hands: it has no sympathy with it: it is moving in an opposite direction. The Papacy has begun by anathematising and casting out all modern thought and science; how then can it hope to influence them? Intellectually the Pope is passing fast into the position of Benedict XIII., when the Council of Constance had deposed him, and he was shut up with a handful of followers: 'The whole Church is assembled in Peniscola, not in Constance, as once the whole human race was shut up in Noah's Ark.' This is the guide whom millions have inherited as their one authority in spiritual things; this is the power with which many desire to be in communion; this is the Church that makes proselytes in this country. No doubt an infallible guide in spiritual things would be better than our troubles, only three things stand in the way: this claim to infallible rule and supremacy is a violation of the old constitution of the Church, a contradiction of all the history of the Papacy, and a blasphemy against the Almighty.

Contrast with this the Syllabus of Prof. Tyndall at Belfast, and you have the other great force at work upon modern thought fully before you, and described in eloquent language. It is, however, materialism of the most thorough-going kind. Before it, should it prevail, prayer and faith in God, and fear of God, must go down; and all the churches that teach these must dissolve. It has already prevailed much; in Germany and France its power
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is great, and spreads widely. It is at the bottom of many social troubles that have befallen other countries; and, perhaps, this country is not safe. We are not to suppose that science confines itself to its own work of observation and classification of facts: it has become in its turn dogmatic. 'Though in the course of ages,' says Mr. Maxwell, 'catastrophes have occurred, and may yet occur, in the heavens, though ancient systems may be dissolved, and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built, the foundation-stones of the material universe, remain unbroken and unworn.' Here is a guarantee for the eternity of atoms from one who must confess that he never isolated an atom, and that all he knows of its eternity must be the conjecture of his own mind. Can dogmatism go further? On certain scientific minds, too, the subjects of prayer and miracles exercise a fevering and exciting influence, so that they cannot, after demolishing them, leave them on one side, and do their proper work. Against science, true to its aims, and modest in pursuing them, not a word should be said. The names of Faraday and John Phillips, departed from us, are beautiful to the memory in this connection. Many a living name lies ready, but we must not select. Nor would we attribute to Professor Tyndall any motive other than a love of truth, which all who know him attribute to him. But the atomic theory is but a poor gospel; and if men are to part with all their traditional motives, all their future hopes, and receive in return a dogma as arbitrary as any that the mediæval Church is chargeable with, that Molecules are the Eternal, we question very much whether the interests of the molecules are so important to most people as to furnish them with a spring of action or a motive of life. We can even conceive it possible that, satisfied of the permanence of the molecules, an intelligent disciple might be the more disposed for some very ugly and sudden form of social change. We even think that this lesson has been clearly recorded and red-lettered on the page of history.

Between the imperishable Atom and the infallible Unit, social institutions are destined to sustain severe trials. This country has hitherto been lightly visited; but there is no hope of a complete escape. The papacy has been from the beginning antagonistic to political order. Claiming authority over all things, and jealous of all modern developments, her very attitude is hostile to states as they are. We feel it in Ireland; the Germans know it in Germany; the Spaniards in Spain. As for science, we do not pretend that she never can supply new motives in place of the old ones she tries to take away; but if the powers that be are not ordained of God, but only developments of the
eternal

eternal molecule, we do not find as yet any serious attempt to give mankind some strong motives for social order instead. Science at present lacks authority. Ask the colliers of Durham and Staffordshire to adjust their claim for wages by political economy, and you will find that when the scale is rising they are willing to abide by it; but when the tide turns, the laws are resisted to the utmost.

Now the thought and the mind of the world never can and never will kneel again at the feet of the Pope. Infallibility leaves itself no place for repentance, and the breach between Rome and the modern world is utter, is final. Nor can the modern world live without a religion; in the rarified atmosphere of the temple of the atoms, common spirits cannot breathe. Moreover, the two extremes draw further from each other, and are more utterly hostile. Between the Pope and the atoms, between superstition and unbelief, between denial of all science on one side, and the glorification of science on the other, mankind needs some refuge; and here the Church of England has a work to do. Identified with the social interests of the people, she has never opposed their improvement; she has taken a leading part in their education; she has afforded to science many of its best votaries; she is often charged with intolerance; but, compared with other religious bodies, her large and paternal toleration is conspicuous. The great truths of the Christian Creeds she has kept faithfully. She has been gaining by greater activity a deeper hold upon the affections of the people of late years. Her parochial organisation has been very favourable to the rural districts. Large masses of population can provide for their own instruction; the village is less self-helpful than the town. In every country place there is one educated man proclaiming the message of consolation, administering the sacraments, comforting the unhappy, making the death-bed less dark by consolation. With all her faults, her work of this kind has been immense. She makes no claim to crush the will of the layman that the priestly will may prevail; nor to chain up the conscience that blind obedience may take the place of free action. Against the confessional as a system she has set her face steadfastly. And now, when her work is prospered the most, and her line of action stands clear before her, the same fanaticism that prevails everywhere else, is invading her. She is invited to get up a pale and feeble imitation of Rome; of course without Rome's discipline. In order to revive some show of the mass, and some imitation of the confessional, a party in her pale is prepared to risk all disorder and to employ all forms of slander and disobedience. It is vital to the whole Church that this should

should cease. The Church cannot do her work till it ceases. The pretence that this party has a monopoly of work in the Church is now pretty well understood. There are amongst them good, bad, and indifferent, as in other parties; and of the best it may be said that they would have worked better if they had worked in loyal obedience to their own Church without trying to bring her nearer to another. In Acts of Parliament as instruments of a great reform, we have not much faith; but from the general tenor of this year's proceedings, much good may come. In 'the great catholic revival,' the nation has taken no part. It has not had the effect that its authors hoped for. Its very lawlessness made it weak; for God is not the author of confusion but of peace. Looking out upon the stormy waste, from the tower that God has still made so strong, the Church of England sees enough of perils without, and of works of virtue to be done, to awe her into peace, and to restore a substantial unity of spirit in the overmastering unity of aim and work. For wielding safely free social institutions, which have repeatedly broken down in other hands, England is now the admiration of the world. It is possible yet that she may establish a greater title to admiration, in a Church able to raise and refine the national life, instead of sourly condemning its ideas and strivings; in a Church tolerant towards other religious bodies, but clear and definite in its own teaching; in a Church where charity of thought and speech is something more than a lesson to teach school-children, is an active principle for clergy and laity alike.

NOTE UPON THE ARTICLE 'PRIMITIVE MAN—TYLOR AND LUBBOCK,' in No. 273.

We have received the following letter for publication :—

SIR,
Trinity College, Cambridge,
7th August, 1874.

In the July number of the 'Quarterly Review' of the present year reference is made on p. 70, in the article entitled 'Primitive Man—Tylor and Lubbock,' to an essay by me, published in the 'Contemporary Review' for August 1873, and entitled 'On Beneficial Restrictions to Liberty of Marriage.' The passage is as follows :—

'Elsewhere (pp. 424–5) he (Mr. George Darwin) speaks in an approving strain of the most oppressive laws, and of the encouragement of vice to check population. There is no sexual criminality of Pagan days that might not be defended on the principles advocated by the school to which this writer belongs. This repulsive phenomenon affords a fresh demonstration of what France of the Regency, and Pagan Rome long ago, demonstrated; namely, how easily the most profound moral corruption can co-exist with the most varied appliances of a complex civilisation.'

The Reviewer thus asserts,—

First, that I approve of the encouragement of vice to check population, and of the most oppressive laws.

This I absolutely deny.

These pages (424–5) form part of a merely historical sketch of the various marriage customs and laws which have obtained at various times and places. The sketch is prefaced by a distinct statement that the facts are merely given historically. The laws and customs referred to by the Reviewer are those of the early German communistic bodies, and considerable prominence was given to them on account of their extraordinary nature and barbarity.

Secondly, he asserts that there is no hideous sexual criminality which might not be defended on the principles advocated by such as myself.

I deny that there is any thought or word in my essay which could in any way lend itself to the support of the nameless crimes here referred to.

The reference to myself is moreover introduced by the statement that,—

'Now, however, marriage is the constant subject of attack, and unrestrained licentiousness *theoretically* justified.'

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The whole object of my essay was to advocate the introduction of further regulations in our marriage laws; and the institution of marriage is attacked only in so far as that I maintained that certain changes therein are required.

Each of these charges is absolutely false and groundless.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

GEORGE DARWIN.

To the Editor of the Quarterly Review.

Nothing could have been further from our intention than to tax Mr. Darwin personally (as he seems to have supposed) with the advocacy of laws or acts which he saw to be oppressive or vicious. We, therefore, most willingly accept his disclaimer, and are glad to find that he does not, in fact, apprehend the full tendency of the doctrines which he has helped to propagate. Nevertheless, we cannot allow that we have enunciated a single proposition which is either 'false' or 'groundless.' Mr. Darwin's own words are (p. 412): 'The object of this article is to point out how modern scientific doctrines may be expected in the future to affect the personal liberty of individuals in the matter of marriage.' That the mode in which they may be expected to affect 'liberty' and 'marriage' has his approval is manifest, since he tells us (p. 419): 'one may hope' for certain preliminary restrictions, and that (p. 420) 'we can only make a really successful attack by compelling the production, before marriage, of a clean bill of health in the party, and ultimately in his parents and ancestors.' He next considers the possibilities of future legislation, and, as a preliminary, enumerates various laws and customs which have already prevailed. But as he does not say a single word to intimate his disapproval or condemnation of them generally, we may be excused if we misapprehended his meaning as to certain of them, more especially as some of the practices (as for instance great facility of divorce) enumerated in the same pages are elsewhere expressly approved by him. Thus he remarks (p. 418): 'A next step, and one to my mind urgently demanded, is that insanity or idiocy should of itself form a ground of divorce,' adding that the 'patient, should he recover, would suffer in no other respect than does everyone who is forced by ill health to retire from any career which has been begun; although, of course, the necessary isolation of the parent from the children would be a peculiarly bitter blow.' Certainly it would be difficult to advocate legislation more oppressive and heartless than this. Mr. Darwin will not probably
venture

venture to assert that the persons, whom his proposed legislation would debar from marriage, can be expected to lead a life of continency. We are confident that no unprejudiced person, certainly no Christian, can regard the approval of such laws and practices as anything less than an approval (however little intended) 'of the most oppressive laws, and of the encouragement of vice to check population.'

But the whole tone and tendency of the article is (as Mr. Darwin would probably be the last to deny) in harmony with the teaching of that school which, regarding temporal welfare as the one only end and material prosperity as the one only sanction, logically denies all absolute individual rights, asserting that man is essentially no better than the brutes, and may, like brutes, be treated in any way useful for material ends without regard to any Divine law. Mr. Darwin (p. 413) himself speaks of difficulty in carrying out such restrictions as he advocates, 'so long as *the pernicious idea* generally prevails that man alone of all animals is under personal and direct management of the Deity; and yet what believer in evolution can doubt that results as surprising might be effected in man, as are now seen in our *horses, dogs, and cabbages*?'

We would further remind Mr. Darwin that the words, 'there is no sexual criminality of Pagan days which might not be defended on the principles advocated by the school to which this writer belongs,' by no means imply that Mr. Darwin himself has in his essay defended such crimes. We expressly disown the interpretation which he puts upon our words. We spoke of the school, and not of an individual. But when a writer, according to his own confession, comes before the public 'to attack the institution of marriage,' even though it be 'only in so far as that certain changes therein are required' (such changes being, in our opinion, fatal in their tendency), he must expect searching criticism; and, without implying that Mr. Darwin has in 'thought' or 'word' approved of anything which he wishes to disclaim, we must still maintain that the doctrines which he advocates are most dangerous and pernicious.

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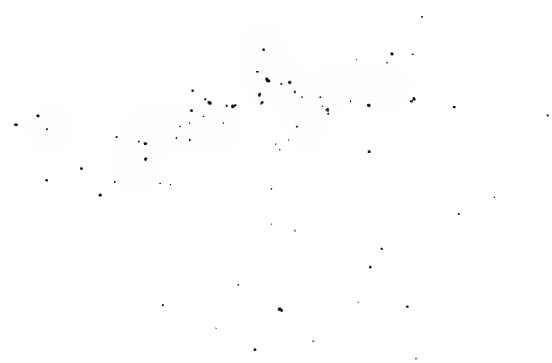
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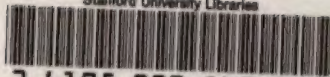
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